VERHANDELINGEN DER KONINKLIJKE AKADEMIE VAN WETENSCHAPPEN

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INHOUD

SUR UNE DOUBLE ACCENTUATION DES DIPHTONGUES EN FRANÇAIS

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L'étude présente est une mise au point de quelques idées que l'auteur a, en partie, déjà exposées ailleurs, à savoir dans une communication à l'Académie des Sciences d'Amsterdam *(Over de beklemtoonde klinker in amour en enkele andere woorden*, 1921), dans *Neophilologus*, III (1918), 161, et XI (1926), 179, et incidemment dans sa contribution au *Homenaje a Menéndez Pidal* (1924), I, 641.

INTRODUCTION

A. SUJET ET BUT DE CETTE ÉTUDE

§ 1. Sur les doublets phonétiques

Il arrive qu'en ancien français, et jusque dans la langue moderne, le même son latin, dans les mêmes conditions phonétiques, dans le même parler, et parfois chez la même personne, se présente sous plus d'une forme. Citons cette phrase de Tobler [1]) : „Ainsi, il faut donc admettre ici un double traitement des mêmes éléments dans le même dialecte, comme on peut en constater si souvent ; par exemple dans Jean de Condé et d'autres, qui emploient les adjectifs en *-eus* aussi avec la terminaison *-ous*". Et M. A. Thomas nous apprend [2]) : „Pendant longtemps il a dû exister côte à côte, et peut-être dans la même bouche, des formes en *ĕrius* et des formes en *ĕrus*: chacune a fait son chemin, mais elle peut avoir traversé plus d'une fois celui de sa voisine" [3]).

Souvent cette prononciation double s'explique comme une phase de transition dans l'évolution phonétique du son, phase pendant laquelle une forme plus ancienne subsiste quelque temps ensemble avec celle qui va la remplacer définitivement. Telles les rimes simultanées, dans la *Chanson de Roland*, de *ai* avec *a* et avec *è*. Nous ne nous occuperons pas de ces doublets-là ; nous avons plutôt en vue ceux qui ont coexisté, ou coexistent encore, indépendamment l'un de l'autre, soit qu'ils appartiennent à un milieu social différent, soit qu'ils se distinguent l'un de l'autre par leur emploi syntaxique, soit enfin que la même personne s'en serve d'après les circonstances.

Le hollandais connaît deux prononciations de *ó* long : dans les classes cultivées ce son est une monophtongue, mais parallèlement il existe dans les patois et parmi le peuple des villes une diphtongue qui sonne somme a^u, $è^u$, exactement comme le français, à côté de *pou* (monophtongue), a connu *pou* et *peu*, devenu plus tard *pö*. De même, à côté de *é* long, le hollandais présente une prononciation, considérée comme vulgaire, $è^i$, a^i, et même $\bar{a}$. Le français actuel fournit d'autres exemples de cette différenciation sociale :

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[1]) *Vrai Aniel*², p. XXXII.

[2]) *Nouveaux Essais*, p. 146.

[3]) Voir encore sur les différentes prononciations coexistantes de *uo, ue, ua* en espagnol, en français et en provençal: Menéndez Pidal, *Origenes del español*, p. 135 et 136 („même personne, même mot").

je pense aux consonnes doubles, ou plutôt longues, que, dans des milieux universitaires, par réaction de l'orthographe, on fait entendre dans *erreur, honneur*, etc. Pour les sons actuels, il n'est pas toujours facile de dire si l'on a affaire à des doublets „chronologiques" ou „sociaux" ; ainsi la prononciation de ö̃ (*un*) comme ẽ, si fréquente dans la bouche des Parisiens, annonce-t-elle que la voyelle anormale ö, par suite de la nasalisation, est en voie de devenir ẹ, ou ne s'agit-il que d'un usage passager ? On peut se rendre compte de l'extension de cette prononciation par la carte 1354 *(un veau)* de l'*A.L.* [1]) Un exemple d'une différence de prononciation amenée par les places différentes qu'un mot peut occuper dans la phrase nous est fourni par Rousselot [2]) : „A Cellefrouin, la place de l'accent a varié suivant la place de la diphtongue dans le mot ou dans le groupe ; aux Chaumes, par exemple, on dit : *ĭ m ẽ váo* „je m'en vais", et *ĭ m ẽ vaọ lāvā* „je m'en vais laver" ". Enfin, quant aux variations de prononciation chez la même personne, citons cette phrase de Gauchat [3]) : „Le même mot, selon les circonstances, se prononce en patois de plusieurs manières ; je n'entends pas parler du sens qui donne aux mots l'accent de la surprise, du regret, de la joie ou de la colère, etc., en variant le rythme et l'intensité des éléments de la parole ; il s'agit ici de doublets véritablement patois, créés par le rythme de la phrase ou du mot" [4]).

Ces variétés de prononciation ont dû être plus nombreuses aux époques anciennes, auxquelles l'école et la tradition littéraire n'avaient pas encore l'immense influence qu'elles exercent aujourd'hui. Au cours des siècles, les doublets ont nécessairement dû empiéter sur le domaine l'un de l'autre, et alors la langue a pu leur assigner à nouveau un terrain déterminé, en différenciant leurs significations, par exemple *labeur, labour*. Gilliéron [5]) dit à ce propos : „Comme l'alternance de *z* avec *r (chaise, chaire)*, celle de *er* avec *ar*, l'alternance *we* : *e* était un flottement, et de celui-ci la langue pouvait tirer un parti profitable à son besoin de clarté". Un autre cas fréquent, et dont il sera surtout question dans ces pages, c'est qu'après la période pendant laquelle les deux formes ont coexisté, certains mots ont opté pour l'une des deux prononciations, l'autre pour la prononciation parallèle ; exemples *plein* et *avoine*.

Jusqu'à présent on expliquait ces doublets le plus souvent par le mélange de deux dialectes, à moins qu'on n'attribuât à une des formes une origine

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[1]) J'indique par ces initiales l' *Atlas Linguistique* de Gilliéron et Edmont.

[2]) *Revue des patois gallo-romans*, V, 322.

[3]) *L'unité phonétique dans le patois d'une commune*, dans *Aus romanischen Sprachen und Literaturen*, Festgabe für Heinrich Morf (1905), p. 19.

[4]) Voici une phrase de Rousselot: „La place de l'accent dans une diphtongue n'est pas immuable; elle varie suivant les dialectes, pour des raisons particulières où entrent des considérations phonétiques et psychologiques. J'ai l'occasion d'observer à la campagne une pendule dont le balancier bat un coup fort et grave, et un autre plus grêle et plus aigu: selon que je dirige mon attention, je mets l'accent sur l'un ou sur l'autre des deux coups" *(Revue de phonétique*, III, 73).

[5]) *La généalogie des mots qui désignent l'abeille*, p. 200.

„savante". L'article de Brüch sur le développement de *i* après *au* [1]) montre à quels tours de force on doit parfois se livrer pour rendre compte de l'existence de deux doublets, afin d'échapper à la nécessité d'admettre que tous deux étaient propres au même dialecte. Dans un intéressant article sur les *Alternances phonétiques en picard* [2]) M. N. Dupire a signalé plusieurs doublets (*-eaus-iaus, w gw, ka cha*, etc.), mais il ne dit pas clairement comment il considère le rapport entre eux. Les explique-t-il par l'influence du français sur le dialecte et inversement ? Il semble admettre que *gw* à côté de *w* vient au picard du français, mais, d'autre part, d'après lui, l'alternance de *wi* et *ẅi* n'est pas surprenante, parce que „les deux sons sont voisins" ; cela veut-il dire que, pour ces doublets-ci, il croit à une double forme picarde ? Nous lisons dans l'importante étude de l'abbé Rabiet sur le *Patois de Bourberain* [3]) : „Pour *ó* et *ó* + *y* l'existence de doublets est parfaitement démontrée, non seulement pour les enclitiques, mais même pour les substantifs ; seulement, à partir d'une certaine époque qui ne paraît pas être bien ancienne, le patois a cherché à se débarrasser de ce luxe un peu encombrant. Généralement c'est la forme accentuée qui a triomphé. On trouve cependant encore un certain nombre de substantifs qui ont conservé les deux formes. Quant aux adjectifs et aux adverbes-prépositions, les doublets primitifs sont encore bien vivants". Cependant, pourquoi considère-t-il, à la page suivante, des mots de la langue usuelle comme *bœuf, œuf, sœur* qui, dans le patois, ont *ö*, comme des emprunts au français ? Mais il est inutile d'insister ici sur les explications dialectales qu'on a proposées pour rendre compte de deux formes concurrentes ; la suite de ce travail en fournira d'autres exemples, ainsi que de l'abus qu'on a fait de la soi-disant origine „savante" d'un des deux doublets.

Afin d'exclure la possibilité qu'un des doublets que nous étudions, ait été introduit du dehors, nous nous servirons exclusivement de formes qui appartiennent au français de l'Ile-de-France, car, dans ce milieu considéré de bonne heure comme „supérieur" par ceux qui parlaient un autre dialecte — on se rappelle les vers de Conon de Béthune — on ne peut guère s'attendre à trouver des prononciations qui viennent d'un autre parler ; d'ailleurs, l'emprunt de mots dialectaux a dû y être très restreint ; Darmesteter l'a constaté [4]). Quand on trouve des doublets à Paris, ils doivent y être autochtones, à moins qu'il s'agisse d'un mot isolé, exprimant un objet introduit de la province. Aussi je ne saurais souscrire aux paroles de Philipon [5]) : „Dans un grand nombre de cas et notamment lorsqu'il se manifeste à l'occasion de mots différents, le mélange de formes phonétiques n'est que la conséquence des emprunts dialectaux qui ont

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[1]) *Ueber die Entstehung von i aus k' nach o, au im Französischen*, dans *Zeitschrift f. roman. Philol.*, XXXVI, 312.

[2]) *Romania*, LIII, 151.

[3]) *Revue des patois-gallo-romans*, II, 261.

[4]) *Traité de la formation du français*, p. 28.

[5]) *Romania*, XLV, 425.

contribué, dans une si large mesure, à la formation du français littéraire". Il est évident que, comme aujourd'hui, il a dû y avoir autrefois parmi les habitants de Paris beaucoup de provinciaux, mais leur prononciation a dû être considérée toujours comme „inférieure", de sorte qu'ils n'ont pas pu la communiquer aux Parisiens.

§ 2. Sur les matériaux utilisés

Deux conditions s'imposaient donc à nous dans le choix de nos matériaux. D'une part, comme les doublets sont plus fréquents à mesure qu'on remonte plus haut (voir ci-dessus, p. 6), nous avions à en chercher qui remontent au-delà du XVIe siècle, date où la plupart disparaissent, chaque mot uniformisant sa forme en adoptant une des deux prononciations en présence, à moins que le choix n'eût déjà été fait plus tôt. D'autre part, il fallait s'adresser à des textes non-dialectaux ; or, il est difficile d'en trouver avant le XIVe siècle ; nous n'avons donc pas pu remonter plus haut que la fin du XIIIe. A cette époque, la langue écrite n'a pas encore la fixité qu'elle a prise peu à peu et qu'elle a déjà atteinte au XVe siècle. En outre, il fallait prendre surtout des textes non-littéraires ; bien que nous n'ayons pas pu exclure les œuvres de fiction, nous avons, pour nous rapprocher de la langue spontanée, choisi des textes en prose, et de préférence des traités ou des documents. La diversité des graphies qu'on trouve dans ces manuscrits a quelque chose d'ahurissant ; sous ce rapport, le texte de la *Chirurgie* de Mondeville bat le record ; le même mot, dans le même paragraphe, s'orthographie souvent de deux ou de trois manières différentes, au point qu'on se demande si cette variété n'est pas voulue et si le copiste n'a pas voulu faire preuve d'élégance en multipliant les formes. Mais comme il y a des sons qu'il rend toujours de la même manière, nous sommes bien certains que les orthographes diverses qu'il emploie pour d'autres correspondent bien à des différences de prononciation que le copiste entendait autour de lui et, peut-être, dans sa langue individuelle. C'est, d'ailleurs, un fait qu'on observe souvent ; le Ms. A. d'*Eneas* emploie parfois dans le même vers ou à un vers de distance deux orthographes pour le même mot (par exemple au vers 8151). Et c'est le cas aussi bien pour les doublets „chronologiques" que pour les autres que nous étudions ici.

Le caractère français une fois dûment constaté, nous avons poursuivi les sons étudiés dans les grammairiens du XVIe siècle (d'après Thurot), dans quelques spécimens de la langue parlée et dans les dialectes anciens et les patois modernes.

Voici les textes que nous avons surtout utilisés :

V *La Châtelaine de Vergi*, éd. Foulet, Ms. C.

Ch Chartes I, II, dans Schwan-Behrens, *Grammaire de l'anc. français*, III.

Br Brunetto Latini, *Le Trésor*, éd. Chabaille (Ms. de 1284 ; cf. Suchier, *Voyelles toniques*, p. 6).

Qa *Les Quatre âges de l'homme*, éd. de Fréville (même ms. que le précédent).
Boi Etienne Boileaue, *Le Livre des Mestiers*, publié par Lespinasse et Bonnardot, Paris, 1879 (Ms. du XIII[e] siècle).
Q *La Queste du Graal*, éd. Pauphilet (Ms. K du XIII[e] siècle).
M *La Chirurgie* de Mondeville, éd. Bos (1314).
N Philippe de Novare, *Mémoires*, éd. Kohler (1343).
T *Le Roman de Troie en prose*, éd. Constans-Foulet.
D Eustache Deschamps, éd. Raynaud.
Do *Documents relatifs à l'histoire de l'industrie et du commerce*, publiés par G. Fagniez, XIV[e] et XV[e] siècles *(Collection de textes pour servir à l'étude et à l'enseignement de l'histoire)*. Je n'y ai pris que les documents écrits à Paris.
Pa Le Roux de Lincy et Tisserand, *Paris et ses historiens*, 1867.
Bo *Le Journal d'un bourgeois de Paris*, éd. Tuetey (1405—1449).
H *Le Débat des hérauts d'armes*, éd. Pannier (1456).
Tr *Les Grands Traités de la Guerre de Cent Ans*, publiés par E. Cosneau (*Collection de textes, etc.*).
Mol Molière, *Don Juan*, A. II, S. 3 ; *Médecin malgré lui*, A. I, S. 4 (Cf. Dauzat, *Les Patois*, p. 37 et suiv.).
Ni Nisard, *Etude sur le langage populaire ou patois de Paris et de sa banlieue*, Paris, 1872.

§ 3. Sur les doublets étudiés ici

Dans les pages qui suivent seuls un certain nombre parmi les doublets phonétiques seront étudiés : nous avons choisi ceux qui s'expliquent par une double accentuation de la diphtongue issue de voyelles latines toniques et libres.

B. LA DIPHTONGAISON FRANÇAISE

§ 1. Allongement des voyelles libres en français

Depuis le début des études romanes on a admis qu'en syllabe accentuée ouverte les voyelles latines, indépendamment de leur quantité en latin, se sont allongées. Corssen [1]) avait dit : „Dès la deuxième moitié du III[e] siècle

[1]) *Aussprache des Latein*[2], II, 943.

après J.-C. les syllabes accentuées, dans la règle, deviennent longues, les atones brèves". Schuchardt précise [1]) et admet le principe de l'allongement en syllabe ouverte accentuée, de l'abrègement en syllabe tonique entravée et en syllabe atone. Sur la date de ce phénomène, les avis sont partagés : Schuchardt l'appelle „latin vulgaire" [2]) ; Pogatscher [3]), s'appuyant sur les mots latins empruntés en anglo-saxon, ne le juge pas antérieur au VIe siècle ; Meyer-Lübke est du même avis et admet le VIe ou le commencement du VIIe siècle [4]). Schuchardt a décrit le développement ultérieur des voyelles allongées ȩ et ǫ, devenant *ie, uo* par la scission de la voyelle longue en deux : *ȩȩ, ǫǫ*, suivie d'une dissimilation.

Cette explication a été généralement adoptée, mais elle a été rejetée par Juret, dans un article intitulé : *Transformation de voyelles latines accentuées* [5]), où il nie l'allongement des voyelles romanes et où il attribue la diphtongaison de *ȩ, ǫ, ẹ, ọ* et le changement de *à* en e à l'influence de la voyelle finale, devenue plus fermée en roman ; il y voit donc une espèce d' „Umlaut". Cette explication a été réfutée par J. Ronjat dans une étude appelée : *Accent, quantité et diphtongaison en roman et ailleurs* [6]). Il est inutile de reproduire ici en entier son argumentation : je ne sache pas que l'opinion de Juret a trouvé des défenseurs, mais je relève dans son article quelques points de détail. Juret ne fait pas de distinction nette entre voyelles libres et voyelles entravées : dans une des premières phrases de son article il dit qu' „on enseigne généralement que les diphtongaisons de ȩ, ǫ résultent d'un allongement de la voyelle sous l'influence de l'accent d'intensité" ; or, ce qu'on enseigne, c'est que les voyelles libres se sont allongées, et, exceptionnellement, les voyelles entravées. Tout ce qu'il concède, c'est que la circonstance que la tonique se trouvait dans une syllabe fermée a pu être défavorable à l' „Umlaut" (p. 148), ce qui certainement est une expression bien faible pour le fait que la diphtongaison est la règle uniquement pour les voyelles libres. A mon avis, pour qu'une explication de la diphtongaison soit acceptable, elle doit tenir pleinement compte de cette condition à laquelle elle est liée. Un autre problème, d'une portée très vaste, que soulève l'article de Juret, est celui de savoir si les voyelles brèves peuvent se diphtonguer ; il est obligé de l'admettre parce que, d'après lui, la diphtongaison est indépendante de l'allongement, donc ne s'attaque pas exclusivement aux voyelles longues.

A priori, il est évident que, pour pouvoir devenir diphtongue, une voyelle

[1]) *Vokalismus des Vulgärlatein*, II, 328; III, 333.

[2]) *Ibidem*, I, 463 n: „....le vocalisme du latin vulgaire, qui reconnait la quantité comme première condition des changements des voyelles".

[3]) *Zur Lautlehre der griechischen, lateinischen und romanischen Lehnwörter im Altenglischen* (1888), p. 44 et suiv.

[4]) *Grammaire des langues romanes*, I, § 636; *Einführung in das Studium der romanischen Sprachen*, 2e édition, p. 120.

[5]) *Bulletin de la Société de Linguistique*, XXIII, 138.

[6]) *Ibidem*, XXIV, 356.

doit avoir une certaine longueur ; il est vrai, comme le dit Ronjat (p. 360) „en matière de durée il peut y avoir des degrés très divers" ; encore faut-il que, pour pouvoir se scinder en deux, la voyelle soit plus longue qu'une autre qui reste homogène [1]). D'après Sweet [2]) la „diphtongaison isolée ou scission de voyelle affecte surtout les voyelles longues, évidemment à cause de la difficulté de prolonger la même position sans changement", et, plus loin, il dit : „comme la diphtongaison est particulière aux voyelles longues". P. Passy s'exprime en ces termes [3]) : „Les diphtongues les plus nombreuses proviennent du dédoublement des voyelles longues", et, d'après cela, nous sommes en droit de croire qu'il considère l'allongement comme la condition *sine qua non* de la diphtongaison ; s'il parle des „diphtongues les plus nombreuses", c'est qu'il oppose aux diphtongues spontanées — les seules dont je parle — celles, par exemple, qui proviennent de la rencontre de deux voyelles. De même Schuchardt, dans le passage déjà cité, dit expressément que „*ĕ* et *ŏ* ne pouvaient devenir diphtongues qu'après avoir été allongés". Plus près de nous, M. Grandgent [4]), M. Ford [5]) et Mlle Richter [6]) sont du même avis ; la dernière dit : „Dans tous les cas, la diphtongaison suppose l'allongement de la syllabe".

Par contre, Juret, pour prouver la possibilité de la diphtongaison de voyelles brèves, s'appuya sur un article de M. Axel Kock, qui a montré pour le vieux suédois que certaines syllabes où se trouvent les voyelles diphtonguées sont brèves. Je fais remarquer, d'abord, qu'il est dangereux de se servir d'un phénomène d'une langue germanique pour rendre compte d'un fait linguistique roman avec lequel il présente une certaine analogie, et que la question n'est pas de savoir si la syllabe où se trouve la diphtongue est brève : elle a pu le devenir par la consonnification d'un des deux éléments ; Passy qui, comme nous l'avons vu, était persuadé que seules les voyelles longues se diphtonguent, dit aussi : „La plupart des diphtongues équivalent à une voyelle longue ; ceci toutefois n'est pas du tout nécessaire : rien n'empêche d'en prononcer les éléments si rapidement que l'ensemble

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[1]) M. Roudet, *Eléments de phonétique générale*, p. 294, dit: „Le ralentissement de la tension ou de la détente se produit plus facilement dans une voyelle longue que dans une voyelle brève"; il semble donc admettre que la voyelle brève peut se diphtonguer aussi; mais en réalité, ce „ralentissement" n'amène-t-il pas forcément un allongement de la voyelle? Il semble, en effet, que, si la diphtongue n'est autre chose que la combinaison de la voyelle avec une autre qui est le développement d'un de ses deux éléments accessoires, soit la tension, soit la détente, cette extension de la valeur d'un de ces deux éléments n'est explicable que dans une voyelle dont la durée est assez prolongée pour permettre que, soit la tension, soit la détente, puisse être perçue séparément de la voyelle à laquelle elles appartiennent.

[2]) *History of English sounds*, p. 21.

[3]) *Etude sur les changements phonétiques*, p. 191 (cf. p. 196).

[4]) *An introduction to Vulgar Latin*, p. 77.

[5]) Voir *Homenaje a Menéndez Pidal*, II, 30.

[6]) *Der innere Zusammenhang in der Entwickelung der roman. Sprachen* (Prinzipienfragen der roman. Sprachwissenschaft Meyer-Lübke gewidmet, II, 115).

ait seulement la valeur d'une voyelle brève". On ne doit pas confondre le résultat (diphtongue) avec la genèse de la diphtongue [1]).

Ce qui a contribué à faire croire à la diphtongaison de voyelles brèves, c'est que, dans certaines parties de la Romania, des voyelles „entravées" ont été diphtonguées. Et c'est, sans doute, ce fait qui explique les réserves de Rousselot [2]) : „On conçoit que la diphtongaison spontanée soit surtout favorisée par la longueur de la syllabe ; aussi les voyelles entravées, plus courtes que les voyelles libres, ont-elles été plus rarement diphtonguées que ces dernières". C'est aussi à cause de cette diphtongaison de voyelles entravées en roman que M. A. W. de Groot [3]) nie que la durée de la syllabe soit un élément décisif dans la diphtongaison ; du moins, il ne cite que des exemples roumains et espagnols. Il admet qu' „entre la diphtongaison et la durée de la syllabe il y a une corrélation, mais non pas une correspondance nécessaire" ; cette correspondance, d'après lui, „n'existe, en effet, que dans une partie du territoire roman, et il semble bien qu'en partant des phénomènes que l'on y a observés, plus spécialement en français, on a eu tort de généraliser". Si je comprends bien le sens de cette phrase, un peu ambiguë, M. de Groot accepte donc, pour le français, l'allongement comme cause de la diphtongaison, et non pas pour le wallon, l'espagnol et le roumain, qui présentent la diphtongaison de voyelles entravées. De sorte que, si l'on réussissait à trouver pour ce dernier phénomène une explication qui ne soit pas en contradiction avec la théorie de l'allongement, il ne verrait pas d'objection à admettre cette dernière. Lui-même, en attribuant la diphtongaison au „rythme" de la syllabe, reconnait que „cette tendance à la diphtongaison peut être enrayée ou contrariée par des conditions spéciales ou par des tendances inverses" ; parmi ces conditions il nomme „la brièveté de la voyelle, qui rend la différence physiologiquement difficile". Tout dépend donc de la possibilité d'expliquer la diphtongaison des voyelles entravées romanes là où elle se présente. Dans une étude intitulée *Syllabes ouvertes et syllabes fermées en roman* [4]), j'ai essayé de montrer que 1. parmi les syllabes appelées „fermées" il y en avait plusieurs qui sont plutôt „ouvertes" ; 2. que la diphtongaison de ė et ǫ en wallon est un phénomène essentiellement progressif [5]) ; 3. que l'espagnol permet aussi de marquer une succession dans la diphtongaison. Je n'y ai pas parlé du roumain ni du rétoroman, où rien n'empêche d'admettre la même explication ; dans l'ensemble des

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[1]) Cf. Sweet, *o. l.* p. 22: „Of course it is possible to make the glide-element of a diphtong so short that the whole combination can be regarded as the equivalent of a short vowel."

[2]) *Revue des patois galloromans*, V, 317.

[3]) *La syllabe*, dans *Bulletin de la Soc. de Ling.*, XXVI, 15.

[4]) *Homenaje a Menéndez Pidal*, 1924, p. 641.

[5]) Je cite encore les paroles de B. Ten Brink, dans *Dauer und Klang*, p. 18 n., d'après lesquelles „la diphtongaison récente („späteren") de *ė* entravé en wallon" frappe non pas une voyelle longue, mais une voyelle qui s'allonge.

dialectes rétoromans, tels que nous les présente Gartner [1]), les exemples les plus nombreux sont ceux qui, d'après ma façon de voir, présentent la diphtongaison de ẹ, ọ en syllabe „ouverte".

Mais ce n'est pas ici le lieu de reprendre cette argumentation. Je me borne à constater que, jusqu'à présent, on n'a pas encore proposé pour la diphtongaison romane une autre explication aussi satisfaisante que celle de l'allongement, et que si, plus une hypothèse explique de faits, plus elle a de chances d'être conforme à la réalité, la théorie de l'allongement mérite vraiment d'être prise au sérieux. La suite de cette étude, surtout le chapitre de a, pourra contribuer à l'étayer davantage.

§ 2. Sur une accentuation double des diphtongues françaises

Afin de déterminer si les diphtongues qui résultaient de l'allongement des voyelles libres étaient ascendantes ou descendantes, je me suis servi de ce fait que, dans les diphtongues, c'est plutôt l'élément non accentué qui se différencie. M. van Ginneken [2]), après avoir énuméré plusieurs exemples de diphtongaison, conclut : „Tous ces cas présentent ce point de ressemblance que la deuxième voyelle, à cause de son accent, dominait toujours et se subordonnait la première par différenciation". Et Roudet (*o.l.*, p. 203) s'exprime ainsi : „Une des articulations, celle dont la représentation est la moins intense, est remplacée par une articulation voisine". Il me semble donc que, de même que, dans *divinum*, c'est le premier *i*, non accentué, qui par dissimilation devient *e* muet *(devin)*, il est permis de supposer que, si *ẹ̀ẹ́* devient *iẹ́*, c'est parce que le premier élément de la diphtongue était atone.

Je ne crois pas, cependant, qu'on puisse faire une règle absolue de cette relation entre dissimilation et accent ; ainsi, quand en anglais, en allemand et en hollandais un *i* devient *ei*, *ai*, *oi*, il est difficile de supposer que chacune de ces étapes a dû être précédée d'un déplacement de l'accent. Mais d'autre part, le fait de ne pas porter l'accent ayant dû rendre une voyelle plus apte à se dissimiler, le changement d'un des éléments d'une diphtongue peut faire soupçonner qu'il ne portait pas l'accent, et, pour peu que cette supposition trouve un appui dans d'autres considérations, elle peut, à son tour, augmenter la force de ces dernières.

L'hypothèse qu'on essayera de justifier dans les pages qui suivent, est que les diphtongues issues des voyelles latines libres ont eu un accent très mobile. A priori, cela est vraisemblable, les deux voyelles étant identiques à l'origine ; Jespersen [3]) a insisté sur le fait que, pour que l'accent puisse

[1]) *Raetoromanische Grammatik*, p. 41 et suiv., 49 et suiv.
[2]) *Principes de linguistique psychologique*, p. 395.
[3]) *Lehrbuch der Phonetik*, p. 211.

être mobile, il faut que les deux voyelles aient la même sonorité, ou à peu près. Afin de m'assurer, dès l'abord, un appui, j'en ai cherché un dans des diphtongues plus récentes qui, mieux que les diphtongues anciennes, nous renseignent sur la manière dont elles ont évolué : on trouvera le résultat de ces recherches dans le Chapitre II. On y verra qu'elles présentent des hésitations (exemples : *ui, iu*), ou bien une lutte entre forces contraires. Parmi celles-ci, citons d'une part la tendance de l'élément le plus sonore à attirer l'accent, d'autre part celle du français à placer l'accent sur le dernier élément du groupe. Mais ce ne sont pas les seules, et il nous semble que, parmi les causes qui ont déterminé la place de l'accent dans les diphtongues, les conditions phonétiques jouent un rôle important. Quoi qu'il en soit, nous avons en quelque sorte appliqué à un passé plus éloigné ce que nous constations dans des périodes plus voisines de nous.

CHAPITRE I

DIPHTONGUES ANCIENNES

A. DOUBLETS DE *A* LATIN LIBRE TONIQUE

Il sera utile, avant d'aborder le problème de la genèse de ces doublets, de discuter la nature du changement de *a* latin libre tonique en français.

§ 1. Sur la diphtongaison de a libre tonique

Comment faut-il s'expliquer le changement de *a* libre tonique en *e*, changement que présentent le français, des dialectes du nord de l'Italie et des dialectes rétoromans ? Cet *e*, est-il le résultat d'une diphtongaison ou d'une simple palatalisation ? Les avis sont partagés et, même parmi les savants qui croient à la théorie de l'allongement et du dédoublement dont il a été question plus haut, il y en a qui n'admettent pas que *a* s'est comporté de la même façon que *ẹ*, *ǫ*, *é* [1]).

Dès 1879, B. Ten Brink, dans sa brochure bien connue *Dauer und Klang*, s'exprimait ainsi (p. 15) : „Récemment, Böhmer a formulé l'hypothèse d'après laquelle la fermeture de *a* latin non en position suppose une diphtongaison préalable de ce son, donc *ai*, et Koschwitz, Lücking, Neumann et d'autres y ont adhéré ... Les arguments qu'on a fait valoir en faveur de cette supposition ne me paraissent pas fondés". Comme sa critique prend comme point de départ et attaque uniquement l'étape hypothétique *ai*, il est inutile de la reproduire ; en effet, elle tombe si l'on admet comme intermédiaire entre *a* et *e* la diphtongue *ae*. Dans l'article de Ronjat, cité plus haut, l'altération de *a* en *e* est appelée un „avancement", et nous y lisons (p. 372) : „La tendance à avancement est indéniable en français, et la fréquence des articulations antérieures y est un des traits essentiels du système phonique". Il cite à ce propos la palatalisation de *u* latin en *ü*, et nomme le néerlandais, qui semble aussi tendre à avancer certains points d'articulation. J'avoue que je ne vois pas en quoi une tendance à la palatalisation du hollandais pourrait servir d'argument en faveur d'un phénomène analogue en français, et je préfère expliquer les faits phonétiques du français par des analogies romanes plutôt que

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[1]) Je ne nomme pas encore *ó*, dont l'évolution demande aussi à être examinée à part.

germaniques [1]). Quant au rapprochement que Ronjat établit entre le changement de *u* latin en *ü* et celui de *a* latin en *e*, je constate d'abord que le dernier est limité à *a* accentué et libre, du moins en français [2]), tandis que *u* devient *ü* dans toutes les positions : il s'agit donc de deux phénomènes qui sont trop différents pour que l'explication de l'un puisse étayer celle qu'on proposerait pour l'autre. Et enfin, cette „tendance à l'avancement", qui semble „indéniable" à Ronjat, me paraît bien douteuse : il ne cite pas *ō* latin devenant *ö* et, en effet, comme nous le verrons, ici encore ce n'est pas à une palatalisation, mais au changement d'une diphtongue qu'on a affaire ; or, quels pourraient être les autres témoignages en faveur de la tendance palatalisatrice du français ? S'il arrive qu'en français une voyelle devient plus palatale, cela s'explique toujours — sauf le cas de *u* — par les circonstances phonétiques spéciales où se trouve le son. Nyrop (I, § 149) rapproche, lui aussi, le changement de *a* de celui de *u* : il n'admet la diphtongaison que pour *é*, *ó* et *é*. C'est Ascoli [3]) le premier qui a établi un parallèle entre les destinées de *a* et de *u*.

M. Bourciez [4]) laisse la question indécise : „L'*a* s'est obscurci (?) en *e*, soit par l'intermédiaire d'un *ä* très ouvert, soit par une série a^a, a^e, *è*", et M. Meyer-Lübke [5]) dit : „Il n'est guère possible d'indiquer les étapes intermédiaires entre *a* et *e*".

La théorie de la diphtongaison, ainsi que nous l'avons vu plus haut dans la phrase de Ten Brink, a trouvé de bonne heure des défenseurs. Citons encore Havet [6]), qui, parlant de *ie* issu de *a*, établit la série : *$^a a$, aa, aè, èè*, et G. Paris [7]), qui s'exprime ainsi : „J'admets pour les transformations de *a* latin en français le point de départ que M. Havet a fixé pour l'origine des diphtongaisons romanes : *a* (bref ou long) a donné *aa*, puis par réfraction *ae* ; *ae* s'est maintenu devant les nasales, mais en y devenant *ai* (*maent* s'est conservé dans *Eulalie*)". Goidánich [8]), qui cite aussi le compte rendu, par Foerster, de la *Lettera glottologica* d'Ascoli, admet, non seulement la

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[1]) Je me permets de citer ici les paroles de Franck, *Mittelniederländische Grammatik*, VIII: "Die Erklärungen sind von innen heraus versucht worden. Man muss sich in den Geist eines grösseren Sprachkomplexes hineinleben und darf keine seiner Eigentümlichkeiten ausser Acht lassen, wenn man seine Erscheinungen deuten will. Es gibt immer noch Leute, denen man das vorhalten muss, indem sie mit der eilfertigen Anwendung irgendwoher herbeigeschleppter Analogien etwas rechtes getan zu haben meinen".

[2]) Je reviendrai plus loin sur cette restriction.

[3]) *Una lettera glottologica*, I, 33. Citons l'argument que Juret (*art. cité*, p. 140) fait valoir contre la diphtongaison, et qui consiste en la prétendue absence de formes telles que *nae* intermédiaires entre *natum* et *né*; nous verrons que ces formes ont existé.

[4]) *Eléments de linguistique romane*, § 158.

[5]) *Histor. Grammatik des Franz.*, p. 65.

[6]) *Romania*, VI, 323.

[7]) *Ibidem*, VII, 124.

[8]) *La dittongazione romanza* (Beiheft zur *Zs. für rom. Philol.*, No. 5), 1907, p. 40 et suiv., et 65.

scission de *a*, mais il va jusqu'à supposer, à la place de a^e une triphtongue $^ea^e$, qui — de même que *iei* devenant i — se serait monophtongué en *e*, sauf devant nasale où (dans *chien*) le premier *e* serait devenu voyelle, et (dans *-ain*) le second. Cette explication ingénieuse a le défaut de ne pas rendre compte du changement de *a* dans *-ien*, et d'introduire le concept nouveau d'une tripartition spontanée qui ne se rencontre pas dans le développement d'autres voyelles françaises ; les triphtongues qui ont existé en français ne sont pas spontanées et sont dues à la présence de consonnes palatales. D'après P. Marchot [1]) *a* se serait allongé et dédoublé en *ää*, sauf devant nasale et devant palatale, qui auraient empêché l'évolution du premier élément vocalique *(maän, maai, faait)*. Enfin, tout récemment M. Wallensköld [2]) informait ses lecteurs que M. Viggo Brøndal lui a fait savoir qu'il est enclin à admettre un commencement de diphtongaison de *a* en a^e, et „que de cette diphtongue embryonnaire seraient sortis d'une part la voyelle *e* (par contraction) et d'autre part les diphtongues *ai* devant nasale et *ie* après palatale".

Comme, depuis longtemps, je suis convaincu que c'est, en effet, là la solution du problème, je voudrais relever tous les arguments qui militent en sa faveur et qui, bien entendu, ne sont pas tous nouveaux ; pourtant il sera utile de les mettre ensemble, aussi bien ceux qu'on connaît que ceux qui, jusqu'à présent, n'ont pas encore été utilisés.

Seul a *libre accentué devient* e *en français*

J'ai déjà relevé ce fait, qui me semble d'une importance capitale. En effet, toute l'évolution des voyelles françaises *ẹ, ọ, ę, ǫ* repose sur la différence de traitement entre voyelles libres et entravées, toniques et atones, les premières s'étant allongées et les autres non. Si *i* et *u* ne se diphtonguent pas dans cette position, ce n'est pas parce qu'ils ont pu se soustraire à l'allongement, qui a dû s'appliquer à toutes les voyelles, mais parce que, en français, contrairement aux langues germaniques et à quelques parlers du sud de l'Italie [3]), ou bien cet allongement n'a pas amené de dédoublement ou bien *i* et *u*, après être devenus *ii, uu*, se sont de nouveau monophtongués. La phrase de Ronjat (*art. cité*, p. 374) : „En résumé, on diphtongue de préférence des voyelles de petite aperture, tantôt des voyelles d'aperture moyenne, rarement la voyelle à aperture maximale *a*" ne saurait servir d'argument contre la diphtongaison de *a* en français, car, d'abord, elle repose sur la négation de cette diphtongaison, qu'il aurait fallu commencer par rendre inacceptable, et puis elle s'appuie sur la diphtongaison de *i, u* en germanique, qui naturellement n'a aucune force probante pour le français. D'ailleurs, plus loin il dit : „La diphtongaison romane atteint principalement les voyelles d'aperture moyenne *e, o*, la germanique les extrêmes *i, u, ü*".

Ce n'est pas en français seul que *a* ne devient *e* que quand il est libre ;

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[1]) *Petite phonétique du français prélittéraire* (Fribourg, 1901), I, 30.

[2]) *Les Serments de Strasbourg*, dans *Philologische Studien aus dem romanisch-germanischen Kulturkreise, Karl Voretzsch dargebracht*, 1927, p. 93.

[3]) Bertoni, *Italia dialettale*, § 103, II.

Walberg [1]) constate le même fait à Celerina, Bertoni (*o.l.*, § 25) [2]) dit que, dans les dialectes italo-gallo-latins, *a* se change en *e* „surtout quand il est libre et souvent uniquement dans certaines positions phonétiques (voisinage de consonnes palatales)" ; à Arezzo (§ 81) *a* libre devient *ä*, „phénomène par lequel l'arétin se rapproche des dialectes émiliens-romagnols et plus spécialement du groupe central (bolognais-imolais) en tant que *ä* se produit aussi devant une nasale ; *ä* va jusqu'à Perugia" ; dans les Marches et l'Ombrie (§ 82) *e* pour *a* se rencontre aussi devant *nt*, *lc* ; à Pesaro „généralement en syllabe libre, mais dans plusieurs endroits *e* n'est pas inconnu en position" ; à Montalto il y a une diphtongue *äa* ; dans les Abruzzes et à Naples *e* se développe isolément (§ 103). Il résulte de ces données qu'en Italie *a* ne devient qu'exceptionnellement *e* en position entravée, et il en est de même en rétoroman [3]) ; ces exceptions s'expliquent sans doute par l'analogie, à moins que parfois il ne s'agisse d'une véritable palatalisation, due à des sons environnants : l'essentiel pour nous, c'est que dans le changement de *a* en *e* la position, libre ou entravée, est un élément dont il faut tenir compte.

Correspondance entre a > e *et* e > ei

Nous constatons cette correspondance dans les dialectes du nord de l'Italie. „Diphtongaison de *é* en syllabe libre à Gênes, en Piémont et dans l'Emilia, comme en français et en ladin : cet *ei* accompagne *e* de *a* jusqu'à Arezzo" (Bertoni, § 32). Il est difficile d'admettre que ce parallélisme soit dû au hasard et, puisque *ei* est certainement le résultat d'une diphtongaison, il est probable que c'est aussi le cas de *a* devenant *e*.

Sort de a *libre devant nasale et devant palatale*

Dans ces deux positions *a* s'est diphtongué sans nul doute ; or, de quel droit séparerait-on le développement de *a* libre en *e* de celui qu'il suit devant une nasale ou derrière une palatale ? La comparaison avec *è*, *ò*, *é* libres toniques qui, tous, ont suivi, en entier ou en partie, la même voie, qu'ils fussent, ou non, placés devant une nasale ou derrière ou devant une palatale, nous oblige à ne pas attribuer à *a* dans ces positions un traitement spécial. M. Ronjat (*art. cité*, p. 373) est bien obligé de le faire : „Devant nasale il y a diphtongaison conditionnée de *a*". Mais alors, pour lui les diphtongues de *bien*, *plein*, *buen*, doivent aussi être le résultat d'une diphtongaison conditionnée par la nasale, tandis que celle de *pied*, *rei*, *buef*, serait spontanée ; car ou bien la nasale a la force de diphtonguer la voyelle qui précède, ou bien elle ne possède pas cette force ; mais, si elle exerce cette influence sur *a*, il serait arbitraire de la nier pour *è*, *é*, *ò*. D'ailleurs, je ne sache pas qu'avant Ronjat, personne ait été d'avis qu'en roman la nasale

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[1]) *Saggio sulla fonetica del parlare di Celerina-Cresta*, p. 7.

[2]) Bertoni parle de "palatalisation" de *a*, mais c'est ce que fait aussi Goidànich, qui pourtant croit à la scission de cette voyelle.

[3]) Gartner, *Raetoromanische Grammatik*, § 27: "*ar* strebt vom Rhein angefangen bis zur Piave im Allgemeinen nach *ér*, *ir*, und zwar seltener vor einem unmittelbar darauf folgenden Konsonanten". Cf. § 28.

peut amener une voyelle à se diphtonguer. On l'a prétendu aussi pour la palatale, et j'ai dit autre part [1]) pourquoi il m'est impossible de l'admettre.

Il est donc nécessaire, pour qu'une explication soit valable pour *a* devenant *e*, qu'elle s'applique aussi à *an* devenant *ain*, et à *ca* devenant *chié*. Or, cela n'est possible que quand on admet que *a* s'est diphtongué ; ce n'est que par la diphtongaison qu'on peut ramener l'évolution de *a* libre tonique, quelles que soient les consonnes environnantes et quel que soit le résultat final, à cette unité que postule le traitement de *ẹ*, *ọ*, *é*.

Changement de a *en* ie *dans* tiel

Il sera question de ces formes dans le Chapitre II : elles non plus ne s'expliquent qu'en admettant que *a* s'est diphtongué.

Orthographes anciennes [2])

On trouve 1. *ae* dans *ponaer (Gloses de Reichenau* [3]), *maent (Eul.)*, *pensaerz (S. Léger)*, *praez (Voy. de Charl.)* : 2. *ee* dans *peer (Jonas*, *Voy. de Charl.)*, *peert (Comput)*, *neez beer degreez (Voy. de Charl.)*, *eet seet bechieer* (Phil. de Taon, *Bestiaire)*, *enoreez neez mueer (Benoit)*, *aveez (Gorm. et Is.)*. On considère généralement cette orthographe comme anglo-normande, mais sa présence dans *Jonas* prouve qu'à une époque ancienne elle est aussi française.

La voyelle issue de a *libre n'assone d'abord qu'avec elle-même*

Le fait que e de *a* ne rime ni avec *é* (de *ĭ* latin entravé) ni avec *ẹ* (de *ĕ* latin entravé) n'a pas encore trouvé une explication satisfaisante. La différence de quantité invoquée par Ten Brink (*o.l.*, p. 24) ne saurait rendre compte de cet exclusivisme, vu que la quantité ne joue qu'un rôle secondaire en français, et la supposition que e de *a* aurait été plus ouvert que *ẹ* [4]) ou plus fermé que *é* (Suchier, *o.l.*, p. 45) présente cet inconvénient qu'aucun de ces deux sons hypothétiques n'existe en français : Nyrop rapproche un son suédois.

Si l'on admettait que, dans les plus anciens textes, cet *e* était encore diphtongue *(ee)*, on comprendrait qu'il n'a pu assoner avec e monophtongue, mais bien avec une diphtongue comme *eu* dans *Deu*, *Greu*, dans laquelle e était fortement accentué et qui est devenue *é (Dé, Gré)*, exactement comme *peer* devient *per*. L'autre rime de *e* issu de *a*, inexpliquée jusqu'à présent, celle avec *ere*, s'expliquerait alors aussi par une prononciation diphtonguée de *ẹ* latin dans ce dernier mot.

Graphies de a *latin libre au IXe siècle*

On a souvent signalé la contradiction qu'il y a entre les graphies des *Serments de Strasbourg (fradre*, etc.) et celles de *S. Eulalie (spede)*, qui n'en est séparée que par un demi-siècle, distance trop petite pour admettre

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[1]) *Syllabes ouvertes et syllabes fermées*, p. 643.

[2]) Voir: Koschwitz, *Ueberlieferung und Sprache der Chanson du Voyage de Charlemagne*, p. 24; Menger, *The Anglo-norman dialect*, p. 41; Stürzinger, *Orthographia gallica*, p. 40.

[3]) *Syllabes ouvertes et syllabes fermées*, p. 646.

[4]) Nyrop, *Gramm. histor.*, I, § 171.

que, dans l'intervalle, un changement aussi profond que celui de *a* en *e* se serait produit. M. Wallensköld, qui a parlé en dernier lieu de la langue des *Serments* (*o.l.*, p. 93), conclut que ou bien *a* appartient au dialecte (méridional) qui serait celui de ce document, ou bien *a* est une désignation imparfaite d'un son entre *a* et *e*, par exemple un *æ* très ouvert : il ne prend pas parti pour l'une ou l'autre de ces deux hypothèses. Nous avons déjà vu que M. Brøndal admet un commencement de diphtongaison, et, en effet, si l'on suppose que *a*, à cette époque, était *ae*, avec accent mobile, on comprend que deux textes aient pu rendre ce son de façon différente, par *a* et par *e*.

§ 2. Doublets de a latin et comment on les a expliqués

Il s'agit ici de certaines prononciations doubles dont, le plus souvent, l'une a cédé le terrain à l'autre de bonne heure.

Devant *l* : *mal mel* [1]), *chalt chielt, tal tel, pal pel, qual quel, sal sel, al el (aliud), real regiel, ostal ostel* [2]).

Devant *r* : *car quer, par (Voy. de Charl.) per.*

Dans les manuscrits que nous avons plus particulièrement étudiés (ci-dessus, p. 8) il n'y a plus que peu de mots qui présentent les deux formes :

Br *natural -el* (même page), *mortal -el.*

M *mortal -el* (même page), *verual -el, superficial -el, chenal chanel, car quer.*

On voit que, dès la fin du XIIIe siècle, la langue avait déjà fait un choix. Au XVIe on compte encore neuf adjectifs en *-al* et en *-el* (Thurot, I, 20) ; aujourd'hui, il ne reste plus que *original* et *originel* qui, d'ailleurs, se sont différenciés par leur signification. Les suffixes *-al* et *-el* sont tous les deux devenus vivants : „*-alis* affecte dans la dérivation savante les mêmes formes *-al* et *-el* que dans la dérivation populaire" [3]).

A côté de ces doublets, il y a la majorité des mots qui ont exclusivement *e*, et quelques cas où c'est *a* seul qui continue le *a* latin : 1. régulièrement devant *bl (able)*, devant consonne suivie de *yod* et devant palatale suivie de consonne [4]) ; 2. rarement devant *n (certan*, dans *Enéas*, rime avec *esturman)*. En outre il faut relever ici la diphtongue *ai* devant une nasale.

Quant aux doublets, on les a expliqués de façon diverse. Suchier (*o.l.*, p. 41), après avoir énuméré quelques mots qui présentent la graphie *a*, dit : „Ce ne sont, en partie, que des fautes de copistes ; les formes attestées par

[1]) Müller, *Chanson de Roland*, ad vs 2026.

[2]) Voir en outre: Nathan, *Das lateinische Suffix* -alis *im Französischen* (Thèse de Strasbourg), 1886; Suchier, *o.l.*, p. 41; Metzke, *Der Dialekt der Ile-de-France*, dans *Herrig's Archiv*, LXIV, 400; Settegast, *Benoît de Sainte-More*, p. 13.

[3]) Darmesteter, *De la création actuelle de mots nouveaux*, p. 190.

[4]) Voir *Syllabes ouvertes et syllabes fermées* p. 654. Marchot (*o.l.*, I., p. 30) avait déjà tiré du développement de *lectum* et *noctem* la conclusion que, dans *lactum*, *a* était libre.

la rime demandent des explications diverses". Il n'insiste pas sur ces explications. Schwan-Behrens (*l.l.*, p. 52) expliquent *mal, car,* comme des formes protoniques, *chalt, valt* comme des formes analogiques. Or, *mal,* qui est adjectif, substantif, adverbe, est certainement tonique ; on ne voit pas que des composés comme *malfaire, maldire* aient pu imposer *mal* au lieu de *mel.* Quant à *car,* de quel droit l'expliquerait-on autrement que *par (parem)* ? Quant aux formes verbales, rien ne nous autorise à admettre pour une époque aussi ancienne que celle de *Saint-Eulalie* une action des formes faibles sur les formes fortes.

Le suffixe *-al* est généralement considéré comme „savant" ; malheureusement *-el* se rencontre dans des mots empruntés au latin *(substantiel)* et *-al* dans des mots formés en français *(banal)* ; qu'on compare *spirituel* et *esperital.* Il m'est impossible de reconnaître dans la répartition des deux formes l'effet de l'origine ou de la signification des adjectifs en *-alis.*

G. Paris [1]) et Suchier (*o.l.*, p. 41) attribuent à *l* l'hésitation entre *e* et *a,* et cette explication a sur les autres le grand avantage de s'appliquer à la majorité des doublets en question ; si j'en préfère une autre, c'est que celle-ci me paraît rendre compte de tous les doublets et aussi des cas où *a* libre latin survit en français uniquement comme *a* et comme diphtongue *ai, ie.*

§ 3. Hypothèse d'une double accentuation

La coexistence de *e* et de *a* peut s'expliquer, si l'on admet que la diphtongue *aa* issue de *a* a eu l'accent sur le premier *a,* et que le second *a* s'est dissimilé en *e.* La combinaison *ae* se serait maintenue devant une nasale, en changeant *e* en *i,* de même que *ao (paraola)* s'est changé en *au* ; elle se serait monophtonguée dans les positions énumérées ci-dessus, où la langue postérieure présente un *a.* D'autre part, dans *ae,* l'accent se serait transporté sur *e,* et le premier *a,* ayant perdu l'accent, se serait changé en *e.* Il est vrai que, comme il s'agit d'une assimilation, rien n'empêcherait d'admettre que dans *ae,* le *a,* tout en gardant l'accent, se serait rapproché de *e,* mais alors on s'expliquerait difficilement que, devant nasale, *a* ne soit pas devenu également *e,* et en outre la supposition d'un déplacement de l'accent est corroborée par l'évolution des autres voyelles. Quoi qu'il en soit, la diphtongue *ee* a eu, à un moment donné, l'accent sur le deuxième *e,* car c'est par une prononciation *ee* que s'explique *ie* issu de *a* après une palatale et aussi dans les mots comme *tiel* (chap. II) ; dans le premier cas le *e* qui est contigu à la palatale s'est rapproché d'elle [2]). Dans *chien,* où les

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[1]) *Romania,* VII, 120.

[2]) La forme dialectale *ei* de *a* libre tonique fait supposer que l'accent dans *ee* a pu aussi reposer sur le premier *e.* Qu'on compare, au sujet de la description donnée ici du développement de *a,* ce que nous apprend Rousselot (*l.l.*, p. 326), suivant lequel à Cellefrouin "*lae, vae,* plus haut, aurait eu l'accent sur *a,* tandis que, plus bas, c'est le second élément qui semble l'avoir porté *(lé, vé)*".

deux influences, celle de la palatale et celle de la nasale agissent, c'est la première qui l'emporte ; cette conception est déjà celle de P. Marchot (*l.l.*)

B. DOUBLETS DE Ė ET Ò LIBRES TONIQUES

Bien que le traitement de ė et celui de ó ne soient pas nécessairement identiques (voir, par exemple, le roumain), le développement de ces deux voyelles présente en français, dans les grandes lignes, une si grande analogie que le sort de l'une peut contribuer à éclaircir les destinées de l'autre.

a. *Devant consonnes nasales*

§ 1. Les mots dont il s'agit et comment on les a expliqués

Bien ben, rien ren, vien ven, lien len.

Ben et *ren* représentent la prononciation du peuple de Paris ; *ben* est aujourd'hui général, *ren*, moins répandu, est usuel surtout dans les casernes [1]). Je ne connais pas d'explication de *ren*, mais voici comment on a essayé de rendre compte de *ben* : ce serait une forme atone de *bien*. Tel est l'avis de M. Meyer-Lübke, qui dit: „L'italien *bene* (ombr. *biene*), le roumain *bine* à côté de *ģine*, et le français *bẽ* à côté de *bien* sont les formes atones de l'adverbe, cf. *bẽ* adv. *byã* subst. en Champagne" [2]). Quant à l'italien *bene*, on sait qu'il s'en faut de beaucoup que ce soit le seul mot où en italien e ouvert latin ne s'est pas diphtongué: or, dans la plupart de ceux qui ont gardé la voyelle simple, ce n'est pas la position atone qui puisse rendre compte de la non-diphtongaison [3]). Je ne sais pas pourquoi le roum. *bine* est cité ici, à côté de la forme dialectale *ģine*: en effet *bine* et *ģine* sont des développements normaux [4]). Pour ce qui est de l'existence d'un subst. *bien* à côté d'un adv. *ben*, j'y reviendrai. M. Herzog [5]) signale, à propos de *be, bẽ, re, rẽ*, que ce sont clairement des formes atones, mais auparavant (§ 107) il avait dit: „La voyelle simple *ẽ*, provenant sans doute en partie de *ĩ*, en partie de *iẽ*, est très répandue", et il cite *rẽ, vẽ* (*viens*), *men* (*mien*), *tẽt* (*tient*), en même temps que *bẽ*, sans faire de différence entre *bẽ, rẽ* d'une

[1]) Sainéan, *Le langage parisien au XIXe siècle*, p. 90.

[2]) *Grammaire des langues romanes*, I, § 150.

[3]) D'Ovidio e Meyer-Lübke, *Grammatica storica italiana*, p. 56.

[4]) O. Densusianu, *Histoire de la langue roumaine*, II, 68: „*bine* représente la forme normale sortie du latin *bĕne* après la diphtongaison de *e*."

[5]) *Neufranzösische Dialekttexte*, § 111. C'est à tort que M. Herzog considère *boen* comme une forme primitivement protonique. Cf. e. a. *byoen* sur plusieurs points de la France.

part, *vẽ, tẽt, men* de l'autre, de sorte qu'ici il semble que, d'après lui non plus, la position atone de *bẽ, rẽ* ne soit en jeu.

Voici quelques faits qui me paraissent exclure la possibilité que *ben* soit un développement atone :

1. Tandis que les prépositions présentent souvent une voyelle qui a évolué comme si elle était placée devant l'accent *(par, sur)*, cela n'est pas le cas pour les adverbes : *peu, très, assez, voire* [1]).

2. Ce n'est que dans certaines positions que *bien* est enclitique (et *rien* ne l'est que là où le sens est devenu „pas") : personne ne prétendra que dans *Il travaille bien* le mot soit atone. La carte 131 de l'*Atlas linguistique*, dont nous aurons à parler plus loin, fournit la réponse à six phrases qui sont placées dans un ordre tel que, dans les deux premières, *bien* a plus de relief que dans les deux suivantes, tandis que, dans les deux dernières, la signification est la plus faible [2]). Or, la répartition, aux différents points de la carte, de *bien* et de *ben* n'est aucunement en rapport direct avec la force plus ou moins grande de l'accent. Je cite au hasard, dans un texte du Puy-de-Dôme [3]), les phrases suivantes (que je traduis en français) : „Il faut *ben* des hommes", „*ben* beaucoup de curés", „ça me ferait *ben* de la peine" et „Je crois *bien* que......", „.......n'est pas *bien* fameuse". Dans un texte de la Côte-d'Or [4]) je lis : „il connaissait *bien* des secrets" et „il se souvint *ben* toujours", „il vit *ben* qu'il était ensorcelé". Là-même où b e n e est devenu un simple *b*, cette réduction violente est un fait phonétique : la voyelle de *bœn* s'est dénasalisé, puis *bœ* est devenu *bə, b* : de sorte que, à Cellefrouin (Charente), dans le dialecte illustré par le regretté abbé Rousselot, non seulement on trouve *b* dans une phrase comme „Il aura *bien* peur ce coup" et „c'est *bien* toi", mais aussi dans *Eh bien* [5]) ; si, comme signification, *bə, b* est devenu une forme faible dans *bə ben* (Deux-Sèvres, *RPG*, II, 108 : Cellefrouin, *ibid.*, IV, 170), c'est une conséquence de la perte phonétique que le mot a subie. Je trouve une autre preuve du fait que la non-diphtongaison dans *ben* est indépendante de l'accent que porte le mot dans la phrase, dans des textes de langue parisienne populaire de 1649, publiés par Nisard [6]), où non seulement on lit *Hé ban* (Eh bien), „tu sais *ban*", mais aussi „Grand *ban* te fasse", de sorte qu'ici du moins le substantif, lui aussi, présente la forme non-diphtonguée ; je ne sais pas sur quelles données s'appuie M. Meyer-Lübke en affirmant, ainsi que nous l'avons vu, qu'en Champagne le substantif a une voyelle diphtonguée, con-

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1) Sur *mal*, voyez ci-dessus, p. 21.

2) Voici ces phrases: „Il faut savoir *bien* nager pour passer outre"; „Tiens-toi *bien*, sans ça...."; „Si c'était *bien* cuit, j'en mangerais *bien*"; „Nous connaissons *bien* le chemin"; „Je voudrais *bien* avoir de celle-ici"; „Nous savions *bien* que vous veniez."

3) *Revue des patois galloromans*, I, 282.

4) Herzog, *o. l.*, p. 41.

5) Voir *Rev. pat. gallor.*, V, Suppl., p. 46; IV, 137.

6) *Etude sur le langage populaire ou patois de Paris et de sa banlieue* (1872), p. 337 et 338. Cf. p. 9.

trairement à l'adverbe ; l'exemple fourni par Nisard montre que, à Paris au XVIIe siècle, cette différence syntaxique n'amène pas nécessairement une évolution phonétique différente. Je trouve un exemple apparent de cette différence entre *bien* comme substantif, et *ben* comme adverbe, dans un texte de Crépainville (Orléanais) [1], où, à côté de nombreux, „*ben* sûr", „ça va point *ben*", on lit „feras du *bien*" ; mais, ainsi que le prouve l'avant-dernière phrase, où *ben* porte l'accent, ce n'est pas le fait d'être plus accentué qui justifie la forme *bien* dans cette contrée de *ben* ; sans doute *bien* est ici un emprunt à la langue générale.

3. En étudiant les patois, on en trouve où la langue ne fait aucune différence entre *bien*, *rien* et *viens*. Je cite celui de Saint-Hubert, où *e* ouvert suivi de *n* libre ou entravé donne toujours *ẽ* [2], les parlers du nord et du sud-ouest de la province de Liège [3], celui de Bourberain (Côte d'Or) [4], où *tẽ*, *vẽ*, *bé*, *té*, *rẽ*, *mẽn* voisinent ensemble, et aussi les dialectes de l'est entre Metz et Belfort, qui présentent une grande multiplicité de formes, et où *rien*, *bien*, *fien (femus)*, *viens* sont traités sans aucune différence [5].

Si donc, comme nous espérons l'avoir rendu probable, ce n'est pas l'accent qui est cause du traitement différent, il faudra expliquer autrement le rapport entre *bien* et *ben*.

Buen bon, *uem om*, *cuens cons*, *juene jone*, *suen son*

Voretzsch [6], qui repousse l'explication d'après laquelle la double prononciation de *bon*, *son*, *om*, *cons*, reposerait sur des différences dialectales, la considère comme due à des causes syntaxiques ; la forme avec *o* serait protonique ; c'est donc le même raisonnement que celui qu'on a appliqué à *ben*. Malheureusement, dans les plus anciens textes, l'emploi de *bon* et *buen* et les autres est le contraire de celui qu'on attendrait, de sorte que la différenciation syntaxique aurait dû s'effacer avant les débuts de la littérature. En outre, *bon* serait le seul adjectif qui présente un double développement suivant sa position dans la phrase (sur *mal*, voir ci dessus, p. 21). Voretzsch ne parle pas de *jone*.

§ 2. Rapports chronologiques et dialectaux

Les formes par *en* (non *ien*) se rencontrent dans G. de Provins (Metzke, *o.l.*, LXV, 72) : *vain (venio)*, *mainteigne*, mais elles ne sont attestées avec une certaine abondance qu'à partir du XVIe et du XVIIe siècle (Thurot,

[1] Herzog, *o. l.*, p. 48.

[2] P. Marchot, *Le patois de Saint-Hubert* (Extrait de la *Revue de philologie française et provençale)*, 1890, p. 19.

[3] *Mélanges wallons*, p. 56, 62, 64.

[4] *Revue des patois galloromans*, II, 49.

[5] Horning, *Die ostfranzösischen Grenzdialekte*, p. 21.

[6] *Offenes o vor Nasal im Alexiusliede*, dans *Mélanges Wilmotte*, p. 837.

I, 480 et suiv.) : *teigne (tienne)* [1]) est cité par Tabourot (1587), et dans des textes populaires du XVIIe siècle (Ni) on lit *ban, souvans (souviens)*. Elles sont considérées par les grammairiens comme vulgaires, et c'est ce caractère familier qui, sans doute, est cause que, dans les manuscrits français du moyen âge, elles ne paraissent pas ; on se tromperait si l'on en concluait qu'elles ne datent que d'une époque tardive. Car, si elles sont absentes dans les textes français, on rencontre *ren, tent, ben* dans les dialectes de l'ouest dès le XIIIe siècle [2]), de même que, de nos jours, elles sont répandues sur une grande partie de la France du nord ; donc si, à Paris, on les trouve au XVIe siècle, ce ne sont pas des développements isolés et on ne peut pas les séparer des formes identiques dans le reste du pays ; on est forcé de chercher pour *ben, ren, tent,* où qu'ils se produisent, une explication qui s'applique à tous.

L'étude de l'extension de ces formes dans les patois actuels nous prouve combien il est difficile de connaître, de nos jours encore, l'emploi de *ben, ren* et *ven*. Voici des détails sur la distribution de *bien, rien* et *viens* d'après les cartes 131, 132, 369, 1341, 1158, 1104, 1361. On y trouve *bien* : 1. sur une étroite bande de terrain entre la Belgique et le nord de la France, 2. formant un groupe dans l'est, 3. dans le midi, sauf la Provence [3]) ; *ben* occupe donc tout le Centre. Si nous appliquons le procédé de la „superposition" au moyen des cartes *rien* et *viens,* nous constatons que l'aire de *ren* est plus petite que celle de *ben,* et plus étendue que celle de *ven* ; cette dernière forme ne se rencontre qu'au sud d'une ligne qui traverse le département de la Loire-Inférieure, de Maine-et-Loire, d'Indre-et-Loire, de Loir-et-Cher, de l'Yonne, tandis que *ren* comprend en outre un domaine qui s'étend sur les départements d'Eure-et-Loire, de l'Orne, de la Sarthe, de la Mayenne et d'Ille-et-Vilaine. A en juger par ces cartes, *ben* seul, et non pas *ren* et *ven,* appartiendrait à l'Ile-de-France, ce qui est en contradiction avec les données de la langue du XVIIe siècle *(souvans)* et avec l'emploi assuré de *ren,* dans le peuple, à Paris. C'est que le principe qui a présidé à la confection des cartes

[1]) Bien que, généralement, nous ne fassions pas état de formes verbales, qui sont sujettes à caution par suite de l'alternance de formes faibles et de formes fortes, nous nous servons ici, comme exemple, de *venir,* à cause de la prononciation *souvans,* qui ne peut pas être due aux formes non accentuées.

[2]) Görlich, *Die nordwestlichen Dialekte der langue d'oïl,* p. 26.

[3]) Ici, *bien* est une importation française; j'ai discuté cette question en détail, dans *Neophilologus,* XI, 184 Voici les limites exactes des trois groupes de *bien:* 1. La ligne passe au sud de 494, 460, 356, 340, 245, 118, 135, à l'est de 147, au nord de 262, 283; elle comprend donc le nord des Côtes-du-Nord, du département de la Manche, une bande étroite le long de la mer dans le Calvados et la Seine-Inférieure, puis les départements de la Somme, du Pas-de Calais, de l'Oise (en partie), de l'Aisne et de la Marne; 2. *Bien* et *bin* sont limités à l'est par une ligne qui va au nord jusqu'à 171, au sud jusqu'à 25, à l'ouest jusqu'à 35, 38, 120, et qui, à l'est, coïncide avec la frontière linguistique; 3. La ligne passe de l'ouest à l'est au-dessus des points suivants: 632, 507, 601, 903, 11, 935, 955, 968. Dans les départements des Alpes-Maritimes, du Var, des Basses-Alpes et dans le sud du département des Hautes-Alpes on trouve *ben.*

linguistiques demandait qu'on insérât surtout les formes de la langue familière, et, d'après le témoignage d'Oudin (Thurot, *o.l.*, I, 483), *ben, len* pour *bien, lien* sont „une corruption du vulgaire". Maintenant, un terme comme *bien*, et dans une moindre mesure *rien*, qui expriment des rapports, et non des concepts, jouent dans la langue parlée un rôle plus important que des verbes comme *tenir, venir*, qui sont d'un emploi plus restreint ; l'élément subjectif y est beaucoup plus fort et il s'ensuit que, dans le discours familier, on se servira de la forme plus intime *ben, ren*, là même où, pour des verbes ayant une valeur plus objective, la forme moins „plate" est la plus naturelle. C'est ce qui devait assurer à *ben*, et aussi à *ren*, dans le parler plus spontané, une place à côté de *viens*, et c'est ce qui fait que sur les cartes leur domaine est plus étendu.

Une autre surprise nous attend quand nous comparons les informations de l'*A. L.* avec des textes patoisants, où, à la place d'une seule prononciation *ben*, on rencontre irrégulièrement *bien*, et inversement, sans différence d'emploi ou de sens :

Saint-Pol : La carte ne donne que la forme diphtonguée, le lexique *(Rev. Pat. gall.*, IV, 268) aussi : un conteur de la même localité emploie *ben* dans *Eh bien* (*ibid.*, I, 112).

Meuse, canton de Spincourt : Sur la carte (point 174) uniquement *ben* ; dans un texte de Mangiennes, canton de Spincourt (*R P G*, II, 98) on lit *bien* dans „C'est *bien* tombé" (l'éditeur ajoute : „On dit aussi *bĭn*") et ailleurs *ben* dans *Eh bien* (p. 99). Dans un texte d'Ornes on ne trouve que la forme non-diphtonguée (p. 111).

Orne : La carte ne fournit que des *ben* ; un texte (*R P G*, II, 283) seulement *bien*.

Côte-d'Or : Sur la carte partout *ben* ; dans un texte (Herzog, *Neufranz. Dialekttexte*, p. 41 et 42) on lit : „*bien* des secrets", „le curé fit si *bien* qu'il usa toute sa poudre...... et vit *ben* qu'il était ensorcelé......", „il se souvint *ben* toujours", „Eh *ben*", „il y a *bien* la femme", „il devina *ben* tout de suite", „*ben* aussi", „ont *ben* tant ri", „si *bien* que".

Deux-Sèvres : Sur la carte partout la voyelle non diphtonguée : un texte de Lezay (*R P G*, II, 107) donne : „*bien* merci", à côté de „si fait *ben*", „c'est *ben* comme je vous le dis", „peut-être *ben*", „il sera *ben* soigné", „oui *ben*".

Charente : D'après la carte la partie nord-ouest ne connaît pas la diphtongaison ; dans le texte de Cellefrouin (*R P G*, Suppl. à V, 46, 48) nous lisons : „il aura *b* peur ce coup", „c'est *b* toi", à côté de „tu me rendras *bien* service", „c'est *bien* souvent que" ; dans un texte de La Péruse (*R P G*, II, 282) je trouve : „je voudrais *bien*", „il était *bien* vilain", à côté de „ça pourrait *b*".

Même mélange dans le texte parisien de 1649 dont nous nous sommes déjà servi : au milieu de nombreux *ban*, on trouve tout à coup „vous feriez *bian*". Et d'ailleurs, quand nous consultons le parisien actuel, nous remarquons que les deux formes alternent l'une avec l'autre. Dès le XIIIe siècle, dans les

dialectes du nord-ouest, *ien* est la forme régulière, mais *en* est fréquent aussi (Görlich, *o.l.*, p. 26 et 87) et non pas seulement pour *bien* et *rien*, mais aussi pour *viennent* et *tiennent*. On voit donc que le mélange n'est pas particulier à *bien* et à *rien*, bien que *ven*, *ten* soient plus rares.

Ce mélange, qui s'explique par le caractère familier de la prononciation *ben* au lieu de *bien*, nous confirme dans la conviction qu'il ne faut pas conclure de l'absence de cette forme dans les textes du moyen âge à leur non-existence. Il est, nous le répétons, peu vraisemblable que, si l'on trouve au XVIe siècle et au XVIIe siècle, à Paris *ben*, *ren*, *souven*, que certains dialectes présentent de bonne heure, ces formes françaises seraient modernes ; je ne parle pas de l'éventualité, à laquelle personne sans doute ne croira, qu'elles soient, à Paris, une importation dialectale. Et, s'il est probable qu'au moyen âge aussi, *ben* a dû être plus fréquent que *ren*, et *ren* plus fréquent que *ven*, on doit admettre que, dans la prononciation du peuple, ces trois formes ont existé avant l'époque où on les découvre, par hasard, dans des textes populaires et grâce à l'intérêt que les grammairiens d'alors prenaient à la langue parlée.

Pour ce qui est de o à côté de *ue*, l'orthographe nous fournit un terrain solide : elles sont anciennes et bien françaises :

V *buen*, *suen*, *hom* (: *non*, v. 113).
Br *buen bon*, *hom*, *quens*, *juenes jones*.
Boi *buen bon*, *juene jone*.
Q *juene jone*, *quens*, *hom*.
Pa (1373) *jounes*, (1433) *juennes*.

Pour les dialectes, je signale que Görlich (*o.l.*, p. 47) cite dans l'*Epitre de Saint Etienne* : *bon* et *ben*. Dans les parlers étudiés par Rousselot (*o.l.*, p. 317) on trouve ó, et non *ue* devant une nasale.

§ 3. Rapports phonétiques

Quand même on voudrait considérer *ben* comme une forme „rapide" de *bien*, cette explication ne saurait s'appliquer ni à *ren* ni à *ven*, de sorte que e dans ces formes n'est pas une réduction de *ie*. Mais *bon* pourrait au besoin être considéré comme une réduction de *buen*. L'o de *bon*, avant d'être devenu définitivement ouvert par suite de la nasalisation, a passé par une étape *ó*, *ou* (monophtongue), car dans les anciens textes il rime avec o de ó latin, et le hollandais a connu une forme *boen* [1]), qui existe encore en flamand. Or, le premier élément de *buen*, forme plus récente de *uo*, s'est prononcé en français pendant un certain temps *ou* (Suchier, *o.l.*, p. 80). Nous verrons tout à l'heure (dans le Chapitre II) que le français a connu pour *ie* et pour *ue* une accentuation descendante, et ainsi on pourrait être tenté de rapprocher *bon* de *buen*, avec l'accent sur *u*. Seulement, on serait

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[1]) *Franse woorden*, p. 185. *Oe*, en hollandais, se prononce *ou*.

alors obligé de séparer o devant nasale de o placé devant une autre consonne, et il semble recommandable de chercher une explication qui s'applique à ces deux cas à la fois.

b. *Devant consonnes orales*

§ 1. Les doubles formes dont il s'agit et comment on les a expliquées

iere ere (imparfait) de *estre*), *brief bref*, *grief gref*, *trieves treves*, *genièvre genevre*

Nyrop (I, § 39) et le *Dict. gén.* voient dans *bref* une forme savante, mais cette supposition ne s'applique pas à *gref*. Rien n'autorise non plus à considérer *bref*, *gref*, comme des formes atones. De *ere*, Meyer-Lübke [1]), cite deux explications : ou bien cette forme serait la généralisation du développement atone, ou bien elle serait due à l'influence du plusqueparfait des verbes de la 1e conjugaison, exemple *cantaram chantere* (Thurneysen). Il rejette la première : quant à celle de Thurneysen, on pourrait objecter que l'influence exercée par un temps qui était en pleine décadence n'a pas dû être très forte.

aiol aiuel, *foille fueille*, *oil ueil*, *ovre oevre*

Actuellement on trouve *ol* encore dans *geôle* et *rossignol*. Meyer-Lübke (*o.l.*, p. 69) explique *o* dans *geôle*, anc. *jaiole*, par l'influence de la forme latine, ce qui est peu probable à cause de la grande différence de forme entre *caveola*, qui, d'ailleurs, n'est pas classique, et le mot français. *Rossignol*, d'après Suchier (*o.l.*, p. 30), aurait peut-être été emprunté au provençal, explication qui n'est qu'un pis-aller.

§ 2. Rapports chronologiques et dialectaux

Nos manuscrits présentent de rares exemples de ces doublets:
Bo *brief bref*, *trieves treves*.
Tr *trieves treves*.

On peut ajouter *fere (:pere)* dans Garnier, *greve (:Greve)* dans *R Rose* (I, 236), à côté de *grieve* dans le *Testament*, *gref*, subst., dans un exemple de 1420 chez Godefroy. Thurot (I, 481) cite plusieurs témoignages dont il résulte qu'au XVIe siècle *gref* était considéré comme vieilli : à cette époque, par contre, *bref* est déjà préféré à *brief*, qui est appelé plus ancien ; la forme diphtonguée a subsisté le plus longtemps au féminin de l'adjectif placé devant le substantif. Richelet (1680) déclare que *genèvre* est plus usité que *genièvre*.

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[1]) *Histor. Grammatik der franz. Sprache*, p. 243.

Dans les parlers actuels de l'Angoumois, de la Saintonge et du Poitou on trouve *è* et non *ie*, devant *l*, *n* (Rousselot, *o.l.*, p. 317).

Voici les cas de mélange de *ue* avec *o* qui se présentent dans nos manuscrits :

Br *aiuel aiol, ueil oil.*
Qa *uevre ovre ouvre.*
Boi *aieul aoul.*
Q *fueille foille.*
M *culoevre culovre.*
T *oevre ovre.*

Ces deux prononciations ont donc été françaises. Suchier (*o.l.*, p. 78) constate que ce qu'il appelle le „changement de *ue* en *o*" est général en anglo-normand, qu'en normand o est fréquent surtout devant *l* mouillé et aussi ailleurs, et il fait ressortir qu'à côté de la forme monophtonguée, on trouve *ue*. Ailleurs [1]) il signale cet o dans des textes septentrionaux devant *l (fillole)*, *l* mouillé *(voil, dol)*, *pl (pople)*, *vr (ovre)*, *c (avoc)*, toujours à côté de formes diphtonguées. Les mots français en néerlandais ont souvent cet o dans *gepopel* (à côté de *gepeupel*) et dans *colovenier* (de *colovre*) ; j'en concluais autrefois [2]) que ces mots avaient été empruntés à un dialecte du nord ; aujourd'hui je serais moins affirmatif.

Au XVIIe siècle *fillol*, employé par Molière (Nyrop, I, § 177), était considéré comme peu distingué (Thurot, I, 461).

Dans les parlers étudiés par Rousselot (*o.l.*, p. 317), c'est devant *l*, *r* qu'on trouve o [3]).

On peut se demander si *roue* doit être compté parmi les mots de ce groupe ou parmi ceux où la diphtongue *ue*, dans *uee*, plus tard, s'est monophtonguée en *ou* (monophtongue) ou en *o* (Chap. II). Le fait que ce mot a *ou* et non *ò* pourrait être rapproché des formes *aoul, ouvre*, dont nous parlerons plus loin ; d'autre part, comme nous le verrons, *ue* s'est monophtongué en *ou* ou *ü* justement devant ə, ce qui rapproche *roue* de ce phénomène plus récent. Dans Boi D Do *roe (roue)* est la forme unique, mais celle par *ue* a existé aussi en français ; Suchier (*o.l.*, p. 76) cite un exemple de Marie de France. Au XVIe siècle, Sylvius signale „*roue* en français, *reue* en picard" (Thurot, I, 459), mais l'attribution, par ce grammairien, de *eu* au picard est bien peu probante ; ainsi, il prétend que *queue*, à côté de *coue*, se dit „apud Belgas".

§ 3. Rapports phonétiques

Il est tentant de considérer *gref bref* comme une réduction de la forme diphtonguée causée par le groupe de consonnes qui précède : *trêves* com-

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[1]) *Aucassin et Nicolete*, 9me éd., p. 56.

[2]) *Romania*, XXX, 83.

[3]) Rousselot, qui admet la non-diphtongaison de *ò*, place sur le même plan les mots *rod (rota)* et *po (potet)*; le français ayant *roue* et *peut*, a dû diphtonguer le ò.

mence aussi par consonne + *r* ; en outre les quatre mots en question ont une labiale après la voyelle. Ces concordances phonétiques ne doivent pas être négligées. Pour *ue* le français a connu aussi la perte du premier élément, surtout derrière ou devant *v* : *avec, evre* (Br), *culevre* (M), *velt* (Q), mais aussi dans *delt* (Q), *ilec* (M, T, N).

Il est donc difficile de nier la possibilité que *gref* et *evre* s'expliquent d'une façon identique, et alors il ne nous resterait, comme doublets anciens de *e ie* devant consonne orale, que *ere*, à côté de *iere*, et *fere*.

Quant à *o ue*, Philipon [1]) voit dans *o* une réduction de *oe*, mais c'est là une graphie pour *ue (oue)* (voir plus haut, p. 27), de sorte que le résultat de cette réduction ne peut pas être un *ò* ; d'ailleurs, il n'en tire pas la conclusion, qui s'impose, que cette réduction n'aurait été possible qu'à la suite d'un déplacement de l'accent. Au besoin on pourrait expliquer ainsi les variantes de *ovre, aiol*, c'est-à-dire *ouvre* (Qu), *aoul* (Boi), dans lesquels la voyelle est *ou*, prononciation attestée aussi par les mots français en néerlandais [2]). Cependant *ou* peut s'y expliquer également par une tendance des voyelles vélaires françaises à se fermer et dont nous citerons d'autres exemples dans le paragraphe de *ó* ; quant au changement dont il s'agit ici, celui de *ò* en *ou*, en voici des exemples : dans B on rencontre déjà *chouse, pouvre*, dans Tr *four*, dans Pa (p. 294) *troup* (1485), dans Nisard *nouce, noutre* ; chez Alexis (I, 354, v. 14) l'anglais *Mylord* devient *millour* ; Guillaume de Machaut (II, 54) fait rimer *force* avec *pource*.

On peut se demander si, dans *Jonas, douls* doit être expliqué par ce changement de *ò* en *ou*. D'après Koschwitz (*Commentar*, p. 134) *ou* serait dû aux formes faibles du verbe, ce qui n'est pas probable à une époque aussi ancienne et ce qui est exclu par le fait que, dans le fragment, on trouve *doleiet*, et non *douleiet* ; d'ailleurs, il y a, dans le manuscrit, un point sous *u*, de sorte qu'il faut sans doute lire *dols*.

Quoi qu'il en soit de l'origine de *ou* dans *aioul*, il est certain que ceci n'est pas la forme dont est résulté plus tard *aieul*, ainsi que le prétend Philipon [3]) ; *aieul* remonte à *aiuel*.

c. *Hypothèse d'une double accentuation ancienne*

Si l'on pouvait admettre que la diphtongue issue de *ė* libre avait eu, à l'origine, une double accentuation, il serait possible de ramener, des deux prononciations que ce son présente en ancien français, l'une à une diphtongue descendante *ẹ́ė*, qui se serait monophtonguée en *ė*, l'autre à une diphtongue ascendante *ėẹ́*, dont le premier élément se serait dissimilé.

Or, si des mots cités plus haut, nous ne retenons que la double pronon-

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[1]) *Romania*, L, 389.

[2]) *Franse woorden*, p. 143, 152.

[3]) Il s'exprime ainsi: „L'*ou* de *aioul* s'est par la suite ouverte en *eu*". Mais *ou* devenant *eu*, n'est pas seulement une „ouverture", mais aussi une palatalisation.

ciation devant nasale et dans *ere*, *fere*, il y a lieu d'abord de rapprocher les graphies ee pour è libre, que présentent de vieux textes et qui ont été souvent signalées [1]). Il est frappant de constater que les deux plus anciens exemples, c'est-à-dire *beem* dans la *Paraphrase du Cantique des Cantiques* et *eedre* [2]) dans *Jonas*, expriment par l'orthographe la diphtongue que nous avons supposée comme étape antérieure de *ė*, justement devant nasale et *r*, la prononciation de *d* dans le groupe *dr* ayant dû être très faible. Dans *Jonas* on trouve aussi *edre*, *eret*, *erent*, à côté de *avient* ; dans le *Cantique biem* à côté de *beem*, dans *S. Eulalie ciel* à côté de *eret*. Dans les exemples que donne Mall, c'est également devant nasale et devant *r* que se rencontre la graphie *ee (veent, peert)*. Je signale la même orthographe dans les chartes de l'ouest du XIIIe et XIVe siècle publiées par Görlich (*o.l.*, p. 26), également devant *n* : *been, reens, aparteent* ; la variante *ei* confirme notre supposition que l'accent reposait sur le premier élément (cf. ci-dessus, p. 21, n. 2). En anglo-normand on rencontre ee de *ė* libre latin aussi devant *t*, *d* intervocalique et devant *l* ; *ee* est fréquent devant *n*, et *ei* également. Comme, en anglo-normand, les *ie* issu de palatale + *a* deviennent *e*, il est possible que *e* de *ė* latin y soit aussi une réduction d'une diphtongue antérieure *iė* ; seulement, dans ce cas, l'orthographe *ee* ne s'expliquerait pas [3]).

En second lieu, nous rappelons que la circonstance que *eret* assone avec *e* provenant de *a* milite aussi en faveur d'une prononciation diphtonguée de cette forme ; remarquons, en outre, que *fere* assone également avec *e* issu de *a*.

La coexistence de *o ue*, que nous avons essayé en vain d'expliquer l'un par l'autre, se comprendrait, elle aussi, en admettant que *óò* issu de *ó* avait eu deux prononciations, à savoir *ọ̀ò* et *òọ*. La première, par une réduction graduelle de la deuxième voyelle, aurait conduit à une monophtongue, la seconde à une nouvelle diphtongue *uo*. Il est vrai que l'orthographe oo ne se rencontre pas ; dans *S. Eulalie* nous lisons *buona, ruovet*, mais dans *Jonas foers* et *dols* (v. plus haut) attesteraient déjà les deux accentuations. L'explication de *ó*, dans les langues où il se présente, comme une réduction de *óò* a été déjà proposée par Matzke [4]).

Comme *buona, ruovet* sont devenus *buene, rueve*, on peut se demander si l'accent s'est retiré de nouveau sur *u*, ce qui rendrait la dissimilation de o en *e* plus facile à expliquer ; on pourrait alors rapprocher le changement de *pueent* en *puent*, dont il sera question au Chapitre II ; il est vrai que, là, nous avons affaire à une position toute spéciale de la diphtongue, placée

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[1]) Mall, *Li Compoz Philipe de Thaün*, p. 68; Suchier, *o. l.*, p. 89; Koschwitz, *Commentar zu den ältesten französischen Denkmälern*, p. 137; Stimming, *Boeve de Hamtone*, p. 202.

[2]) Le changement *cilge edre* pour *cilg eedre* proposé par Suchier est arbitraire. Cf. la graphie *peer* dans le même texte (ci-dessus, p. 19).

[3]) Dans les *Sermons S. Bernart* se lit la forme *beeste* (p. 3 de l'édition Foerster).

[4]) *Zeitschrift f. rom. Philol.*, XX, 4.

devant *e muet*, mais rien n'empêche de supposer que, dans cette position, une ancienne prononciation *ue* se soit conservée. Cependant, l'hypothèse d'un recul de l'accent dans *uo* nous obligerait à admettre que, après que *uo* est devenu *ue*, l'accent s'est de nouveau transporté sur e. Ces déplacements fréquents ne nous paraissent pas impossibles, mais nous ne voulons pas nier la possibilité que *uo*, accentué sur o, soit devenu *ue* en conservant l'accent sur la deuxième voyelle [1]).

C. DOUBLETS DE *É* LATIN LIBRE TONIQUE

Voici les faits : *é*, dans cette position, devant consonne orale, a abouti à *wa* (écrit *oi*) ou, dans certains mots, à *è* (écrit *ai*), devant nasale à *è* (écrit *ei*) et, dans *avoine, foin* et *moins*, à *wa* (écrit *oi*). Nous allons essayer de rendre compte de ce double traitement.

§ 1. Mots qui ont *è* devant consonne orale et *wa* devant consonne nasale et comment on les a expliqués

Il suffira, pour un relevé complet, de renvoyer aux manuels [2]) : Nyrop I, § 159, Meyer-Lübke, *o.l.*, p. 81 ; ici, il s'agira de grouper les mots en question. L'*è* se présente :

1. devant *ə : craie, monnaie, -aie, -eraie.*
2. devant *s : -ais, dais, marais.*
3. devant *r : verre, tonnerre.*
4. devant muta c. liquida : *faible.*

On trouve *oi* devant *n*, dans *avoine, foin, moins.*

Généralement on admet qu'*è* est une réduction de *wè* (forme antérieure à *wa*) : c'est l'avis de Nyrop, qui n'insiste pas sur les conditions dans lesquelles cette réduction se serait faite. Meyer-Lübke parle aussi : du „changement de *we* en *è*" ; il relève l'explication par l'influence italienne qu'ont mise en avant les grammairiens du XVI[e] siècle, qu'il ne rejète pas complètement, mais à côté de laquelle il suppose d'autres „courants", dont le rôle n'est pas très clair. Que l'italien n'ait été pour rien dans le développement de *è*, c'est ce que la présence ancienne de ce son met hors de doute, et la différenciation sociale entre la prononciation par *è* et

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[1]) Cf. P. Passy, *Changements phonétiques*, p. 197 n. 3: „Je peux ajouter que le groupe *ue* de l'espagnol *bueno* me parait prouver le caractère primitivement décroissant de cette diphtongue"; G. Paris *(Rom.*, XI, 131): „le *e* de *ue* est dû, comme en espagnol, à la position faible de *o* (dans *uo*)"; par contre Menéndez Pidal, *Origenes del español*, p. 137 et 142, nie l'accentuation *uo* sur *u* et admet que c'est la voyelle accentuée qui s'est changée.

[2]) Nous donnerons aussi des mots où *wa è* vient d'un *é* entravé suivi de palatale, et ceux où ces sons se produisent en syllabe protonique.

celle par *wa*, peut difficilement être considérée comme une cause de la double prononciation, puisqu'elle n'a pu se faire qu'au moyen de celle-ci. Les „courants", en se contrariant, auraient amené, dans l'évolution de *ẹ* par rapport à *wa*, une irrégularité „comme on en rencontre rarement" ; nous verrons qu'en rapprochant l'histoire de *ẹ* de celle des autres voyelles, il est très possible d'y reconnaître une certaine règle. Herzog [1]) croit aussi à la réduction de *wẹ* et l'attribue à l'influence du normand, mais son seul argument en faveur de cette hypothèse inadmissible est que, d'après Dubois et d'autres grammairiens du XVIe siècle, la „prononciation normande" de *ẹ* était très répandue à Paris. Il ajoute, il est vrai, que *ẹ* peut aussi être une forme rapide de *wẹ*, ou bien un résultat du besoin de faciliter la prononciation après muta cum liquida.

Schwan-Behrens (§ 225, Rem.) considère la coexistence à Paris de *ẹ* et de *wa* comme une conséquence du fait que la limite du domaine d'*ei* dans le français de l'ouest et celle d'*oi* dans celui de l'est ont peut-être touché la capitale, „de telle sorte que dans *craie*, etc., il faudrait voir des formes également autorisées du dialecte francien". Pour eux, *ẹ* n'est donc pas une réduction de *wẹ*, et cela me paraît juste, bien que la formule qu'ils adoptent me semble un peu étroite.

Quant à *avoine*, *foin* et *moins*, on les a souvent expliqués comme des emprunts fait à un dialecte de l'est ; mais dans tous les cas, cela est inadmissible pour *moins*, à cause de sa signification ; M. Meyer-Lübke (p. 49) se contente de constater que *foin* et *avoine*, „d'après leur forme phonétique, pouvent être bourguignons" [2]). Tant qu'on n'a pas prouvé qu'à Paris le foin et l'avoine étaient importés de l'est, cela reste une formule en l'air. Gilliéron [3]) dit avec raison, que „l'emprunt dialectal est aussi incompréhensible dans *foin* et *avoine* que dans *moins*" ; il voit — nous avons déjà cité ses paroles (p. 6) — dans le parallélisme de *ẹ* avec *wẹ*, *wa* que présentent un grand nombre de mots français dans lesquels les deux sons remontent à e fermé libre latin, un „flottement qui s'est produit dans la langue" : c'est donc de „doublets phonétiques" qu'il s'agirait. Il ne sera pas superflu d'insister sur certaines particularités et, notamment, de mettre en lumière que ce „flottement" remonte très haut.

§ 2. Rapports chronologiques et dialectaux

Devant consonne orale:

V *diroie (:vraie, v. 133), soi (: deloi, v. 267).*
Ch *povaient.*
Br *peisson poisson, laisir, vaisin, meissons.*
Qa *(soiche p. seche), doivent deivent, moien meian.*
Boi *cloie claie, hernois harnais, orfrois orfreis, roi rei, sachois sachés, envoioit envoiaient, soient saient, croie (craie), laible, (Moi p. Mai).*

[1]) *Historische Sprachlehre des Neufranz.*, p. 32.

[2]) Meyer-Lübke dit qu'il s'agit, dans les emprunts de mot, "surtout" de mots culturels; le „surtout" me semble de trop.

[3]) *Généalogie des mots qui ont désigné l'abeille*, p. 201 et suiv.

Q *seisante.*
M *(espoisse* p. *espece), (loisarde laisarde leisarde), (procederoi), paroi parei, desseivre, turquoise turqueise.*
N *roi rei, moi mei, nomét avoit* (même paragraphe), *droit dreit, viveit estoit* (m.p.), *travailleroit jurereent conduyroient* (m. p.), *avét heirs prenoit* (m. p.)
T *(roigne* p. *regne), roi rei, fleibe floibece, hoir heir.*
Do *(poiera* p. *paiera), flebe.*
H *laisir.*

A cette liste on peut ajouter les exemples suivants de è :

dans *l'Elégie hébraïque* de 1288: *avet, apelet* (Nyrop, I, § 159);
dans Villon: *telles (toiles);*
dans le *Parlouer aus boriois*, d'après Beaulieux, *Histoire de l'orthographe franç.*, I, 170: *pouaient* (1280), *pouet nestet* (1291), *seit* (1293), *adayse (ardoise*, 1303).

Devant consonne nasale :

Br *poine paine peine, plaine, mains maindre.*
Qa *moins mains, poine peine, voine.*
Boi *foin fain fein, moins mains meins, poine paine peine, plain plein, avaine aveine.*
Q *moine meine, poine peine, aveine, meins, plein, veine.*
M *moins meins, vaine veine, meindre, chaeine.*
N *frein.*
T *poine peine, mains meins meindre, plaine pleine, moinent meine, voine.*
D *mendre maindre, mains, plain plein, vayne.*
Do *poinne* (1307) *paine* (1319), *moins, mendres mandres* (1307), *avoine* (1307), *foing* (1315).
H *aveine, mandre.*
Pa *moings* (1485) *mains* (1486).

Ces listes nous permettent de constater que, dès le XIII[e] siècle, il y a eu, dans des textes français, mélange des deux sons. L'orthographe *ai, ei* pour l'un des deux, celui qui aujourd'hui se prononce è, semble prouver que, d'abord, celui-ci se prononçait encore comme une diphtongue descendante et qu'il ne s'est monophtongué que plus tard. Dans tous les cas, cette orthographe *ai, ei* est claire et suffit à différencier cette prononciation de celle de *oi*. Par contre, la possibilité que, sous *oi*, se cache un autre son que *wé*, c'est-à-dire encore celui de è, ne saurait être niée pour les manuscrits qui, par graphie inverse, écrivent *oi* pour un è d'autre origine ; on trouvera dans nos listes, placés entre parenthèses, les exemples suivants [1]) : *soiche* (Qa), *espoisse, loisarde, procederoi* (M), *roigne* (T), *poiera* (Do). D'autre part, il est certain qu'en français *oi* est la graphie ordinaire d'un son différent de *ei*, è ; si elle a pu exprimer aussi è, cela ne s'explique que quand on admet qu'il y a eu des mots nombreux pour lequel le copiste connaissait les deux prononciations *ei* ou è (écrit *ei, ai*) et *wè wa* (écrit *oi*): par là, l'orthographe *oi* et celle de *ei*, *é* leur convenaient également bien, et on comprend que, par erreur, *oi* ait pu être écrit là aussi où *ei* seul

[1]) Dans *Moi (Mai*, Boi) on a peut-être affaire au changement de *ai* en *oi*, amené par la consonne labiale (Meyer-Lübke, *o. l.*, p. 88). Voir plus loin, p. 39.

ou ė était à sa place [1]). Cela était d'autant plus naturel qu'entre *ė* et *wė* la différence n'était pas grande : en effet, on trouve réunis à la rime des mots qui ont *oi* provenant d'un *o* + *i* (et qui n'ont pu avoir la prononciation *ei*, *ė*) avec *ė* : Nyrop (*o.l.*, § 158) cite quelques-unes de ces rimes comme *cloistre : estre* ; c'est ainsi, sans doute, que s'explique la combinaison *chanoine : reine (regne)* citée par Langlois (*R. Rose*, I, 196, n. 3), ainsi que, également devant nasale, *essoine : primeraine : Antoine : villaine* (G. Alexis, I, p. 215) et, au XVIe siècle, *moins : humains, point : plaint, point : teint, besoin : sein* (Thurot, II, 500) [2]).

Quoiqu'il soit donc possible que, dans les textes étudiés plus haut, *oi* ne soit parfois qu'une orthographe pour *ė*, cela ne sera le cas qu'exceptionnellement. Dans Q, devant consonne orale, on trouve toujours *oi*, devant nasale *ei* (sauf rarement *moine, poine*), répartition qui, généralement parlant, correspond à la distinction que connaît la langue actuelle ; l'orthographe doit donc rendre la prononciation exacte, et il est certain que *moine, poine* ont été réellement prononcés avec *wė*, *wa*. Cela résulte aussi du tableau des rimes dans les poésies que contient N, dont l'orthographe semble être très soignée : les graphies *blahme, maihnee* y correspondent certainement à la prononciation ; ainsi que nous le montrera le chapitre de *ó*, la graphie *ou* n'y alterne pas avec *eu*, et les rimes confirment que c'est bien un *ou* qui s'y prononçait. Or, par rapport à *oi, ei*, N présente beaucoup de flottement ; qu'est-ce que cela veut dire, sinon que les deux sons existaient dans la prononciation du copiste ?

Maintenant, il est curieux de constater que, justement dans ces mots *poine, moine*, le français ne connaît plus cette prononciation *wė*, *wa*, tandis que, au contraire, *aveine, meins* qui, en français, ont *wė*, dans Q s'écrivaient avec *ei* et se prononçaient donc par *ė*. Il en résulte que la prononciation actuelle de *avoine, foin, moins* avec *wė* n'est pas une particularité de ces mots, mais que tous les mots où *ė* libre précédait une consonne nasale ont pu, ou non, avoir *wė* au lieu de *ė*.

Les listes ci-dessus prouvent que, devant consonnes orales également, au moyen âge, des mots qui aujourd'hui ont *wà*, pouvaient avoir au moyen âge *ė* (par exemple *saient, rei* dans Boi) et inversement (par exemple *cloie, envoioit*, chez le même auteur).

L'examen de la langue du XVIe et du XVIIe siècle confirme ces con-

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[1]) Görlich (*o. l.*, p. 40 et 41), dans les chartes qu'il étudie, relève aussi des graphies comme *poier (paier), vroi (vrai), remoigne (remaigne), troeit (trait)*, et il est d'avis que „*ai*, devenu depuis longtemps *ė*, est rendu par *oi*, parce que, dans beaucoup de cas, *oi* sonnait réellement comme *ė*". Il cite, d'autre part, des graphies comme *parreysse (paroisse), meines (moines)*, où il voit aussi des preuves que *oi* se prononçait comme *ė*, c'est-a-dire que *wė* avait perdu le premier élément. Comme nous expliquons autrement la genèse de *ė*, nous ne pouvons voir dans toutes ces formes que des graphies inverses

[2]) Meyer-Lübke (*o. l.*, p. 89) cite les rimes de Charles d'Orléans *poing: baing* et de Villon *soing : bains* dans un paragraphe sur la labialisation, mais il s'y agit sans doute d'une rime *wė: ė*.

clusions ; Thurot (I, 374 et suiv.) nous donne les informations suivantes. D'après Sylvius (1531), l'„ancienne" prononciation par *e* est très répandue à Paris et aux environs : *tele (toile), Pontese (Pontoise), fe (foi)* ; vers 1605, elle est encore générale. Les grammairiens, comme Palliot (1608) et Maupas (1625), la considèrent comme une innovation et la condamnent vivement ; d'après ce que nous avons vu, la langue ne fait que maintenir un son qui, depuis des siècles, existait à côté de *we*. Quant aux mots où le son est placé devant une consonne nasale, et notamment *voine, foin, moins,* Sylvius laisse le choix entre *mains* et *moins* (Thurot, II, 499) ; Bovelles connaît „*fain* ou *foin*", R. Estienne, pour *fein*, renvoie à *foin*, Lanoue (1696) donne encore „*fein, foin*" ; *aveine*, d'après Vaugelas (Thurot, I, 405) s'emploie à côté de *avoine* et „une infinité de gens disent *mains*, ce qui est insupportable", et l'Académie en 1718 proclame que *avêne* et *avoine* existent tous deux. Ainsi, c'est *aveine* qui semble s'être maintenu le plus longtemps ; *meins* et *fein* n'ont pas dépassé le XVII[e] siècle.

Il semble bien que les deux prononciations étaient socialement différenciées, mais les opinions des grammairiens sur la valeur sociale respective des deux sons ne concordent pas. Guillaume des Autels considère *fret (froid)* comme une prononciation affectée de courtisan ; Bèze, par contre, attribue au peuple de Paris la prononciation des imparfaits par ê. D'après Vaugelas, *avoine* était la prononciation de la cour ; Madame de Rambouillet disait *avoine* ; d'après Tallemant des Réaux un gentilhomme, parlant à Mlle de Rambouillet, hésita longtemps sur la prononciation de ce mot et finit par dire : „*Avoine, avaine*, de par tous les diables, on ne sait comment parler céans". Il est certain que *we, wa* était plus distingué que ê ; Nyrop (I, § 159) cite des témoignages probants, auxquels j'ajoute celui-ci : les maîtres d'école faisaient prononcer à leurs élèves les lettres de l'alphabet, non pas comme *a, bé, cé, dé*, mais comme *a, boi, çoi, doi* : introduisant ainsi une prononciation „hypercorrecte" (Nisard, *o.l.*, p. 178) [1]). Relevons, en outre, dans les textes populaires cités par Nisard *(o.l.), tay (toi), quay (quoi), avet, dré (droit)*. Il est difficile de dire si, au moyen âge, ê était également une prononciation plus populaire ; c'est l'avis de M. Beaulieux (*o.l.*, I, 170) : „Il nous paraît infiniment vraisemblable que, dans les cas cités plus haut (formes verbales en *-oit*), jamais le peuple ne prononça *wê* et que c'est au contraire la bonne société qui a fini par prononcer comme le peuple". C'était aussi l'opinion de Suchier (*o.l.*, p. 96) : „Le son *oi*, qui se rencontre toujours dans la langue littéraire, n'appartient pas, en tous les cas, au patois de Paris".

En résumé, le français a eu pour *é* latin libre, deux prononciations concurrentes qui ont existé ensemble pendant tout le moyen âge, et dont l'une subsiste devant nasale, et, dans quelques mots, devant consonne orale.

Indépendamment de nos listes, qui ne contiennent que des formes que

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[1]) Dans Molière, les patoisants parisiens disent *nayer, sayant (soient), drait*, mais aussi *fouas (fois), froide, moindre*.

nous sommes en droit de considérer comme françaises, les dialectes corroborent l'existence d'une double prononciation.

Dans le *Roman de la Rose* (éd. Langlois, I, 194), *voire* rime une seule fois avec *faire*, ce qui peut être une rime *é: wé* (voir plus haut, p. 35), mais devant *n* on trouve, chez Guillaume de Lorris (I, 196), *ein* précédé de *m, p*, toujours en rime avec *oin*, de *ó* + *yod* ; derrière *f* cette rime ne se présente jamais, tandis que, quand *v* précède, *ein* rime tantôt en *ein*, tantôt en *oin* ; dans la seconde partie du poème (I, 209) *ein* ne se rencontre en rime qu'avec *ain*, et dans le *Testament* de Jean de Meun *moine (mène) : patrimoine*. Je n'attache pas grand prix au rôle que Langlois semble attribuer aux consonnes qui précèdent, mais je constate que les mêmes mots peuvent avoir les deux prononciations. Görlich (*o.l.*, p. 37 et suiv.) signale, dans des chartes du XIIIe siècle de la Bretagne, de l'Anjou, de la Touraine et du Berry, la graphie exceptionnelle *oi* à côté de *ei*. Comme les poèmes de cette région, à cette époque, ne connaissent que *ei*, et que, dans les chartes, *oi* devient de plus en plus fréquent, *oi* serait, d'après l'auteur, une importation française. Son argumentation ne me paraît pas convaincante ; en effet, des juxtapositions comme *povait avoir* se présentent, ainsi que nous l'avons vu, dans des textes français (notamment N), où les deux formes sont indigènes ; alors, pourquoi ne le seraient-elles pas dans les dialectes en question ? Est-ce que *oi* est uniquement français, de sorte que, si on le trouve ailleurs concurremment avec *è*, on doit l'y considérer comme emprunté ? Même mélange, dans ces dialectes, devant *n* : *moindre* à côté de *mains, pleine, aveine*, etc. Görlich le relève aussi dans les patois actuels d'Ille-et-Vilaine et de Maine-et-Loire, où l'on trouve *bair (boire), cret, fre (froid), dret, étret*, etc., à côté de *da (doigt), sa (soir), roue (roi)*, etc. Dans le Haut-Maine : „*oi* se prononce tantôt *oé, oué*, tantôt *oi*". Dans le patois de Bourberain [1]) *avoine* et *poine* voisinent avec *pleine*.

Les cartes à consulter dans l'*A.L.* sont : N°. 868 *(mois)*, 873 *(monnaie)*, 1128 *(raide)*, 81 *(avoine)*, 586 *(foin)*, 867 *(moins)*. Elles nous apprennent que, généralement parlant, *oi* a dû se répandre à partir de Paris. C'est ainsi que s'explique le fait que *mois* et *moins* sont, dans toute la France, les formes presque exclusives ; on ne trouve *è* qu'à quelques points dans l'ouest : on rencontre une forme correspondant à *meis* par ci par là dans les départements de la Manche, d'Ille-et-Vilaine, des Côtes-du-Nord, du Morbihan ; à *meins* dans ceux de la Manche, des Côtes-du-Nord, du Morbihan. Cette identité de la voyelle, qu'elle soit, ou non, placée devant nasale, nous la retrouvons en comparant les cartes *raide, monnaie* avec *veine* et *peine*.

Pourtant *oi* ne peut pas, partout où il se rencontre autre part que dans l'est, s'expliquer comme une importation française. Ainsi, *voine* et *poine* s'emploient sur des points isolés, à savoir, pour *voine*, 376 (Calvados), 417, 427, 479, 521 (Vendée), 467 (Loire-Inf.), 528, 529, 621 (Charente), dans

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[1]) *Revue des patois gallo-romans*, II, 183.

la Nièvre, la Côte-d'or et le Jura, dans les départements de l'est et du nord et en Belgique ; pour *poine*, 376 (Calvados), 479 (Vendée), 416 (Vienne) et dans l'est jusqu'à la Nièvre inclus. Le point 376 est dans une contrée où e latin fermé devient *è (ei)* ; les points isolés au sud-ouest du pays français sont également entourés d'une contrée de *è (ei)*. Comment expliquer *voine* et *poine*, qui sont différents de la forme française *veine* et *peine*, sinon en admettant que ce sont sur ces points des formes indigènes, et que, là, il a existé une forme *voine, poine*, à côté de *veine, peine ?* Il y a donc eu, dans l'ouest, des endroits où, devant la nasale, *é* est devenu spontanément *oi*. Remarquons que le point 376 est souvent en contradiction avec le français : *meis, peire*, mais *poine, voine*. Comme *avoine* et *foin* ne se rencontrent que sur le littoral de la Mer du Nord, où l'influence du français est plus sensible que dans l'intérieur de la Normandie, ces deux formes-là sont sans doute une importation française. On peut se demander comment il faut expliquer la présence de *fein* et d'*aveine* dans un milieu qui prononce ces mots par *oi* ; c'est le cas, pour *fein*, aux points 412 (Maine-et-Loire), 255, 257, 258, 265 (Oise, Seine-Inférieure, Somme) ; pour *aveine* aux points 425 (Maine-et-Loire), 230 (Aisne) et, en groupe, dans le département des Ardennes et en Belgique. Sont-ce des prononciations primitives qui ont échappé à la contagion du français, ou bien s'expliquent-elles par la réduction de *wè* à *è* ?

§ 3. Rapports phonétiques

Comme l'époque à laquelle remonte la prononciation rendue par l'orthographe *oi* ne peut pas être fixée, il est impossible de dire quand la prononciation *è* s'est séparée de celle par *oi*. L'orthographe *oi* du son issu de *é* latin libre, date du XIIe siècle, sauf un exemple isolé du Xe.

La question est de savoir si, à un moment donné, tous les *é* ont suivi ce développement ; dans ce cas, on doit considérer le *ei è* dont nous avons constaté la présence à partir de la fin du XIIIe siècle, comme une altération de ce son, et *we* serait devenu *è*, à la suite de la perte du premier élément ; nous avons vu plus haut que c'est là l'opinion générale des savants. Il est certain que, dans les dialectes qui n'ont connu que *oi*, c'est ainsi que doit s'expliquer *è* dans les patois actuels [1]).

Cependant, une autre explication est possible, et, à mon avis, plus sûre. En effet, l'orthographe du son qui plus tard est devenu *è*, se présente dès le commencement sous la forme *ei, ai*, et cette graphie ne se comprendrait pas s'il s'agissait d'une réduction de *wè*, car alors cet *è* aurait été un son nouvellement formé qui, naturellement, aurait été orthographié par le signe de la voyelle *è*. Par contre, si l'on voit dans les variantes *è*, à côté de *wa*,

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[1]) Bloch, *Les parlers des Vosges méridionales*, p. 92. C'est aussi par la chute de *w* que s'explique peut-être *mendre* qui dans Marot, rime avec *entendre*, et dans Guyot Marchant (Pa) avec *cendre*.

une continuation indépendante de l'ancienne diphtongue *ei* restée diphtongue, on s'explique qu'elle ait continué à s'écrire *ei* ou se soit écrit *ai*, au moment où, à côté, se développait la diphtongue *oi*. En outre, si *è* était issu de *wè*, il faudrait le séparer de cet *è* auquel a abouti *é* latin dans plusieurs parties de la France qui n'ont jamais connu *wè*. Il nous paraît donc certain que *è* à côté de *wè* continue une ancienne prononciation de *é*, différente de celle qui s'est développée en *wé*, et où *è* est le résultat de la monophtongaison de *ei*.

Cette double prononciation, nous l'avons vu, a existé jusqu'au XVII[e] siècle pour tous les mots qui ont *é* libre latin ; peu à peu celle de *wè* s'est généralisée, sauf devant *n*, mais d'un côté certains mots où *é* se trouvait devant consonne orale ont garde *è*, d'autre part trois mots où c'est une nasale qui suit la voyelle, ont *oi*, et on se demande comment s'expliquent ces exceptions. Ayant écarté l'emprunt comme la cause déterminante, il reste à rechercher si les mots eux-mêmes dont il s'agit peuvent nous fournir des données.

Leur signification doit être exclue, car ces mots, par rapport au sens, ne présentent aucune cohésion : ils appartiennent, grammaticalement et sémasiologiquement, aux groupes les plus divers. Gilliéron, fidèle à son principe, a appelé l'homonymie au secours pour rendre compte des formes *avoine*, *foin* et *moins*, et il croit que *s'aveine* risquait de se confondre avec *sa veine*, *foin* avec *fin* et *moins* avec *mains* ; il forge une phrase qui doit illustrer ces dangers : „Le cheval mange de son avoine et aussi du foin fin, mais moins'', mais cette combinaison factice n'a pas une grande force probante.

Serait-ce par les conditions phonétiques du son dans les mots en question que s'expliquerait la particularité qu'ils présentent ? J'en vois trois qui méritent d'être relevées. D'abord, je constate que, dans Br. *ei* se rencontre uniquement en syllabe protonique, et que c'est le cas aussi pour l'unique exemple dans Q : la même particularité se remarque dans le Ms.-A. d'*Eneas*, et j'ai eu peut-être tort de l'expliquer en supposant que le copiste a suivi un modèle écrit dans un dialecte du sud-ouest ; je ne suis plus si sûr maintenant que ce manuscrit est originaire de l'est de la France [1]).

La circonstance que, devant nasale, *è* est constant nous permet de considérer la consonne qui suit la voyelle comme un facteur important : c'est pourquoi ci-dessus (p. 32), c'est d'après ce critère que nous avons groupé les mots qui, actuellement, se prononcent encore avec *è*. Or, de ce groupement nous ne pourrons tirer les conclusions qu'il comporte qu'à la fin de cette étude, quand nous pourrons rapprocher les destinées de *é* de celles qu'ont eues d'autres voyelles.

Est-ce que, pour *avoine*, *foin* et *moins*, la labiale qui précède serait une cause déterminante ? Il est curieux que *charmoie* ait *oi*, tandis que, dans les autres mots en *-eta*, on prononce *è*, et que les textes du moyen âge ne

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[1]) Remarquez au V. 4539 d'*Eneas* l'orthographe *tailes*.

semblent pas connaître de forme avec *oi* pour *sein, serein, chaeine* ; mais, d'autre part, *peine* et *meine* ont aujourd'hui *è*.

§ 4. Sur une double accentuation de la diphtongue

Après le dédoublement de *é*, le second élément non accentué s'est changé en *i (éi)* et cette nouvelle diphtongue est devenu *èi*. Faut-il admettre que cette dernière dissimilation a été précédée d'un déplacement de l'accent ? J'ai fait, à la page 13, des réserves sur ce point. A quelle époque *é* est il devenu *è* ? Dans le *Roland*, *ei* devant une nasale assone avec *e* (*peine : sanglente*, v. 1787), de même que *ei* provenant d'un *e (i)* suivi de palatale (*ceintes : comences*, v. 3601) ; or, comme d'autre part, dans le même texte, *e* suivi d'une entrave nasale assone aussi en *a*, il est probable que là où il a encore le son *e*, cet *e* a eu un son ouvert. Ce qui paraît certain, c'est que, dans le *Roland*, *ei* devant une nasale présente déjà une autre prononciation que devant une consonne orale ; en effet, dans ce dernier cas la diphtongue n'assone qu'avec elle-même. Comment faut-il expliquer cette différence de traitement ? Koschwitz, suivant en cela Böhmer, y voit la preuve que l'accent s'est déplacé sur *i* [1]) ; s'il en est ainsi, la différence de traitement de *é* devant nasale et devant consonne orale, qui a persisté dans la langue, aura donc commencé très tôt, et l'évolution de *é* nous offre une même image que celle de *a*, *ó*. Le fait que, dans le *Roland*, *ei* devant nasale peut assoner aussi avec *ei* devant consonne orale (*meinent : veie*, v. 983), prouverait alors que, dès cette époque, *ei* devant nasale était soumis à un double traitement, et il serait naturel d'en rapprocher les doubles formes *ei* et *oi* que, d'après ce que nous avons vu, présente *é* nasal dans les textes du moyen âge. L'accentuation ascendante de *ei* serait alors le point de départ du développement ultérieur qui, de *ei*, aurait abouti à *oi* : on aurait donc primitivement prononcé *oi* avec l'accent sur *i*, et cela expliquerait que, dans un certain nombre de textes du XIIe siècle, *oi* issu de *ei* est séparé de *oi* provenant de o suivi de yod (Rossmann, *l.l.*, p. 160).

Cependant, cet *oi* hypothétique ascendant est devenu *oi* descendant et, à en juger par certaines descriptions du son par des grammairiens du XVIe siècle, cette prononciation a subsisté pendant le moyen âge à la finale, devant *n* entravé et à l'intérieur des mots devant voyelle. D'autre part, dès la fin du XIIe et le commencement du XIIIe siècle, *oi* s'est changé en *oe*, prononciation assurée pour cette époque par la forme *βόετ* dans le *Credo* transcrit en lettres grecques, publié par Egger [2]), et cet *oe* n'as pas tardé à

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[1]) *Ueberlieferung und Sprache der Chanson du Voyage de Charlemagne*, p. 38. Je suis d'accord avec Rossmann (*Französisches oi*, dans *Romanische Forschungen*, I, 166) que les exemples que Koschwitz allègue pour prouver la prononciation de *ei* comme *i*, ne sont pas probants.

[2]) Voir G. Paris, dans *Romania*, XI, 608. Le Maître ne réussit pas, à mon avis, à réfuter les arguments de Rossmann en faveur de l'existence à cette époque ancienne de la prononciation *oe*. J'essayerai ailleurs de rendre probable que *poi*, *bloi* (formes

subir un nouveau changement d'accent, qui est devenu le point de départ de la prononciation actuelle *wa*. L'existence de *oe* accentué sur *e*, même à la finale, résulte des rimes citées par Rossmann, p. 166.

Ainsi, les trois prononciations qu'a connues le moyen âge, à savoir *ei (è)*, *oi* et *oe (wè)* s'expliqueraient par des changements successifs de l'accentuation de la diphtongue, de telle sorte que l'ancienne prononciation subsistait à côté de la nouvelle.

D. DOUBLETS DE *ó* LATIN LIBRE TONIQUE

Ce son abouti en français à *ō*, mais aussi, dans certains mots, à *ou* (monophtongue) et, devant nasales, à *ò*. Le problème qui sera discuté ici, est de savoir comment s'expliquent ces variantes de *ō*.

§ 1. Mots qui ont *ou* et comment on les a expliqués

amour : M. Thomas [1]) a signalé quelques exemples de la forme *ameur*. Ceux du *Mystère de Saint Bernard de Menthon* n'ont pas de force probante : *ameur* rime une fois avec *retour* et une fois avec *honneurs* ; dans le premier cas, c'est une graphie hypercorrecte pour *amour*, et, comme, à d'autres endroits du *Mystère*, *honneur* rime avec *jour*, la rime de *ameur* : *honneur* doit être lue comme *amour* : *honnour*, de sorte qu'ici *eu* est simplement orthographique. Chez Martin Le Franc et Firmin Le Ver *ameur* s'emploie pour le rut des bêtes, tandis que, dans une chanson nuptiale écrite au XIX[e] siècle dans le patois de la Champagne méridionale, cette forme s'emploie pour l'amour des hommes.

labour : au moyen âge, cette forme s'emploie pour „travail" en général, et n'est pas encore réservé au seul „travail des champs". R. Estienne (Thurot, I, 459) fait déjà cette séparation, mais, dans la deuxième moitié du XVI[e] siècle, *labeur* a aussi le sens plus restreint.

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secondaires de *peu, bleu)* corroborent l'hypothèse de l'existence de *oe* à la finale dès la fin du XIIe siècle, dans le français central. La rime du *Roman de la Rose*, *apercueve: nueve*, est difficile à interpréter. Si tous les *oi*, à cette époque, avaient eu le son de *ue*, on s'étonnerait que *oi* ne soit pas devenu aussi *ō*. On sait que, dans certains dialectes *oi* a, en effet evolué jusqu'à *ō*, mais rien ne nous autorise à généraliser ce développement. Il est plus probable que la labiale *v* a amené pour *aperçoive*, *reçoive* un rapprochement entre la prononciation de *oi* et celle de *ue*, qui auront tous deux sonné comme *uö*; on trouve également devant *l*: *seul* dans le *Mystère de la Passion;* cf. Meyer-Lübke, *Grammaire des langues romanes*, I, § 72, Rem., et, pour le changement de *oi* en *oe*, le même, *Histor. Gramm. des Franz.*, p. 78, et Suchier, *o. l.*, p. 95.

[1]) *Romania*, XLIV, 321.

époux, épouse ; quelquefois on rencontre *espeus* (*Ille*, 1814), *espeuse* (*Mateolus*, II, 103 ; *R. de la Rose*, 16433, où le copiste de Ab, un manuscrit contemporain du poème, avait d'abord écrit *espouse*, éd. Langlois, I, 52, 219).

jaloux : on trouve *jaleux* dans *Chansons du XVe siècle* (passim, e.a. XXXI, 7), et quelquefois dans Ronsard.

pelouse ; au sens de „poilu", on trouve au XVIe siècle *peleuse*, et, dans *Pathelin*, *pelouse* a aussi cette signification.

Toulouse : Rutebeuf, *Complainte du Duc de Poitiers*, V. 31, a *Touleuse*, sans doute une forme hypercorrecte.

touse : un des manuscrits d'*Auberee* (v. 172) a *teuse* (éd. Ebeling, p. 137).

velours : il est improbable que *vilieux* (*Dict. gén.*) soit le même mot ; c'est sans doute un emprunt au latin.

ventouse ; dans M aussi *venteuse*.

nous, vous.

loup ; dès le XIe siècle *leu* (*Doomsday-Book*) ; cette forme est très fréquente [1]).

louve ; rarement *leuve* (Deschamps, VIII, 189, 190).

douve ; exemples de *deuve* dans Godefroy.

où, à côté de *eu* [2]).

oule, à côté de *eule* (God.) [3]).

couple, double, ensouple (enseule), étouble (éteuble, éteule).

loutre, Douvre, rouvre.

joug ; *jeu* dans *Rencl.* C, 197, 6 ; M 36.3 [4]).

On a cherché, pour expliquer la présence de *ou* au lieu de *eu* dans ces mots, des causes très diverses, que nous allons passer en revue.

Les mots avec ou *ont une autre étymologie que leurs doublets qui ont* eu. C'est le cas de *labour* qui, d'après G. Paris [5]), ne serait pas la continuation de *laborem*, mais le substantif verbal de *labourer*. Cependant, nous avons déjà constaté que *labour*, au moyen âge, a le sens de toutes sortes de „travail", et que, d'autre part, *labeur* s'est employé aussi pour le „travail des champs" ; on ne peut donc pas séparer ces deux mots. *Loutre*, aussi d'après G. Paris [6]), ne serait pas lat. *lutra*, mais german *Otter* : il ne dit pas pourquoi ; si c'est uniquement à cause de *ou*, c'est une pétition de principe ; en outre *loure*, qu'on rencontre à côté de *loutre*, peut pourtant

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[1]) G. Paris, *Romania*, X, 50 (*Mélanges*, p. 250) ; Oestberg, *Les voyelles vélaires accentuées dans quelques noms de lieux de la France du Nord*, Diss. Upsal, 1899, p. 13 et 14.

[2]) G. Paris, *Romania*, X, 48 (*Mélanges*, p. 247).

[3]) Ebeling, *Auberee*, p. 138.

[4]) Nous laissons de côté *bouse*, que cite G. Paris, mais dont l'origine est inconnue.

[5]) G. Paris, *Romania*, X, 45 (*Mélanges*, p. 243).

[6]) *Romania*, X, 42 (*Mélanges*, p. 238).

avoir difficilement une autre origine que *leure*, et dans cette forme *ou* resterait à expliquer [1]).

La forme avec ou *est attribuée à la généralisation d'une prononciation protonique*, parce que, devant l'accent, o latin devient *ou*. *Nous, vous* sont universellement considérés comme primitivement protoniques ; à ce propos je fais remarquer : *a*. Les pronoms personnels, employés comme sujet, sont à l'origine toniques, parce qu'ils ne servaient qu'à mettre le sujet en relief. Or, nous avons vu que l'allongement et la diphtongaison des voyelles libres [2]) se sont produits de bonne heure, de sorte qu'il est certain que *nos, vos*, eux aussi, ont eu une prononciation diphtonguée, qui a dû persister lorsque ces pronoms devinrent protoniques ; *b*. On constate que, dans les autres pronoms, dans l'emploi objectif, c'est plutôt la forme accentuée qui remplace la forme atone ; ainsi *leur*, qui est enclitique et tonique, et *moi*, qui a essayé de se mettre à la place de *me* dans *il moi semble* [3]) ; *c*. Il serait surprenant que, de la forme accentuée et de la forme atone, l'une eût déjà disparu à une époque aussi ancienne, tandis que, dans les autres pronoms, elles ont longtemps coexisté. G. Paris [4]) considère aussi comme atone l'interrogatif-relatif *où*, mais ce serait le seul cas d'un adverbe latin subsistant sous une forme non-accentuée [5]). Remarquons que *quel* est une forme tonique.

Ou *s'expliquerait par des conditions phonétiques*. Ce cas se présenterait dans les mots assez nombreux où la voyelle est suivie d'un v : *louve, douve, Louvre, rouvre* [6]) ; *leuve* aurait alors emprunté son *eu* au masculin *leu*, mais *deuve* resterait inexpliqué, à moins qu'on ne veuille y voir une prononciation „hypercorrecte". Il est certainement remarquable que, à côté de *Louvre, rouvre*, il n'existe pas de formes avec *eu*, et que dans *couple, double, ensouple* et *étouble* le *ou* est également suivi d'une consonne labiale. Nous y reviendrons plus tard. D'après Langlois (*o.l.*, p. 215, n. 1) o de *amor* se serait de bonne heure confondu avec ó entravé, parce que *amors* est plus

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[1]) Voir sur le traitement du groupe muta cum liquida, *Neophil.*, V, 1.

[2]) On sait que, dans les monosyllabes, les voyelles latines sont traitées comme libres. Cf. le cas, identique à *nos, vos*, de *trans* qui devient *três*.

[3]) L. Foulet, *Petite syntaxe de l'ancien français*, p. 104. Que devant l'infinitif et le gérondif, l'ancien français se serve encore de la forme non-accentuée du pronom, tient à la nature primitivement substantive de ces temps, dont le caractère verbal s'est peu à peu accentué. On peut sans doute citer ici *lui*, qui alterne avec *li* dès le XIIIe siècle (Brunot, *Histoire de la langue française*, I, 422); il est vrai que, d'après Meyer-Lübke, *Histor. Gramm. der frz. Spr.*, p. 196, *lui* se serait prononcé *li* et que *li* atone serait devenu *lui* par suite d'une prononciation „hypercorrecte". Voir sur le changement de *ui* en *i*, ci-dessous, p. 60.

[4]) *Romania*, X, 49 (*Mélanges*, p. 247).

[5]) Cf. pour *mal*, ci-dessus, p. 21.

[6]) Meyer-Lübke, *o. l.*, p. 83. Bien que nous laissions de côté les formes verbales, pour lesquelles on pourrait invoquer l'alternance des formes fortes et faibles, je signale ici *couvir*, qui n'a que *ou* (*Rom.* X, 51; *Mélanges*, p. 250). Schwan-Behrens (*o. l.*, p. 138) sont d'avis que les mots en question n'ont pas encore été expliqués d'une façon satisfaisante.

fréquent que *amor* ; la déclinaison primitive aurait alors été : S. *ameur*, *ameur*, Pl. *amours*, *amours*, et cette dernière prononciation se serait généralisée. Cela me paraît improbable, parce que la séparation entre voyelles libres et voyelles entravées est très ancienne. Le même savant explique par le fait que *r* est prononcé, la différence, dont il sera question plus loin, entre la date à laquelle *eus* apparaît et celle (postérieure) de *our*, mais à l'époque de la scission entre voyelles libres et entravées *s* se prononçait aussi.

Ou *s'explique par l'analogie de mots dérivés*. C'est ainsi que G. Paris, dans son célèbre article sur *ó* [1]), rend compte de *amour*, qui aurait subi l'influence de *amoureux*, mais A. Thomas, dans son article cité plus haut, fait remarquer qu'*amoureux* est plutôt un dérivé d'*amour*, parce que, si le mot venait directement du latin, sa forme aurait été *amereux* (cf. *doucereux*) ; de même *chaleureux* et *valeureux* viennent de *chaleur* et de *valeur*. En outre, pourquoi, dans *amour*, l'action de l'adjectif aurait-elle été si profonde, tandis que *douleur* n'a pas changé malgré le voisinage de *douloureux*, ni *vigueur*, *rigeur*, par *vigoureux*, *rigoureux* ? G. Paris attribue *ou* dans *époux*, *jaloux*, *loup*, *ventouser* également à l'influence de dérivés ; à moins de montrer pour quelles raisons le dérivé a dû être plus fréquent que le simple, on ne saurait donner à cette hypothèse plus que la valeur d'une simple assertion, et, pour ce qui est de *époux*, qui se serait modelé sur *épouser*, il faut remarquer, en outre, que, si ce verbe est primitif, les formes fortes ont dû avoir d'abord *eu* et que c'est sur elles qu'a dû se régler le substantif postverbal.

Les formes avec ou *ont été empruntées à une autre langue*. a. Le provençal. Boehmer [2]) et Thomas (*l.l.*) expliquent *amour* et *jaloux* comme dus à la littérature provençale ; ces formes se seraient introduites en France avec la poésie des troubadours. Je vois à cette supposition deux difficultés. D'abord, *valeur* et *honneur*, qui étaient aussi des termes techniques de l'art des troubadours [3]), ont gardé la prononciation en *eur*. Et ensuite, une influence aussi profonde exercée par la poésie du midi sur un mot exprimant un concept aussi général que l'amour est extrêmement invraisemblable, pour ne pas dire impossible. Les vers des troubadours n'ont jamais été très répandus dans le nord et non pas avant la fin du XII[e] siècle [4]) : il n'y a eu guère de relations personnelles avec les poètes du midi [5]), et ce peu de contact a dû cesser vers 1280, terme final pour la poésie provençale. Ce que les chansonniers français contiennent de poésies provençales montre que les

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[1]) *Romania*, X, 36 (*Mélanges*, p. 231).

[2]) *Romanische Studien*, III.

[3]) Jeanroy, *De nostratibus medii aevi poetis qui primam lyrica Aquitaniae carmina imitati sint*, p. 98.

[4]) P. Meyer, *La poésie des trouvères et celle des troubadours*, dans *Romania*, XIX, 3.

[5]) Voir Jeanroy, dans Petit de Julleville, *Langue et littér. franç.*, I, 368, n.; Appel, *Bernart von Ventadour*, p. LIX.

poètes du nord n'ont dû en connaître que quelques-unes, et la façon dont celles-ci y ont été reproduites prouve que les copistes comprenaient à peine ce qu'ils écrivaient, tandis que les poètes, tout en imitant des modèles provençaux, ne savaient pas toujours manier le provençal [1]). Dans ces conditions, comment la langue des troubadours aurait-elle pu influer sur le français ? Hugues de Berzé, originaire de Bourgogne, écrit correctement en français malgré ses relations avec Folquet de Romans [2]). A en juger d'après des romans comme *Guillaume de Dole* et *La Violette*, on aurait, vers la fin du XIIe siècle, chanté des poésies de Bernard de Ventadour dans des milieux mondains français. Mais était-ce une mode générale ou bien s'agit-il d'une invention du poète ? G. Paris dit que cet usage à dû être très répandu dans la période qui précède celle du roman [3]), mais il n'allègue aucune preuve ; nous avons vu plus haut que, vers 1200, la poésie provençale était connue depuis peu dans la France du nord. Je cite encore ces paroles du même savant : „Il me semble résulter de ces remarques un peu minutieuses que l'auteur de *Guillaume de Dole* ne tenait pas directement de gens du Midi les couplets provençaux qu'il a insérés dans son poème, mais qu'ils avaient pénétré une fois pour toutes dans le répertoire des jongleurs qui exécutaient des chansons d'amour. Il est probable que ni les jongleurs ni les auditeurs n'y comprenaient pas grand chose". Si donc ni les poètes eux-mêmes ni le public n'étaient familiers avec le provençal, comment cette langue a-t-elle pu avoir sur la prononciation du français une influence quelconque ?

b. Un dialecte français du nord. G. Paris [4]) dit à propos de *pelouse* : „Ce mot n'est pas ancien en français ; c'est sans doute un terme de jardinage emprunté à un patois (d'un pays où on avait appris à donner au gazon cet aspect uni et serré qui caractérise la pelouse, dont le plus ancien exemple, dans Littré, est de Buffon)". G. Paris lui-même cite, dans Gautier de Coinci, un exemple de *peleus* dont le sens pourrait être „pelouse". D'après Meyer-Lübke (p. 49) *loup* est une forme dialectale.

A notre avis il vaut la peine d'essayer de ramener ces diverses formes qui ont *ou* sinon toutes, du moins pour la plupart, et aussi le traitement de ó devant nasale à une seule source.

§ 2. Rapports chronologiques et dialectaux

Que *eu* se soit bien développé dans l'Ile-de-France, c'est ce qui résulte du fait que le plus ancien exemple de ce son se rencontre dans un *Pater* du

[1]) L. Gauchat, *Les poésies provençales conservées par des chansonniers français*, dans *Romania*, XXII, 364 (surtout p. 377); Jeanroy, *Chansonniers provençaux*, p. 17, 18, 25; idem, *Origines de la poésie lyrique*, p. 19 n.

[2]) *Romania*, XVIII, 570.

[3]) *Guillaume de Dole* (éd. des *Anciens Textes*), p. CXV.

[4]) *Romania*, X, 46 (*Mélanges*, p. 244).

début du XIII[e] siècle, écrit non loin de Paris [1]) ; à la même époque on le trouve en Vermandois [2]). Avant cette époque, il n'est donc pas possible de distinguer entre la diphtongue et la monophtongue, mais dès que nous constatons la présence de *eu*, nous avons le droit de considérer *ou*, quand il s'emploie régulièrement en concurrence avec la diphtongue, comme une monophtongue ; car comme *eu* ne saurait être que la continuation de l'ancienne diphtongue *ou*, l'apparition de *eu* signifie que cette dernière va disparaître. Cependant il est probable que la scission de *ou* monophtongue et *ou* diphtongue s'est faite plus tôt, puisque les rimes signalées plus loin (p. 51) de ó libre avec ó entravé sont fréquentes dès le XII[e] siècle.

Examinons la lutte entre *ou* et *eu* depuis la fin du XIII[e] siècle.

V *seignor, empereor;*
amor;
envious (: vous, v. 201);
deus (: deus, de dueil, v. 155), preus (: teus, de tel, v. 59; : leu, v. 63).

Br *emperor empereour seigneur;*
colour, chalor, odor, savor;
mours, meillor meilleur;
hore heure;
froideillous, dormillous, paourous, tenebrous, vertuous, dolereus, melancolieus, plentureus;
goule.

Qa *serveor, creator, pecheor, souffreor, seignor seigneur* (même page), *criour, conquereur, laboureur, empereur;*
douçor, paor, baudor, grandor, dolor, amor, vigor, odor, suor, valor valour, honor honour, honor honeur (même page), *honore honeure* (même page);
meillor, menor, greignor gregneur, peor poieur, lor leur (même page);
hore,
querelous, convoitous, viguereus, engigneus, mervilleus, luxurieus, orguilleus;
espouse;
leu, soue, prodome preudome;
seul.

Boi *anciseur, achateeur,* etc.;
amor amour, paour, folour foleur, clameur;
meilleur;
hore;
boiteus, greveus, honteus;
prou preu.

Q *seignor, pasteur;*
chalor, savor, verdor, puor, ardor, honor, poor, error, blancheur;
greignor, meillor, lor, flor, pleurt plore;
grevos, pooros, precios precieus, perillos perilleus, merveilleus, gracieus, dolereus, hisdeus, maleureus, aventureus, angoisseus, tenebreus, oiseus, ennuieus, outrageus, vertueus;

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[1]) P. Meyer, dans *Bulletin des Anc. Textes*, 1880, p. 39; Suchier, o. *l.*, p. 5.

[2]) Neumann, *Zur Laut- und Flexionslehre des Altfranzösischen*, p. 45 et 46. Au XVIe siècle Bovelles (1533) croyait que *eu* était un son venu du picard (Thurot, I, 460). Voir aussi Walberg, dans son édition des *Vers de la Mort*, p. LXXI.

hore;
espous, espouse, deus;
sol seul sel;
prodon (une seule fois) *preudom, preu, neveu.*

M *les meneurs successours, leur greignors predecesseurs,* etc.;
chalour chaleur; colour couleur;
les fleurs de la fame, flours ou menstrues;
orgueillous orgueilleus, viscous visqueus, etc.;
goule gueule;
leuf (loup).

N *seignor, traïtour* (rime), *vavassour, enperor enperour, faiseour;*
henor henour (r.), *amor amour, coulour, labour, paour;*
meillor, plusour, piour, Pascour;
hore houre;
vigourous, grevous, perillous, envious, pitous;
deus, vous;
soul, goule;
nevou, preu preudome, soue.

T *prieour, ancessour, seignor seignour;*
amor, froidor, suor, valor, paor paour, colour, honour, fleirour, vigour, dolour, resplendour;
meilleur, plusor plusour pleseur, plour pleure, seror serour, flor;
hore houre heure;
eürous, hidous, oublious, paourous, merveillous, souffratous, hontous honteus, doulourous dolereus, grevous greveusement, curious curieusement, engigneus, ploreus, gracieus, ocieus, angouseusement, ireus, coureucieus;
dous deus;
leus (loup), *prou, neveu, soue seue;*
soul seul.

D *combatour, contour, flateour, passour, tannour, ancessour ancesseur;* la très grande majorité de ces mots ont *-eur;*
douçour, baudour, freour, rumour, grandour, irour, labour (travail), *langour, luour, clamour* (r.) *clameur, coulour* (r.) *couleur, folour foleur, froidour froideur, honnour honneur, tristour tristeur, puour pueur, tendrour tendreur, tenebrour tenebreur, douleur, moisteur, verdeur, teneur, tremeur;*
majour, menour meneur, piour pieur, gregneur; serour, flour, mours, plour pleur, pluseur;
heure;
aïrous, seul exemple de *-ous,* à côté de nombreux adjectifs en *-eus;*
anbedeus;
leu loup, leuve;
preu, prodom preudom, prode (fém.).

Do (1324) *onour;*
hore;
A côté d'un grand nombre de mots qui ont *eu.*

Pa *pastour (: alentour)* (1485), *peur* (1485) *paour* (1486).

Bo *En pou d'heure Dieu laboure.*

H *licour, paour peur* (même page), *coutz* (fr. *queux),* „pierre à aiguiser".

Ces différentes graphies représentent bien deux prononciations diverses, car dans D *clamour* et *coulour* riment en *ou*, de même que, dans les vers introduits dans N, *traïtour* et *honour*. On peut suivre la lutte entre les deux sons. Foerster [1]) avait déjà remarqué que dans *-osus ō* s'est le plus anciennement répandu ; c'est ce que confirment nos manuscrits ; au XIV[e] siècle *-ous* devient de plus en plus rare, et Deschamps n'en fournit plus qu'un seul exemple ; dans les mots français en néerlandais *-eus* est aussi plus ancien que *-eur* [2]). Quant à *-our*, il faut distinguer entre les noms d'agent et les autres (noms abstraits en *-orem*, comparatifs, noms non-dérivés) : dans tous, *eu* progresse, mais plus rapidement dans les premiers ; Boileaue n'a déjà plus que *-eur* pour *-atorem*, et rarement dans les autres mots où *r* suit le *ou* ; dans Deschamps on ne trouve plus que six noms d'agent avec *ou*, tandis que, dans les autres noms, *-our* est fréquent. Quant à ceux qui ont *ó* dans le radical, *eu* s'y répand avec la même allure que dans les mots en *-orem* qui ne sont pas des noms d'agent ; voir, par exemple, *mours, flour* dans Deschamps.

Une place à part revient à N qui, bien que plus jeune que Br, Qa et Boi, a toujours *ou*, sauf dans *deus* et *preu*. Comme ce manuscrit, ainsi que nous l'avons vu, ne recule pas devant la notation exacte du flottement des doublets issus de *é*, il faut admettre que sa régularité à n'exprimer *ó* que par un seul signe prouve qu'il prononçait partout *ou*, et que, à cette époque, il y avait encore des différences individuelles dans l'emploi de *ou* et *eu*.

Quant au fait que *-eur* est plus ancien dans les noms d'agent, il s'explique sans doute ainsi, que dans ces mots l'analogie a pu agir avec le plus de liberté, parce que, non seulement, ils sont formés avec le même suffixe, mais que ce suffixe y est généralement fortement senti comme tel, plus fortement que dans les mots abstraits, où le radical ne s'imposait pas à l'esprit avec la même évidence. Cela est si vrai que, déjà chez Guillaume de Lorris [3]), qui prononce *-osus* comme *-eus*, *jalous, espous* n'ont que *ou* ; ici on ne sentait aucun rapport avec le suffixe, et voilà pourquoi ces mots se sont soustraits à l'analogie ; les mots non-dérivés ont dû échapper plus facilement encore à l'analogie d'autres mots où *ó* se prononçait déjà *ō*.

La phonétique a sans doute joué aussi un rôle et ce n'est peut-être pas un hasard que V et N prononcent *eu* justement dans *preu* et dans *deus*, c'est-à-dire à la fin du mot et dans un mot où la diphtongue a dû exister plus longtemps que là où il s'agit de *ó* seul. En anglo-normand on trouve *leu (loup)* déjà dans le *Doomsday-Book* (XI[e] siècle).

La langue du XVI[e] siècle confirme ces résultats : c'est dans les mots non-dérivés et dans les mots abstraits en *-orem* qu'on y trouve encore des exemples de *ou* : R. Estienne et du Bellay connaissent encore *flour*, R. Estienne, Palsgrave et Sylvius *coue* à côté de *queue*. Tabourot cite, „chez

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[1]) *Cligés*, grande édition, p. LVIII.

[2]) *Franse woorden*, p. 150 et 151. Cf. plus haut p. 44.

[3]) Langlois dans son édition du *Roman de la Rose*, I, 218.

les anciens poètes", *labour, honour, langour, clamour*. Ronsard fait rimer *nouds* avec *doux* [1]) : *prou* s'emploie à côté de *preux*, dont il s'est différencié pour le sens.

Constatons aussi que, dans la langue actuelle, il ne subsiste aucun nom d'agent en *-our*, et que dans ceux qui ont *-ous* au lieu de *-eus*, le suffixe n'est pas reconnaissable comme tel, parce que le radical n'est plus vivant.

La coexistence si ancienne et si constante pendant tout le moyen âge de *ou*, *eu*, et la progression graduelle de *eu*, nous sont garants que ce sont là deux prononciations également françaises, non dialectales. C'est d'ailleurs ce qu'enseignent Schwan-Behrens (§ 237 Rem.) sous une forme peu claire : „A côté d'*eu*, on rencontre, dans les textes franciens, même à l'époque du français moderne, *o*, *u*, dans lesquels on peut reconnaître l'état phonétique du français de l'ouest et spécialement du nord" ; le renvoi au § 64 Rem. nous assure que, d'après eux, *ou* est bien un son français. Suchier, par contre, semble considérer *ou* comme normand ; il est vrai que, lui non plus, ne s'exprime avec toute la clarté désirable (*o.l.*, p. 55) : „L'hésitation qui est générale devant *r* dans les manuscrits français, s'explique peut-être par le fait que, dans la langue littéraire normande du XIIe siècle, ó prédominant ne fut pas immédiatement remplacé par l'*eu* français, mais que le son normand subsista quelque temps à côté du son français". Voici qu'intervient encore la langue „littéraire" dans une évolution phonétique, et ici comme pour le provençal (voir plus haut, p. 44), cette intervention ne peut que jeter du trouble, sans parler de la qualification injustifiable de la langue de Marie de France comme normande [2]).

Ce qui est certain, c'est qu'il y a des dialectes qui n'ont pas connu le développement de ó en ö. Oestberg [3]), au moyen d'un examen des noms de lieux, a conclu qu'ó latin libre est devenu ö dans l'Ile-de-France, la Picardie et la Wallonnie, et dans la partie occidentale de la Champagne, où il se prononce comme *ou* (monophtongue). D'après Wilmotte [4]), le liégeois a conservé très tard *ou* ; *eu* y serait une importation française. Görlich (*o.l.*, p. 54) dit que, dans les dialectes du nord-ouest, *ou* s'est maintenu jusqu'à nos jours, à côté de *eu*, qui vient du français.

Les cartes de l'*A. L.* semblent confirmer le rayonnement de *eu* à partir de Paris : ce sont les numéros 101 *(peur)*, 249 *(chasseur)*, 387-8 *(heure)*, 693 *(heureux)*, 732 *(joyeux)*, 761 *(leur)*, 1412 *(voleur)* [5]). *Peur* a une aire plus petite que les autres ; elle n'occupe que le nord et le centre ; *voleur*, par contre, s'étend jusque dans la Drôme ; pour *chasseur* la frontière méridionale descend plus bas que pour *peur* ; elle coïncide à peu près avec celle

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[1]) Thurot, I, 459; Livet, *La grammaire française et les grammairiens du seizième siècle*, p. 165 n.

[2]) *Neophilologus*, III, 70.

[3]) *O. l.*, p. 13 et 14.

[4]) *Romania*, XXX, 90.

[5]) La carte No. 971 *(paresseux)* donne des résultats peu positifs à cause de la concurrence de *fainéant*.

de *e* issu de *a*, de même que celle de *heureux* et *joyeux*, dont l'aire comprend en outre tout l'ouest. *Heure* et *leur* correspondent, comme extension, dans le midi également à *chasseur*, mais couvrent l'ouest, sauf quelques îlots. On constate donc que cette extension ne tient aucun compte de la différence entre mots dérivés ou non, contrairement à ce que nous avons signalé pour la progression de *eu* en français au moyen âge. C'est que, dans ce dernier cas, il s'agissait d'une extension progressive, tandis que, dans le premier, *eu* s'est répandu par l'emprunt de mots, qui ne tient aucun compte du son, mais uniquement du concept exprimé par le mot.

Les patois permettent-ils aussi de nous prononcer sur la question de savoir si, dans les dialectes, *eu* est toujours dû au français ? No 783 *(loup)* semble fournir un renseignement sur ce point : en effet, on trouve *loup* partout sauf dans les patois du nord *(lō, lew)*. Mais le français a eu aussi la forme *leu* (par exemple Qa, M, T, D) et il serait donc possible que, à une époque plus ancienne, ce soit de l'Ile-de-France que cette forme a été importée dans le nord. D'autre part, *leure (loutre)* et *ameur* ne se rencontrent que dans les dialectes ; alors, *eu* ne peut donc pas leur venir du français. Cf. *oi* et *è* indigènes dans les dialectes (ci-dessus, p. 37).

Les faits qui viennent d'être exposés montrent que, pour ó latin libre, le français a, dès les plus anciens temps, eu deux prononciations : peu à peu l'une d'elle a gagné du terrain et a fini par s'imposer, d'abord dans les mots dérivés, plus accessibles à l'action analogique, puis dans les mots abstraits et les mots non-dérivés. Lorsque, au XVIe siècle, la prononciation française s'est fixée, un certain nombre de ces deux derniers groupes ont conservé la monophtongue ; ce sont là les mots discutés à la page 41.

Examinons-les encore une fois et groupons-les :

a. Mots abstraits en *-our* : *amour, labour* ;

b. Mots en *-ous* : *époux, jaloux, touse, velours, ventouse* [1]), *nous, vous* ;

c. *ou* devant labiale : *louve, double, étouble, couple, ensouple, Louvre, rouvre* ;

d. *ou* devant muta cum liquida : *loutre* (Cf. sous *c*) ;

e. *ou* à la finale : *loup, où, joug* ;

f. *ó* devant une consonne nasale.

Il semble donc que ce sont surtout *s* et labiales qui ont favorisé la prononciation *ou*. Remarquons que, dans aucun des mots en *-ous*, cette syllabe ne se prête à être identifiée avec le suffixe *-osum*. Quant aux deux mots du premier groupe, ils sont trop peu nombreux pour qu'on puisse attribuer *ou* à l'action de *r* ; ce sont les derniers restes de ce groupe de mots abstraits dont plusieurs, à ce que nous avons vu, ont gardé *ou* jusqu'aux XVIe et XVIIe siècles.

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[1]) Nous laissons de côté *pelouse*, qui est recent (voir plus haut, p. 45).

§ 3. Rapports phonétiques

L'analogie de *é*, qui se trouve à un même degré d'aperture que *ó*, et l'orthographe *ou*, qui se rencontre dès le IXe siècle pour le son de *ó* libre tonique, comme aussi son développement ultérieur, rendent probable que, dans cette position, *ó* s'est diphtongué, après s'être allongé. Ceux qui, avec Nyrop (*o.l.* I, § 183) voient dans le changement de *ó* en *ō* l'effet d'une simple palatalisation, auront à rendre compte du fait que cette prétendue palatalisation ne se produit que dans une syllabe ouverte, et de cette autre particularité qu'au XVIe siècle *eu* était encore diphtongue [1]) et l'est encore dans le dialecte des faubourgs de Saint-Pol [2]).

A côté de l'orthographe *ou* que nous signalions, le même son latin est encore, dans les vieux textes, écrit *o* ou *u*, et, dans les manuscrits normands, *u* est même l'unique graphie. L'*o* pourrait, au besoin, s'expliquer comme une notation latine, mais seulement dans les mots où *ó* correspond à *o* long latin, non pas à *u* bref (donc bien dans *flor*, non pas dans *gole*) ; inversement la graphie de *u* ne saurait être considérée comme un latinisme que dans les mots qui, en latin, ont *u* bref. Force nous est donc de reconnaître que, de bonne heure, *ó* latin libre tonique se continue en français sous deux formes, celle d'une diphtongue et celle d'une monophtongue.

L'existence de cette monophtongue est confirmée par d'autres faits. Dans un grand nombre de textes français *ó* libre latin assone avec *ó* entravé, par exemple *honour : jour*. On a généralement expliqué cette réunion en admettant qu'elle reposait sur une identité partielle des deux sons : la voyelle accentuée de la diphtongue aurait assoné avec la voyelle simple, de même que, dans la *Chanson de Roland*, *ai* assone avec *a*. Mais *ie* est toujours, à la rime, séparé de *i* ou *e*, et *ue* de *u* ou *e*, et une assonance de *ai* avec *a* est très rare, tandis que celles des deux *ó* sont justement, nous venons de le dire, très fréquentes. Il faut donc admettre que ces dernières reposent sur une complète identité de sons. Celle-ci résulte d'ailleurs aussi du fait que, depuis 1200 environ (Schwan-Behrens, § 219), on trouve comme orthographe de *ó* entravé aussi bien *ou* que *o* [3]).

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[1]) Thurot, I, 442. Tandis que Ramus (1562) n'a qu'un seul signe pour *eu* et qu'il appelle ce son une "voyelle", Meigret (1542) l'appelle diphtongue (il est vrai qu'il est peut-être dupe de l'orthographe). Hindret (1687) dit que : "nos ancêtres faisaient encore entendre séparément les sons *e* et *u*, comme le font encore les Picards et les Wallons". Cf. *Romania*, XIX, 613.

[2]) *Revue des patois gallo-romans*, II, 122, *enjóléw (enjoleur)*; I, 294 *bourœ*ɔ (Cf. I, 52). La diphtongaison de *ó* a donné lieu à Celerina-Cresta au phénomène que, de même que *ò* en syllabe ouverte devient dans certaines conditions phonétiques *og*, *ok*, *ó* en syllabe ouverte devient *oug* (*ou* monophtongue); or le *g* ne peut-être que la consonnification du deuxième élément d'une diphtongue. A la finale ce deuxième élément devient *f*, c'est-à-dire que l'élément labial du *u* domine ici, tandis que, devant une consonne, c'est l'élément vélaire qui a le dessus. Voir pour ces formes, Walberg, *o. l.*, p. 32 et 38.

[3]) Ainsi, par exemple, dans *Courtois d'Arras* (éd. Faral) *borse*, *secors*, *torse*, à côte de *doute*, *bouche*; dans *La Chastelaine de Vergi* (éd. Raynaud-Foulet) *toz*,

Il n'est pas aisé de savoir quel était, à ces époques anciennes, le son de cette monophtongue. D'après G. Paris [1]) ó en syllabe entravée sonnait primitivement comme o, et des mots empruntés de bonne heure en néerlandais, *kosten, mossel, pop, tortel* [2]), semblent lui donner raison. Seulement, le hollandais connait aussi la prononciation *ou* (monophtongue) : *boerde* [3]), *tamboer*, et à côté de *joste* nous y trouvons *joeste*, à côté de *cauworde cauwoerde*. L'anglo-normand emploie, dès le début, *u*, graphie qui ne saurait rendre le son ó. Il en résulte que ó latin a dû avoir de bonne heure une tendance à se fermer, et que, pendant longtemps, le son a oscillé entre ó et *ou* [4]). Le français, à une époque plus récente, a connu, devant *z*, devant *r* suivi de consonne et dans d'autres positions, la même hésitation entre o et *ou* : *jalose* rime avec *ose* (Christ. de Pisan, II, 282) ; *jalose* avec *ose*, *calliope* : *trope*, tous les deux dans Ronsard (Thurot, I, 247 et 250).

Ce qui semble encore indiquer que ó se prononçait avec la langue très élevée, c'est cette particularité que, par l'inflexion, il ne devient pas ö, mais ü *(fui)* [5]).

Cette prononciation, d'abord fluctuant entre ó et *ou*, puis devenant définitivement *ou*, a dû être aussi celle de la monophtongue correspondant à ó latin libre. Le moyen-néerlandais, pour celle-ci aussi, hésite entre o et ou : *pastoor* a un ó, mais rime aussi avec *ou*, par exemple *pastoer* : *hoer* [6]) ; à côté de *ventose* on trouve *ventouse*. L'orthographe *o* dans des mots comme *dolors*, encore au XIIIe siècle, prouve que le son était alors encore intermédiaire entre o et ou, car o ne doit pas être considéré comme un latinisme, puisqu'on trouve aussi *lor* de *illorum*.

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corouz (vs. 447). Walberg *(Les Vers de la Mort*, p. LXXI) tire de la rime *mot (multum)* avec *englot, bot* la conclusion que *l*, dans ce mot, a été absorbé; mais o ne peut-il rendre ici la monophtongue ou? Meyer-Lübke *(Zeitschrift f. frz. Spr. u. Lit.*, XLIX, 283) s'étonne que *poudre* où, après la vocalisation de *l*, il s'est formé une diphtongue *óu*, n'est pas devenu *eu*, et il suppose que la diphtongue y a été *òu*, sans nous dire comment s'expliquerait ce changement. Or, dans *poudre* l'accent de la diphtongue frappant le premier élément, la diphtongue descendante s'est monophtonguée en *ou* (monophtongue), comme l'avaient fait les anciens *óu*.

[1]) *Extraits de la Chanson de Roland*, p. 9.

[2]) *De Franse woorden*, p. 164 et 165.

[3]) Nous rappelons que *oe*, en hollandais, est la graphie pour *ou* monophtongue.

[4]) Görlich (o. *l.* p. 52) constate que, dans les dialectes qu'il a étudiés, *o* devient *ou* plus tôt devant *s* que devant *r*. Il s'agit ici, non pas de la diphtongaison de *ó*, mais du changement de *ó* en *ou* (monophtongue); outre qu'il est impossible que cette diphtongaison ait eu lieu si tard, il faudrait admettre qu'ensuite la diphtongue se serait monophtonguée en *ou*, la prononciation actuelle.

[5]) Le cas de *é* qui, par suite de l'inflexion, se ferme aussi est différent, parce que cette voyelle était déjà palatale, de sorte que l'influence de *i* final ne pouvait se manifester que par l'élévation de la langue, tandis que dans *ó* elle n'aurait pu normalement conduire qu' à la voyelle palatale qui se trouve à la même hauteur que *ó*, c'est-à-dire *ö*.

[6]) Dans *Homulus* (XVIe siècle); voir Prudens van Duyse, *De Rederijkerskamers in Nederland*, II, 24.

Devant une nasale, ó latin libre a hésité aussi entre ó et ou. Cela résulte de l'orthographe *un* en anglo-normand, et, en outre, de la prononciation des mots français en hollandais, où la terminaison française *-on* se prononce *oun* (écrit *oen*) : *citroen, vizioen* : dans les textes du moyen âge on trouve aussi *oon* (avec ó fermé long), par exemple *visione* [1]).

§ 4. Hypothèse d'une double accentuation

La graphie *ou* dans *S. Eulalie* prouve que, dès le IXe siècle, ó latin libre s'est diphtongué, et, comme c'est le second élément qui s'est dissimilé, il est probable qu'à l'origine de la diphtongue l'accent reposait sur le premier. Le point de départ de l'évolution de ó est donc identique à celui de é, devenu *ei*, et de *a* devenu *ae*. C'est à l'étape *ou* qu'a pu se produire la double accentuation qu'on tâche de rendre probable dans cette étude. D'une part, la diphtongue, restée ascendante, se serait modifiée en *eu* (par une dissimilation de l'élément non accentué), puis *öu, öö*; d'autre part, accentuée sur le premier ó, la diphtongue se serait monophtonguée et ó serait devenu *ou* (monophtongue) par suite de la tendance, constatée plus haut, de ó français à devenir *ou* ; devant une consonne nasale, cet ó *(ou)* serait devenu ô par suite de la nasalisation [2]). Là donc où actuellement on prononce un *ou*, l'accentuation de la diphtongue aura été descendante [3]).

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1) *Franse woorden*, p. 185.

2) *Ibidem*, p. 186.

3) C'est à une accentuation descendante de *oo* que doit remonter aussi *oug* à Celerina-Cresta (voir plus haut, p. 51, n. 2).

CHAPITRE II

DIPHTONGUES PLUS RÉCENTES

La double accentuation des diphtongues que, dans le Chapitre I, nous avons supposée pour celles qui proviennent de l'allongement des voyelles libres, se retrouve dans la destinée ultérieure de ces diphtongues et dans d'autres qui se sont formées en français à une époque plus récente.

A. SUR *ie* DANS *TIEL*, ETC.

A côté de *e*, produit régulier de *a* libre tonique, on trouve *ie*, dans des textes français et dialectaux. Voici les exemples que, d'après nos manuscrits, le français présente de cette diphtongue :

V *itieus (:Dieus*, v. 773).
Br *tels tieux* (même phrase); *commandierres.*
Qa *teůs tieus, queus quieus, osteus ostieus.*
Boi *osteuz ostieux, tels tieux, quels quieux; cler clier, achatierres.*
M *mortels morteus mortieus* (même paragraphe), *quelles quielles, telz tiex, tiele.*
T *tieüx tielx tels* [1].
Q *mortel mortiex, tel tiex, quel quiex, esperitelz esperitiex* [2].
Do *hostieux* (1322), *quielx* (1307), *tieux* (1309) *chatieus* (de *chaptel).*
Pa *quieux* (1373) *quelx* (1433).
Tr *lesquelx lesquieux, tels tielz* (même page), *hosteus ostieux.*

Ajoutons qu'Alain Chartier fait rimer *tieux* avec *cieux* et que Charles d'Orléans use de la même rime et, en outre, de *tieux* avec *mieux* (Metzke, *o.l.*, LXV, 80).

On constate donc que le moyen français connaît *ie* :

1. devant *r* ; d'ailleurs, parmi les mots français empruntés en hollandais, les nominatifs en *-ierre (joestierre*, etc.) confirment l'existence de cette prononciation, et on ne peut donc pas attribuer *ie* à une graphie inverse qui s'expliquerait par les mots où le suffixe était précédé d'une palatale. Il est vrai qu'on peut se demander si, peut-être, dans *commandierres, achatierres,* il s'agit d'une prononciation due à l'analogie des substantifs où *-ierre* est placé après un *c* ou un *g* : mais *clier* dans Boileaue n'admet pas cette explication.

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[1]) *Autier (autel)* s'explique sans doute par une substitution de suffixe, qui, d'ailleurs, a pu être amenée par une forme *autiel.*

[2]) *Hontieus* (p. 211), à côté de *honteus,* doit être considéré comme une graphie inverse.

2. devant *l*, après *t* et *qu* ; la forme actuelle *pieu* prouve cependant que cette dernière circonstance n'est pas indispensable. Il faut noter aussi que *ie* se rencontre presque exclusivement devant *ls* ; *tiele*, dans Mondeville, est isolé et, dans la *Queste*, on trouve régulièrement *tel*, *quel* à côté *de tiex*, *quiex*.

Après le moyen âge, *ie* devient rare. Thurot nous apprend (I, 488) que, suivant Sylvius, le peuple dit parfois *autié* pour *tel*.

D'après l'*A. L.* (carte No 1289, *tel quel*) on a *kyel* dans la Somme (264 et 265) et dans les Deux-Sèvres (417, 419, 427), qui est une des contrées qui conservent avec ténacité d'anciens traits [1]). L'*A. L.* nous fournit encore (carte N⁰. 1066, *poteau*) quelques informations sur *pieu*, forme qu'on constate dans la Loire-Inférieure (445), en Eure-et-Loire (219), dans la Charente-Inférieure (523) : elles auraient sans doute été plus nombreuses, si la carte avait été consacrée à *pieu* ; il me paraît que cette forme ne peut pas être sans plus considérée comme dialectale, ainsi que le fait le *Dict. Gén.*

Vu l'absence complète, sur les cartes, de *tyel*, on peut hésiter à y voir dans *kyel* la continuation de la forme *quieus* du moyen âge, d'autant plus que, comme nous l'avons vu, la diphtongue est rare quand *l* n'est pas suivi de *s* et que le *y* pourrait très bien s'expliquer autrement : G. Paris [2]) relève, dans le Cotentin, le développement de *y* après *k*, *g*, et je me rappelle avoir entendu, à Paris, prononcer *guerre* comme *guierre*.

Maintenant, pour ce qui est de la genèse de la diphtongue, Meyer-Lübke (*l.l.*, p. 75) explique *tieus*, *pieus* par la formation d'une voyelle de transition, analogue à celle que présente *eawe*, mais il fait remarquer lui-même que, si telle est l'origine de *i* dans *tieus*, *pieus*, on ne comprend pas pourquoi ce même son transitoire ne s'est pas développé devant *é* entravé *(cheveus)* et libre *(peus* de *pilos)*. En outre, pourquoi cette voyelle de transition serait-elle *a* dans *eawe*, tandis que, devant *l* qui était aussi vélaire, elle aurait été *e* ? Schwan-Behrens (§ 211) disent : „On a admis que le francien *eu* s'est changé en *ieu*", ce qui est plutôt vague. Görlich (*o.l.*, p. 12) ne se prononce pas.

En anglo-normand *ie* est fréquent. Stürzinger (*Orth. gall.*, p. 40) et Behrens [3]) y voient une graphie inverse. Suchier (*o.l.*, p. 42) considère la diphtongue comme représentant une prononciation réelle et rapproche l'anglais *friar* qui, d'après Stimming [4]), s'explique par l'anglais.

A mon avis, on ne saurait séparer ce phénomène anglo-normand de celui que nous avons constaté en français. Stürzinger signale que : „*ie* dans *piere*, *miere* n'appartient pas au français et est propre à l'anglo-normand".

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[1]) La carte en question ne donne pas de renseignements complets sur la prononciation de *tel* et de *quel*, parce que, à plusieurs endroits, "*tel quel*" a été rendu par "tel qu'il était".

[2]) *Mélanges linguist.*, p. 101.

[3]) *Beiträge zur Geschichte der franz. Sprache in England*, p. 84.

[4]) *Boeve*, p. 176, 181.

mais il cite pourtant, d'après Görlich, *quiel, quieu* dans *Turpin II*, et dans Joinville, d'après de Wailly, *tiex* ; il semble donc identifier, lui aussi, le phénomène que présente *tieus* avec celui de *miere*, et cela résulte aussi de la liste des exemples qu'il donne à la p. 39. La différence entre ces deux groupes est donc que, en français, la diphtongue ne se rencontre que dans les cas relevés plus haut, tandis qu'en anglo-normand elle a été plus répandue [1]). Or, il me paraît qu'on ne peut pas séparer ce changement de *a* latin en *ie* de celui de *a* en *ee* dont nous avons donné des exemples en anglo-normand et dont nous avons montré l'existence en ancien français (voir plus haut, p. 19). C'était déjà l'opinion émise, avec beaucoup de réserve, par Foerster [2]), qui voit aussi dans ee une étape antérieure à *ie*.

Indirectement, cette diphtongue confirme donc notre supposition d'après laquelle *e* de *a*, dans les textes anciens, aurait encore été diphtongue : celle-ci se serait monophtonguée, ou bien *ee*, accentué sur le deuxième, *e*, serait devenu *ie*, comme cela a eu lieu aussi pour la diphtongue èė, issu de ė libre tonique.

Il peut sembler étrange qu'en français *ie* se rencontre devant *l* et *r*, qui sont justement les consonnes devant lesquelles, d'après ce que nous avons vu plus haut, *a* survit aussi sous forme de *a*, ce qui ferait supposer une prononciation descendante. Cette contradiction n'est pas réelle. En effet, *ie* n'a eu une certaine constance que devant *ls* à une époque où *l* était déjà vocalisé. Remarquons aussi que la dentale semble avoir favorisé la diphtongue (*tieus, mortieus, comandierre, achatierre*).

Ajoutons qu'une autre diphtongue résultant de *a* libre, c'est-à-dire *ei*, corrobore l'explication que nous proposons pour *ie*. Si *ei* n'est pas propre au français et ne se rencontre que dans les dialectes, il n'en reste pas moins que cette diphtongue non plus ne saurait s'expliquer sinon en y voyant un développement ultérieur de *ee* issue de *a* libre [3]).

B. SUR DEUX PRONONCIATIONS DE *ie* ET *ue*

Les doublets en question sont *ie*, *e ue u*.

1. Devant e féminin.

La prononciation *ie*, à côté de *iee*, a souvent été qualifiée de dialectale ; Schwan-Behrens la citent dans la troisième partie de leur *Grammaire de l'ancien français* (sous le N°. 14); Suchier, dans *Aucassin et Nicolete*, p. 61 de la neuvième édition, parle du passage de *iee* à *ie* „lequel est en même

[1]) D'ailleurs, en France aussi, le domaine de *ie* a dû être anciennement plus vaste, ainsi que l'atteste *miel* dans *S. Léger*.

[2]) *Zeitschrift f. österreich. Gymn.*, 1875, p. 540.

[3]) Voir sur cette diphtongue, *Rom.*, XXX, 92.

temps picard, wallon et lorrain", et M. Faral, dans l'introduction de *Gautier d'Aupais*, p. VI, dit : „*ie*, originairement propre au picard, avait dès le XIIIe siècle gagné l'Isle-de-France". Meyer-Lübke, dans la *Grammaire des langues romanes*, I, § 267, est également d'avis que c'est „dans la France du Nord que *iee* s'est réduit à *ie*", et que „cette contraction se rencontre dans tout l'Est et le Nord-Est jusqu'en Normandie", mais plus tard *(Histor. Gramm. des Franz.*, p. 77) il admet que *ie* appartient aussi au français du Centre. D'ailleurs, Suchier a, lui aussi, changé d'opinion, car, dans *Voyelles toniques*, p. 87, il écrit que *ie* est anglo-normand, en même temps que normand et français. Dès 1875, G. Paris, avait supposé que „*maisnie* a peut-être existé dès l'origine à côté de *maisniee*" [1]).

Si l'on a longtemps cru que *ie* était une forme propre au nord et à l'est, c'est que dans les textes picards et lorrains elle se montre avec la plus grande regularité, et c'est aussi parce que, dans les patois actuels de la Belgique et de l'est de la France, on trouve quelquefois que la diphtongue *ie* est devenu *i*, au lieu de *yé*, comme en français. Ainsi (*A. L.*, c. 168) *braconnier* est en wallon *brakoni* et *brakogni*, à côté de *brakogné* : *brakoni* est aussi la prononciation actuelle dans certaines localités du nord et de l'est (377, 378, 386, 911) ; *bélier* (*A. L.*, c. 124) a aussi *i*, en wallon et à l'est, jusque dans la Marne (155, 146) ; voir aussi dans l'*Atlas linguistique des Vosges méridionales* de M. O. Bloch, les cartes *araignée*, N⁰. 38, *chargee*, N⁰. 159 bis, *charpentier*, N⁰. 162, *cracher*, N⁰. 224, *enragé*, N⁰. 296, *poirier*, N⁰. 591, *pommier*, N⁰. 596, *poulailler*, N⁰. 601, *premier*, N⁰. 613, *salière*, N⁰. 679, *sanglier*, N⁰. 681, *soupière*, N⁰. 722, *travailler*, N⁰. 763, sur lesquelles la finale *é* voisine avec *i*. *Maisniee* devient *mèni* sur différents points du Dép. de la Manche, et dans une des îles normandes, au point 399 [2]) ; *brakogni*, *brakoni* se trouvent dans deux autres îles, 397, 398, et aussi isolément ailleurs (509 dans la Vienne, 635 dans la Gironde, 506 Hte-Vienne, 703 Puy-deDôme, 909 Saône-et-L., et même dans le Département de la Seine, 239, tout près de Paris), de sorte que la répartition actuelle d'une prononciation qui remonte à une accentuation de *ie* sur *i* montre qu'elle a été très répandue, et ne permet pas de la restreindre au „picard, wallon et lorrain" [3]).

Ce fait est confirmé par des textes dialectaux du moyen âge. M. Görlich (*o.l.*, p. 15) signale dans le *Livre des Manières* d'Etienne de Fougères (2e moitié du XIIe siècle, ms. du XIIIe s.) *chient*, *tranchie*, et dans *Saint Martin de Tours*, *coignie*, *aragie* ; il est vrai qu'il est d'avis que, dans ces mots, il faut lire *tranchié*, *coignié*, avec chute de e final, mais, pas plus que *puent* (voyez ci-après) ne saurait être considéré comme monosyllabe, car cette forme se présente dans des textes qui ne connaissent pas la chute de e muet final, *chient* ne peut être lu ici comme n'ayant qu'une seule syllabe ;

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[1]) *Romania*, IV, 123.
[2]) Supplément à l'*A.L.*, i.v. *maisonnée*.
[3]) Voir aussi Herzog, *Neufranzösische Dialekttexte*, § 206

nous y avons certainement affaire à la réduction de *iee* à *ie*. Guillaume de Lorris rime 4 fois *iee* en *ie*, contre 13 fois en *iee*, et Jean de Meung a 5 rimes de *iee* à *ie* (éd. Langlois, I, 235). Görlich [1]) nous montre *ie* dans la Côte-d'Or, Saône-et-Loire, le Bourbourain, et Foerster et Wendelborn l'avaient déjà noté dans la Franche-Comté. Pour les dialectes du nord et du nord-ouest, voyez ci-dessus.

Qu'elle ait été réellement française, c'est ce que prouvent les textes dont on trouvera l'énumération ci-dessus à la p. 8 et 9 :

Ch *baillie.*
Br *envoie, mesnie, traities, lignie, appareillie, gagnies; ligniee, dreciees; commencee.*
Qa *correcie, mainie, chevaucie; chastiees, avilliee.*
Boi *chaucie chauciee, cuirie cuiriee, poignie poigniee, meisnie mesniee.*
M *blecie bleciee* (même paragraphe), *mondefie mondefiee* (m. p.), *a la fie a la fiee.*
N *depecie, maisnie maisnee.*
T *appareillies, teissies, gaaignie, lignie, chargies, vengie, corocie, changies, joncie esmaïe, voidie; mangiees, porchaciee, esmaiee, archiees, muciees; couroucee, drecees.*
D *lignie (:envie), chevauchie (:otrie), chaucie, feuillie, lie, mesnie mesniee, deshaitie.*
Do (1381) *despecies, baillie; paiees, chargiees; enchient* (l'éditeur imprime *despeciés, baillié).*
Pa 1433 *entaillie; chevaucee, cheent.*
Bo *veuillie; (chère) liee, excommuniee, accompaignees, chargees, octroiee, mesniee, envoiees.*
H *gaignees.*

Que ces formes aient été bien françaises, résulte aussi, ainsi que le signalent Suchier et Meyer-Lübke (*o.l.*, p. 77), de *lie* dans *faire chère lie*, *oreillie*, et j'ajoute de *folie*, „maison de plaisance" [2]).

Ue à côté de *uee* se rencontre dans :

Qa *puent pueent.*
Boi *puent pueent peuent.*
Do *poent pevent* 3).

2. Devant nasale.

Je ne trouve, parmi nos manuscrits, que T à signaler, qui écrit une fois *rin* et, plusieurs fois par graphie inverse : *devien, fien* à côté de *fin*, *cousien* à côté de *cousin*.

3. Devant consonne orale.

Boi *manire maniere.*
N *(plaisier).*
T *commencirent, nagirent, domagirent, appareillirent.*

[1]) *Der burgundische Dialekt im XIIIen und XIVen Jht.*, p. 16.

[2]) Nyrop, *Etudes de grammaire*, No 25 (Académie des Sciences de Danemark, XII, 2, 1927).

[3]) Cf. ce qui a été dit plus haut, p. 29, sur *roue*.

Ici encore, c'est T qui fournit la plupart des exemples ; les terminaisons verbales en *-irent* pourraient s'expliquer par l'analogie des verbes en *-ir*, s'il n'y avait pas à côté des graphies inverses : *ocierre*, *arieverent*, *giest*.

Dans les patois actuels *i* pour *ie* devant consonne orale est très répandue (Herzog, *l.l.*).

Il est probable que tous ces doublets s'expliquent par une double accentuation de *ie* et de *ue* ; il s'est donc produit à nouveau une accentuation mobile comme celle que nous avons constatée plus haut dans les diphtongues issues de *ė*, *ǫ* libres ; elle ne s'est manifestée avec une certaine régularité que devant *e* féminin.

C. SUR DEUX PRONONCIATIONS DE *iu*

G. Paris a montré [1]) que *laïs*, *çaïs* sont des doublets de *la jus*, *ça jus* ; il en rapproche *aït*, variante de *aiut*, mais il ne discute pas la „difficulté phonétique" que, d'après Mussafia, présente l'identification de *laïs* avec *la jus* et que, lui, „ne croit pas insurmontable".

Ce qui gênait Mussafia, c'était : „come la *j* di *deosum josu* si sarebbe mutata in vocale e, che più è, in vocale accentata" ? Il repousse *oie* pour *oje*, parce qu'ici, non seulement *i* n'est pas accentué, mais, en outre, *ie* pouvait être une forme indépendante de *je*, dans laquelle *i* n'aurait pas été consonne. Signalons, à côté de *çaïs*, *laïs*, une variante fréquente dans le ms. A d'*Eneas* : *çaüs*, *laüs* ; l'identité de ces formes avec *ça jus*, *la jus* ne saurait être niée. Que, à côté des formes avec *j*, il s'en soit développé avec *i*, s'explique peut-être ainsi que la réunion syntaxique de *eccehac*, *illac* avec *deosum* est assez ancienne pour qu'on puisse y considérer *dj* comme intervocalique ; de même que *adjutat* est devenu *aiue*, et non *ajue*, *illadeosum* a pu régulièrement évoluer jusqu'à *laius*. A côté de cette forme, *lajus* et *çajus* représenteraient alors une combinaison plus récente des deux mots, qui existaient aussi à l'état isolé.

Laïs, qui, d'après G. Paris, „a été usité pendant un temps dans tout le domaine de la langue d'oïl", de même que *çaïs* et *aït*, ne peuvent s'expliquer que par l'accentuation du premier élément de la diphtongue, tandis que *çaüs* atteste que la deuxième voyelle était frappée de l'accent. Le fait que *i* et *u* sont au même degré de fermeture rend cette fluctuation de l'accent très naturelle. Elle se produit aussi dans *fiuz (fils)*, qui devient ou bien *fiz* ou bien *fieu*, forme qui n'est pas que picarde, comme on l'a prétendu (voir par exemple Schwan-Behrens, § 281 Rem.), mais bien française : *fieu* est dans Nisard, p. 339. C'est aussi l'avis de Meyer-Lübke [2]).

[1]) *Romania*, XXVIII, 113 *(Mélanges*, p. 565).
[2]) *Zeitschr. f. franz. Sprache und Lit.*, XLIX, 283.

D. SUR DEUX PRONONCIATIONS DE *ui*

Le flottement que nous venons de constater dans l'accentuation de *iu*, s'est produit de bonne heure dans *ui*. Suchier (*o.l.*, p. 66) dit : „Le groupe *ui* était accentué d'abord sur l'*u*, conformément à son origine. Au cours du XIIe siècle, il se produisit un déplacement de l'accent en faveur de l'*i*". La prononciation par *ụi* a subsisté, et ainsi se sont formés les doublets *bure bire* et les formes *lutte*, *rut* (Thurot, I, 421 ; Meyer-Lübke, *o.l.*, p. 86) ; *u* est fréquent en syllabe protonique : *curée*, *charcutier*, *écurie*, *lutin*.

E. SUR DEUX PRONONCIATIONS DE *ea*

Cette diphtongue provient de *ė* devant *l* suivi de consonne, et, dans certains dialectes, aussi devant *l* non-suivi de consonne. Elle s'explique probablement [1]) par l'allongement de *ė* dans cette position ; le deuxième élément s'étant vélarisé par suite du voisinage de *l*, il faut admettre une prononciation primitive *ẹa*; la prononciation *eạ* dans *eau* prouve que l'accent s'est déplacé. C'est cette dernière prononciation qui est devenue générale en français, mais une autre n'y a pas été inconnue : Boileaue donne *Champieus*, var. *Champiax*, *tonnieus*, var. *tonniaux*, où *ė* s'est diphtongué en *ie*, au lieu de *ea*. Cf. un exemple de *chastiex* chez Metzke (*o.l.*, p. 80).

La persistance de l'ancienne accentuation, surtout dans le nord, mais aussi ailleurs, se manifeste peut-être dans les formes sans *a*. On peut se demander s'il faut admettre que, dans ces mots, il n'y a eu jamais un *a*, de sorte que l'ancienne diphtongue *ėė* s'est simplement monophtongué. Görlich (*o.l.*, p. 35) qui, dans les dialectes qu'il étudie, trouve *Chasteunef*, *annex*, *copeux*, les appelle „formes non-diphtonguées" ; il est donc d'avis qu'elles n'ont pas eu *a*. Par contre, Suchier (*o.l.*, p. 151) considère que la graphie *bels* qu'il rencontre dans le *Psautier* de Montebourg à côté de *beáls* (avec l'accent) doit peut-être se lire *be^a^ls*. Dans les patois wallons actuels, qui présentent *el* à côté de *al*, la première prononciation est considérée comme une réduction de *ea*. Je cite : „Le diminutif *ellus* avait donné *ea*, son mixte devenu plus tard *ė* (Liége et rég. orient.) ou *yă* (Huy-Namur et rég. occid.) ; le fém. *ella* a sans doute aussi donné tout d'abord *eal* qui, en liég., a subi une double transformation : ou bien il est devenu *ăl*, comme l'attestent des mots très anciens, ou bien, peut être sous l'influence du français, il est devenu *el*" [2]). La carte N°. 1208 (*seau*) donne au point 196 (Belgique) *sea*. Citons encore, dans le parler de Cellefrouin (Rousselot, *l.l.*, p. 327), les formes anciennes *Chasteu*, *marteu*.

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[1]) Voir mon article cité sur *Syllabes ouvertes et syllabes fermées en roman*, p. 651.

[2]) Doutrepont et Haust, dans *Mélanges wallons*, p. 16. Herzog, *l. l.*, § 157, fait remonter les formes wallonnes comme *bez*, *novez* à *eu*.

Parmi les mots français en néerlandais on rencontre *flambeeu (flambeau)*, *naveeu* (anc. fr. *naveau* „navet") et le nom propre *Risseeuw*, qui pourrait être identifié avec *Rousseau* [1]). A côté de *flambeeu*, le hollandais a, comme forme usuelle, *flambouw*. Nous trouvons donc, en hollandais, les deux doublets de *ea* : *flambeeu* et *naveeu* ne sont attestés qu'au XVI[e] siècle, dans le Dictionnaire de Kiliaen ; il est probable que celui-ci a entendu dire les mots par des Wallons.

Si *e* est la réduction de *ea*, on pourrait en rapprocher la chute de *e* qui se produit là où on prononçait *ea*; cette chute, dont Suchier cite d'anciens exemples (*o.l.*, p. 150), est attestée en français dès le XIV[e] siècle ; le texte de Deschamps fournit l'exemple *chamaulx*.

La diphtongue *ea* se rencontre encore dans *eawe*, et elle y présente aussi un double développement : *ewe* (de *eawe*) et *eaue* (de *eawe*).

F. SUR DEUX PRONONCIATIONS DE *ao* ET *aou*

aon

Il s'agit de *faon*, *flaon*, *paon*, *taon*, *Craonne*, *Laon*.

La prononciation de ces voyelles, depuis le XVI[e] siècle, a été généralement *ā*. *Taon* a longtemps hésité : les grammairiens du XVI[e] et du XVII[e] siècle (Thurot, II, 540) notent la prononciation *ton* à côté de *tan*, souvent sans prendre parti. *Laonnois*, d'après Du Val (1604), se prononce *Lonois*, et la ville se dit *Lan* ; *Saint Laon*, suivant Regnier (1705) et d'autres, se prononce *Saint-Lon*.

Les cartes N°. 1281 *(taon)* et N°. 966 *(paon)* de l'*A. L.* nous apprennent ceci : pour *paon* la prononciation *pon* se rencontre uniquement aux points 508 (Vienne) et 947 (H.-Savoie), tandis que *ton* s'étend dans le Centre sur un vaste domaine qui comprend le département de la Seine et une partie de l'ouest (Maine-et-Loire et Loire-Inférieure) ; *tan* se dit dans le nord-ouest et dans des îlots linguistiques des départements de l'Allier et de la Marne ; le reste du pays a des formes dissyllabiques. D'après le *Dict. Gén.* la prononciation de la langue générale est *tan*, „vieilli *ton*", et Littré dit : „*ton*, d'après l'Académie, mais plusieurs disent *tan*".

Ainsi, deux prononciations de la diphtongue *ao* sont en présence, l'une remontant à une accentuation de la première voyelle, l'autre à celle du second élément de la diphtongue.

aou

Il y a lieu de signaler ici, pour *Août*, à côté de la prononciation *aou* (ou

[1]) *Franse woorden*, p. 137. M. Kluyver me rappelle le nom français de *Rosseeuw Saint-Hilaire*, et le nom hollandais *Rosseeuw*.

aout) et *ou* (ou *out*), qui voisinent l'une avec l'autre à Paris, celle de *aout* (accent sur *a*) que la carte 47 de l'*A. L.* indique pour l'est et pour une bande de terrain qui va du département de l'Yonne, de la Nièvre et de l'Allier jusqu'à la mer.

G. SUR DEUX PRONONCIATIONS DE *aï*

Je ne crois pas avec M. Grammont [1]) que *traïstre* est devenu *traître* à travers une étape *traestre*, mais plutôt que, lorsque *a* et *i*, au lieu d'appartenir à deux syllabes, se sont réunis en diphtongue, c'est le *a* qui, étant plus sonore, à attiré l'accent. M. Grammont, d'ailleurs, ne cite pas d'arguments en faveur de son explication ; en voici quelques-uns qui militent en faveur de l'autre : 1. à une époque plus ancienne *magistrum* est devenu *maistre* avec l'accent sur *a* ; 2. il ne se rencontre dans l'orthographe ancienne aucune trace d'une prononciation *traestre* ; si Boileaue écrit *roieine*, et *cheene*, à côté de *chayine*, il s'agit là d'un changement assez fréquent de *ine* en *ène* [2]), et si Lanoue (Thurot, I, 499), dans des termes d'ailleurs obscurs, semble décrire une prononciation de *haine* „quasi comme dissyllabe, donc *hainne* au lieu de *haine*", cela ne veut certainement pas dire qu'il prescrit une prononciation *hèène*, parce qu'à la fin du XVII[e] siècle la prononciation par *è* était depuis longtemps en vigueur ; peut-être veut-il exprimer un son mixte qui garde encore une trace de l'ancienne diphtongue, comme actuellement encore dans *gagner* ; 3. l'analogie de *maturum* > *meür* > *mûr* montre que *traïstre*, si l'accent était resté sur *i*, aurait dû devenir *tristre* (d'ailleurs, dans *Aiol* on trouve *abie*, et *graïlle* devient *greïlle*, *grille*) ; 4. dans *pays*, *abbaye*, *i* est resté intact ; alors, pourquoi dans *traître* se serait-il changé en *è* ? Il est probable que, dans ce mot et les autres qui actuellement ont *è*, *a* protonique a commencé par se dissimiler en e (cf. la prononciation actuelle de *pays*, *abbaye* ; dans T nous lisons déjà *heïne*, et on retrouve l'orthographe *héine* au XVI[e] siècle ; voir Thurot, *l.l.*) ; c'est à cette étape de *eï* devenu diphtongue *ei*, qu'un recul de l'accent s'est produit, comme dans *reïne*.

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[1]) *Bulletin de la Soc. de Linguist.*, XXIV (1923), p. 105.

[2]) Exemple dans Nisard, p. 329, *faraine;* dans Molière *chopaine*, *mène (mine)*.

CONCLUSION

Dans les pages qui précèdent, on a essayé de montrer, pour chacune des voyelles latines, la possibilité d'expliquer certains développements qu'elles présentent au cours des siècles et, en partie, encore maintenant, par une double accentuation des diphtongues issues de la voyelle libre. Cette hypothèse a une grande évidence pour *a* et *ó* : pour *è*, *ò* et *é*, les faits ne permettent que d'y voir une possibilité, mais il est a priori vraisemblable que, dans des positions identiques, les voyelles ont évolué d'une manière identique.

Nous allons tirer maintenant les conclusions que comporte notre hypothèse :

1. Les voyelles *a*, *é*, *ó* commencent par une période d'accentuation descendante de *aa*, *éé*, *óó*, qui a abouti à *ae*, *éi*, *óu*. C'est alors que, dans *ae*, *ou* avec certitude, dans *ei* probablement, l'accent s'est placé sur la deuxième voyelle, tandis que l'ancienne prononciation subsistait. Pour *è*, *ò*, la scission s'est produite dès l'étape *òò*, *èè* ; l'accent y frappe la première ou la seconde voyelle ; dès les plus anciens textes la double accentuation se manifeste, ainsi qu'on a pu le voir plus haut.

2. C'est l'accentuation ascendante, conforme à la tendance française qui consiste à accentuer le dernier élément d'un groupe, qui, pour toutes les voyelles, est devenue la règle. Ce n'est qu'exceptionnellement qu'une ancienne prononciation descendante a subsisté, et nous aurons à examiner quelles ont été les circonstances qui ont favorisé cette accentuation (voir sous 4).

3. Les diphtongues descendantes se sont monophtonguées plus tôt que les autres : *ae* devient *a* dès la plus ancienne période, et *ou* devient de bonne heure *ó* ou *ou* (monophtongue) ; *òò* est déjà *ò* dans *Jonas*, de même que *èè* s'y présente comme *è* à côté de *ee*.

4. On constate l'accentuation descendante :

pour *a*, devant *bl*, cons. + *yod*, palat. suivie de cons., et devant *n*, *l*, *r* ;
pour *ó*, devant labiale + *l*, *r*, labiale, *s*, *r*, *n*, et à la finale ;
pour *ò*, devant *l*, *l* mouillé, *pl*, *vr*, *n* ;
pour *è*, devant *r*, *n* ;
pour *é*, devant *s*, *r*, *bl*, *e* muet, *n*.

Tâchons de combiner ces cas.

Devant les nasales la diphtongue descendante est la règle, sauf pour *è* ; *ò* a connu dans cette position les deux accentuations de la diphtongue, tout en ne gardant que celle où l'accent portait sur le premier élément. La prononciation de la diphtongue récente *ao* (p. 61) confirme ces relations

entre nasale et recul de l'accent. On pourrait se représenter ainsi la fréquence de la diphtongue descendante devant nasale : la deuxième voyelle, contiguë à la nasale, a dû subir l'influence de cette dernière plus que ne le faisait la première ; elle s'est donc jointe plus étroitement à la nasale, a fait groupe avec elle, et devenait par là moins apte à porter l'accent. Nous avons déjà constaté que, quand une palatale précède *a* *(canem, caen)*, elle contrarie l'action de la nasale ; en attirant la voyelle *a* de *ae*, elle fait groupe avec elle et lui enlève l'indépendance qui est nécessaire pour qu'elle porte l'accent.

L'accentuation descendante se présente avec une certaine régularité pour la plupart des voyelles devant le groupe muta cum liquida, surtout labiale suivie de *l* : si *é* ne compte qu'un seul exemple *(faible)*, c'est que c'est le seul mot qui ait *é* devant *bl* ; et que *è* n'en offre pas, cela devient moins frappant, si l'on considère qu'après cette voyelle non plus, il n'y a qu'un seul mot qui présente *bl (ièble)*. On se demande si c'est parce que placée devant un groupe de consonnes que la diphtongue a l'accent descendant, ou si c'est la présence de la liquide *l* ou *r* qui en est cause : en effet, devant *l*, *a* et *ó* ont une grande préférence pour cette accentuation, et devant *r* on en trouve des exemples pour *a*, *ó*, *è* et *é*. Le caractère vocalique de la liquide a pu amener plus facilement la voyelle qui précède à faire groupe avec elle, et alors la situation serait identique à celle que nous avons supposée pour la diphtongue devant nasale. Et ici également, un autre élément peut contrarier cette influence de la consonne qui suit : nous avons vu que *ee* (de *a*) devient *ie* devant *l*, surtout après *t* (p. 56) ; c'est sans doute que l'affinité phonétique entre *t* et *e* faisait que cet *e* s'appuyait contre *t*, de sorte qu'il n'était plus assez indépendant pour porter l'accent

Devant *e* muet, l'accent, dans *ie*, *ue*, recule sur le premier élément. On est peut-être en droit de rapprocher de ce cas l'accentuation descendante que présentent les diphtongues issues de *a*, *è*, *ò* suivis de palatales, donc *fait (faeit)*, *lit* (pour *lieit*), *nuit* (pour *nueit*) [1] : devant consonne suivie de *yod*, nous avons une situation identique : *varium* a dû donner *vaeir*. Or, dans *iee*, *uee*, le *e* final, bien qu'appartenant à une autre syllabe, n'a pas dû tarder à former une triphtongue avec la diphtongue qui précède.

La diphtongue placée en protonique, semble avoir une tendance à devenir ou rester descendante. Voir les exemples dans les listes de la p. 33, et ceux qui ont en protonique *u* issu de *ui* (p. 60).

Mais si la position phonétique de la voyelle a pu favoriser l'accentuation descendante, elle n'a jamais pu empêcher l'accentuation ascendante de se produire et, dans la lutte entre ces deux prononciations, il y a eu d'autres

[1] Il est vrai qu'en théorie *lit* et *nuit* peuvent s'expliquer aussi en admettant que l'accent s'est placé sur le *i* final de *iei*, *uei*, et cela serait même mieux d'accord avec la prononciation de *ui*, résultat de *uei*, qui porte l'accent sur *i (nuit)*. Cependant, il est peu probable que *i* issu de la palatale, et qui a donc eu une faible force vocalique, ait attiré l'accent, et l'accentuation de *ui* a très bien pu être d'abord descendante (voir p. 60).

facteurs déterminants. Ainsi, l'analogie a dû jouer ici un rôle important ; notons, en effet, combien fréquents sont, dans les mots auxquels nous avons eu affaire, les suffixes. Là où le suffixe n'a pas été senti comme tel, parce que le radical n'était pas facilement reconnaissable, la prononciation descendante a pu subsister plus facilement ; c'est ce que nous avons relevé à propos des mots en *-ous* (p. 48) : si, en *-orem*, seuls deux termes abstraits *amour*, *labour* ont gardé *ou*, c'est que leur terminaison s'est soustraite plus facilement à l'analogie des autres mots en *-eur*, parce qu'elle n'était pas sentie comme suffixe, le radical *am* ne rappelant pas tout de suite *aimer*, et celui de *labour* n'existant pas en français

INDEX DES MOTS

(N'ont été admis que les mots et les formes qui présentent un intérêt particulier)

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THE ARAWAK LANGUAGE OF GUIANA

BY

C. H. DE GOEJE

VERHANDELINGEN DER KONINKLIJKE AKADEMIE
VAN WETENSCHAPPEN TE AMSTERDAM
AFDEELING LETTERKUNDE
NIEUWE REEKS, DEEL XXVIII, N°. 2

UITGAVE VAN DE KONINKLIJKE AKADEMIE
VAN WETENSCHAPPEN TE AMSTERDAM 1928

PREFACE

The Arawak or Arowak [1]), whose language is dealt with in this work, inhabit the coastal districts of Surinam and British Guiana; they formerly lived still further East, even as far as the mouth of the Orinoco and Trinidad.

Many vocabularies and a good deal of grammatical information have been published from Arawak, but very few sentences of the language usually spoken and no texts at all of myths etc.; this paucity, however, is compensated for to a large extent by excellent translations from parts of the bible by the Moravian missionaries, and the English missionary Mr. Brett. The grammatical system, strictly adhered to in these bible-texts cannot possibly have been derived from the existing grammars (List of Litterature 5c, 18, 23*b*), and must therefore be attributed to the cooperation of an Arawak who assisted in the translation or in the correction of it. We may then consider them as being genuine Arawak (especially Brett's texts; those of Schultz contain a freeer translation, which is not so easy to follow).

In this work Brett's texts (11, 5*a*, *b*) have been used in the first place, and an endeavour has been made, to discuss all the particularities of the language as found in those texts.

In the second place Schultz's texts have been examined, and all that deviates from Brett, or is not found in Brett, has been discussed here.

Of the remaining materials only such forms have been brought in, which appeared of sufficient interest.

Finally the Arawak language has been compared with the other languages of the Arawak-Maipure (A. M.) [2]) linguistic family.

The material is not sufficient for any deep investigation concerning pronunciation, pitch, stress and accompanying gesture; the vocabularies are not complete; it is not known whether the colloquial language and the

[1]) For the different ways of spelling, see List of Litterature 27; the spelling "Arawak" is at present most in use, and is therefore adopted in this work.

These people call themselves *loko*, plur. *loko-no* (see § 164 *a*) [1])). The name "Arawak" is only used by other tribes (Kaliña: *Aruwăkŏ*, *Aṛowáka*, Warau: *Aṛuwăkŭ*) and by the creole population of Guiana. If this word were originally Arawak, then it might be derived from *aroa*, jaguar, or *oroa*, to perform the functions of the medicine-man; the translation "flour-eaters" (v. Martius, II. 15, I. 689: *haru*, starch, *eke*, to eat) seems to be rather far-fetched.

[2]) "Maipure" (Lucien Adam), "Nu-Aruak" (von den Steinen), "Arawak" (Brinton, Rivet).

language of myths and magic formulas deviate from the language of the bible translations; etc., etc. Therefore this work cannot claim to be an exhaustive treatise on the language.

But Arawak is so singularly transparent, that notwithstanding this incompleteness, several phenomena may be traced back to their origin. This study may therefore perhaps be of some use to linguists in general, and to those who feel interested in the "pre-logical and mystic mentality" of primitive peoples (Lévy-Bruhl, II. 67).

Those readers who have very little time at their disposal, might after reading Chapters I and II, at once proceed to Chapters XVIII—XX.

An Alphabetical Index has been added to facilitate the reading of the Arawak texts.

The English bible-texts have been taken from: The Holy Bible (British and Foreign Bible Society). Oxford, 1840. — Mr. J. Y. Steward of the Berlitz School, The Hague, assisted in the translation of the manuscript into English.

C. H. DE GOEJE.

The Hague, Oct. 1924—Sept. 1927

After the completion of this work, the author spent two weeks in Surinam, and was enabled to clear up several doubtful points. The results of these investigations are included in this volume; a few myths in Arawak, and miscellaneous information, have been added to the Appendix.

I have to thank captain C. C. Käyser, in command of Hr. Ms. Hertog Hendrik (who is himself an explorer), for the opportunity of visiting this country, and the Roman Catholic mission in Surinam for its help in bringing me together with two Arawaks, and for its kind hospitality.

d. G.

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Information collected in Surinam in 1907 and in 1928

LIST OF LITERATURE (II.)

Am. C.	Proceedings of the International Congress of Americanists.
Ant.	Anthropos, Wien.
BLA	Bibliothèque Linguistique Américaine, Paris.
JGS	Journal of the Royal Geographical Society of London.
JSA	Journal de la Société des Américanistes de Paris, Paris.
P	De Periskoop, Paramaribo.
WIG	De West-Indische Gids, 's-Gravenhage.
ZfE	Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, Berlin.

Abbreviations used in this work: B., or nihil, Brett, 5; v. C., van Coll, 7; D, Dance, 8; G., de Goeje (collected in Surinam); Hi., Hilhouse, 12; Pen., Penard, 17, 69; Q., Quandt, 18; R., Roth, 19; S., Schultz, 22; Sc., Schomburgk, 21; Sm., Schumann, 23; I. Th., Im Thurn, 25.

Arawak

1. (Not consulted.) Lucien Adam, Grammaire de la langue arrouague. MS mentioned in K. W. Hiersemann's (Leipzig) catalogue 335; presumably unfinished. According to H. the sources for this work were the numbers 20, 23*a*, *b*, 22, 6, 5*c*, *a*, *b*, 4 of this II.

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[1])

The writer feels indebted to several of the authors mentioned in this list, for the valuable suggestions contained in their works; in this connection he wishes to mention also W. Ahlbrinck, H. Beckh, L. Bloomfield, R. Falb, F. N. Finck, W. von Humboldt, E. Sapir, C. C. Uhlenbeck and J. Vendryes

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[1]) See also notes on pp. 240 and 241.

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RULES FOR PRONUNCIATION AND ABBREVIATIONS

Brett: *a*, as in father, *e* as in prey, *i*, as in ravine, *o*, as in go, *u*, as oo in too, *ai*, as i in mile, *au*, as ow in how, *ci*, as che in cheer, *si*, as she.

S., Sm. and Q. very probably have used the German spelling; *j* thus equals the sound of the *y* of B. Sm. gives in his grammar the meaning of the diacritical signs, but it is not certain whether S. has used them in the same way.

v. C. 7a, b, c and Pen. 17a have used the Dutch spelling; thus *j* ~ B. *y*, *oe* ~ B. *u*, *u* ~ German ü, *ie* as ea in ear.

G. and Pen. 17b, c, d, 69: *ĭ*, as in hill, *ü*, German ü, *u*, German u, å, as a in walk, *ö̊*, between French eu and mute e, *ö*, French eu, *e*, French é, *ĕ*, as ea in heaven, *e̥*, as e in written, *χ*, Dutch ch, Spanish j or x, *ŋ*, as ng in Dutch or German engel (angel) *c̊*, as ch in cheer, *š*, as sh in she, *ž*, as j in joy, *ñ*, Spanish ñ, *λ*, *ρ*, between l and r, *λ*, most closely resembling *l*, *ρ* most closely resembling *r*. ', accent, ¯, long, (, indistinctly articulated.

Sagot and v. C. 7e have used the French spelling: thus *ou* ~ B. *u*, *u* ~ German ü.

In this work the following abbreviations and signs are used:

Gen.	= Genesis	L.	= S. Luke
Mt.	= S. Matthew	J.	= S. John
Mk.	= S. Mark	Acts	= The Acts of the Apostles.;

- separates the parts of compounds (only used for the purpose of elucidation); where B. uses this sign, it has been retained, for instance in *l'oforra-kita*, although elsewhere B. spells *loforrakitin*, *l'ofitikita*;

( ) indicates: abusively not written in one word, for instance *abaptize da* (which ought to be *abaptizeda*): *a-baptize( )da*;

| indicates: written in one word, although according to B.'s usual way of spelling, it ought not to be written in one word.

In the English text, a word or a sentence between () means, that the English text does not contain this word or this sentence, but the Arawak text does contain it; a word or a sentence between [ ] means that the English text contains this word or this sentence, but the Arawak text (or the part that is quoted) does not.

The ' 's used by B., especially with the pronominal prefixes, have been left out, because their application is not systematic (for instance *b'usweardoan*, thine oaths, *bu'sweardoa fa*, thou shalt swear), or even faulty (for instance *mibilokotu b'akada abu*, with thongs; *mibilikotu* = narrow, *baka* = oxen, *(c)da* = hide, *abu* = with). See for the system of hyphens adopted in this work for separating a prefix, § 17.

* indicates a reconstructed word.

ALPHABETICAL INDEX

This index contains all words in Arawak, that are to be found in the texts of B. and S. even those which have not been specially discussed in this work; derived forms, such as the *o-(n-wa)* (§§ 4,5) and *-kiti* (§ 91) verbs and reduplications (§ 93) have generally not been mentioned.

The English words given after the Arawak words are the words of the English texts that have been translated by means of the Arawak word, and as a rule do not exactly express the inner meaning of the Arawak word.

The words have been arranged according to the first consonant; an *h* that shows an inclination to disappear, is in the index not reckoned as a consonant.

Sp. = of Spanish origin, cr. = of creole -Dutch (or negro-dialect) origin.

169 a) 2)	aboko-(n-wa) ia, S. abuku-(nn-ua) ūja	to be astonished, Sm. uneasy
62 f) 3)	a-bokodo-kwona-hu itimi	the rudder bands
62 f) 3)	S. abukudu-tti-kill	the master (or mate) of the ship
—	S. (n-)abuku-llu	(their) couches
62 f) 2)	a-bokoto-	to lay hold on, to hold, to take
69 f)	a-iibokota	to rebuke
69 f)	a-iibokoto-(n-wa)	to be restrained
120 g) 6) XII)	abokwa-bc	to be a herd, a band
69 d)	bolla kwa (kwon), S. ballā-koa	to be sitting
161 i) 1)	Sm. katti u-bute	new moon
69 d)	a-bolli, S. a-balli	to pass
116 b) 2)	o-bolisi	dust, chaff
69 d)	a-bolliti-, S. a-balti-, a-ballati-	to sit
69 d)	Sm. bullū	bunt sein
103 c) 2)	abolo-ka (-ga)	steep
103 c) 1)	aboloko	on the top
71 b) 7)	abomun, S. abbumūn	under
64 a) 2)	bona, S. bunna	past (yesterday or the day before)
64 a)	bonna, S. u-banna, u-baña	at the surface of
182 (5)	abona, S. abbuna	bone
—	abonaha	way
107 b) 5)	abona-gira-hu	herb
135 e)	bonaro-tu	purple
64 b)	bon-di, S. u-ban-di	at the surface of
91	abone-, S. abbunū-	to plant, to sow
64 a)	S. u-banna-mān (-mūn)	at the surface of
60 c) 2)	ebo-n-wa	the end
58 c) 2)	a-iibo-(n-wa)	to end
105	o-bora, S. u-bura	room, place
163 g)	S.wa-bura-tti	our fathers (ancestors)
109	o-boraada, S. aburahadi-	to leaven
84	o-bora-do	foundation
69 e)	a-boragi-, S. a-buruku-	to scourge, to beat
—	a-borati-	to help, to deliver
69 d)	a-boredi-,a-boridi-, S.a-bulleheddū-,	to cast away, to lose
69 d)	bore kwa (kwon), S. pūlla-koā-n	to be laying
69 d)	o-buri	letter, character
69 d)	a-burrida-tu, S. ka-balladara-tu ada	cross
(Sp.)	burigo	ass
69 d), 91	a-buriti- S. a-buliti-, a-buleti-	to write
69 d)	Sm. borudi	basket, trinket box
103 d)	aboroko	at the outside
—	a-boroati-, S. a-buruwatū-	to help
62 f)	abota	to catch away, to spoil
163 g) 6)	botoba-ci (-tu), S. buttuba-tti	widow
174	a-butado-(n-wa), S. a-buttadu-(nn-ua)	to faint, to fall into a trance
68	botta	or, rather
(cr.)	botu	a small ship, a little ship
—	isogo-tu botu, S. bootu	a boat
(cr.)	botoli, Sm. bōtel	a bottle
120 d)	boa	abnormal appearance

122 e) 1)	*a-odo-*, S. *a-hudu-*	to die
184	Sm. *dúbuli*	sting-ray
122 e) 2)	Sm. *hudu*	krumm, gebückt sein
122 e) 2)	*a-hododo-*	to bow
179 *f*)	Sm. *dukesi, dukara*	freilich
163 *g*) 7)	G. *dokara-to*	the second wife of a man
89	Sm. *u-dukku*	der Schooss
163 e)	Sm. *aduku-tti*	grandfather
89	*a-dokodo-*	to loose, to forgive
89	*a-dokoto-*	to show
—	*a-dokoto-(n-wa)*	to appear
89	Sm., G. *duli*	root
40, 89	*o-doma*, S. *u-dumma, u-dum̃a*	because of
174 *a*)	*adunku-, adunko-*, S., Sm. *adumki-*, Sm. *adunuki-*	to sleep
89	*adura*, Sm. *adüllebu*	rib, side
89	Sm. *addura*	to plait
164 *r*)	G. *dupi*	negro
89	Sm. *durrukoaru*	yam
120 e) 10)	*doada*, S. *doada*	a pot
2,184 *ff*.	*E*.	sickly, delicate, tender, lingering, quality, heat
7,177	*ie*, S. *je*	end-point pronoun III pl.
83 *a*)	*ie*, S. *je*	tongue
69, 184 *ff*.	*F, p*, S. *p*	striving, aspiring, airily, lightly,
5	*fa*	future ; will
136 e) 2)	G.*fa !*	fy !
69 *b*)	Sm. *ipa*	duck
69 *b*)	*a-fadakudi*, S. *a-paddukudu-*, *a-paddukuttu-*,	to shake off
(cr.)	S. *fadem*	fathom
164 o)	G. *papa*	father
69 *b*)	Sm. *papaia*	papaya
69 *b*)	Sm. *a-pappassü-*	sich ausbreiten, gross werden
69 *b*)	Sm., R. *appapu-rru*	böses, wildes Wasser, R. bore, tidal wave
136 e) 2)	S. *pahia*	astonishing
—	S. *a-pakütta*	to pass
164 *s*) 1)	S. *palle-ti*	powerful, wise (?)
164 *s*)	Pen. *faleto*	a wise man, a stranger
69 *b*)	G. *famodoa*	to be floating
118 a) 6)	Sm. *panasia*	to be hungry, greedy
69 *b*)	Sm. *parassa*	a spear
164 *s*)	*pareciyu*, S. *palettiju*	barbarous people (Acts XXVIII, 1)
144	*faroka*, S. *paruka*	hypothetical
69 *b*), 159 *f*)	*fata ?* S. *patta(-hü) ?*	how many ?
69 *b*)	*a-fatadi-*	to smite
197	*pawmu*	salt
(cr.)	*penster*, S. *fenster*	a window
(cr.)	S.*offer* ; *offern*	an offering ; offerings
(Sp.)	*pero*	a dog

(cr.)	*pesi*	pitch ; slime
69 *j*)	G. *fe. fĩ*	refuse, rubbish
69 *a*)	*ifi-li* (f. *-ro*), S. *ipi-lli* (f. *-rru*)	great
—	S. *ipilladũ-*	to gush out
(cr.)	S. *Pinkstdaka*	the day of Pentecost
69 a)	*ifiro*, S. *ipiru*	the body ; a corpse
175 *f*)	*ifiro-koro*, S. *ipirru-kurru*	a feast
69 a)	*ifirota*	to enlarge
—	*ifiroto-(n-wa)* S. *ipirrutu-(nn-ua)*	to boast
(cr.)	S. *fiscal*	the townclerk
69 *a*)	*a-fitikidi-*, S. *a-puttikidi-*	to go forth, to go out
69 *a*)	*a-fitikiti-*, S. *a-puttikitti-*	to bring forth
—	Sm. *ipitti-*	fest machen ; anstecken
—	*ipitokoto-*	to seal
—	*c-ipito-koto-kwona-hu*	morter
(cr.)	*planka*, S. *planka*	a board
(cr.)	S. *plantasi*	possessions (a farm, plantations)
(Sp.)	*plata*, S. *platta*	silver, money
(Sp.)	Sm. *flauta*	European flute
180	*a-praisedi-*	to praise
(Sp.)	Sm. *prăttana*	plantain
(cr.)	S. *prima-nnu*	fellows (Acts XVII, 5) (from cr. fri man, free man)
180	*a-prophesido-(n-wa)*	to prophesy
182 (78)	Sm. *puddi*, G. *fudi*	monkey
69 *d*), 186	*a-fudi-*, Sm. *a-ppũdũ-*	to blow
69 *d*)	*afu-dyi* (f. *-du*)	ruler
69 *d*)	*afuji*	to surpass, to rule
69 *b*)	G. *fofaso-(n-wa)*	to soar
69 *f*)	*a-fogodo-*, *a-fokodo-*, S. *a-pukudu-*	to divide, to part, to separate
129 *c*) 3)	*pocoraro*, Sm. *pukuleru*	agouti
69 *d*)	*a-fullifullito-(n-wa)*	to be made smooth
69 *d*)	*a-folidi-*, S. *a-puldi-*	to loose
98	Sm. *pũlli-lia*	shrubbery
136 *e*) 2)	Sm. *poi !*	astonishing !
69 *d*)	*a-fuili*	to loose, to unloose
69 *d*)	G. *funa*	greedy
69 *e*)	*a-forraa*	to strive
69 *e*)	*aforraa*	war
91	*a-forrakiti-*, S. *a-parrukitti-*	to put to death
—	*a-forri-ci*, S. *ka-pparka-tti*	a murderer
69 *e*)	*a-forri-*, S. *a-parru-*	to slay, to kill
69 *d*)	*a-furi*, Sm. *pulli*	to spring up (seed)
69 *d*)	*tu-furi*	the (its) blade
69 *d*)	*a-furiti-*	to bring forth (plants)
(Sp.)	*poroko*, Bernau *porku*	swine
(cr.)	*fort*, S. *fort*	castle
(Sp.)	Sm. *fortalissa*	eine von Leime geklebte Wand am Hause
—	S. *a-pussidũ-*	to deliver, to loose (a prisoner)
69 *b*)	*fotobotori*, Sm. *pũttuputtũli*	a nail
57	G. G. *g*, *χ*, *kh*, S. *gk*	see *k*

112 *c*) 2)	S. *ihime*	firewood
76 *b*) 2)	*himi*, Sm. *hime*	fish
54	S. *hinna*, *hiña*	events are proceeding
112 *b*)	Sm. *ihiri*	an eel
182 (94)	Sm. *hitti*	curassow bird
110 *a*)	*(hi)ti*, S. *hitti*	to desire, to will
112 *c*)	S. *hitti*, *ihittiattina* (?)	sepulchre
110 *b*)	S. *ahitti*	to be compliant, to believe
112 *e*)	Sm. *ihiti*	to ground fine
—	S. *ihittira*	to accuse
166 *f*)	v. C. *Hiwanama*, G. *Hiwanaka*	mythical man
24	*-hu*, *-ho*, *-ha*, *-he*, *-hi*	formative verbal nouns (abstracts, etc.)
7, 177	*hu*, S. *hū*	end-point pronoun II pl.
7, 177	*h(o)-*, *h(u)-*	pronominal prefix II pl.
151 *a*)	*uho*	quantity
7, 44 *a*)	*hui*, S. *hui*	emphasizing pronoun II pl.
112 *e*)	Sm. *a-hūidi-*	to press
44 *h*)	Sm. *hūkia*	pronoun II pl.
122 *d*) 1) III)	G. *hulura*	swellings of a musquito-sting
184	G. *a-hūkūdū-*	to clear one's throat
112 *g*)	Sm. *ue-hūkkili*, *we-hikkili*	silkgrass
184	G. *hŏkŏkūlisia*	to hiccup
76 *d*) 2)	S. *a-hum̃adu-*	to rush (the wind)
164 *k*)	*o-ho-na-no-ci*	kindred, kin, cousins
(cr.)	S. *hondert*	a hundred
108A *g*)	*hori*, S. *wuri*	snake
109	Sm. *hūwa*	blow gun
2, 178, 184 *ff*.	*I*	1°. instantaneous, of very short duration, quick, free, no duration at all, principle, idea, intensively, accentuated, tiny; 2°. masculine or human, rational, class
17	*i-*	prefix
3	*-i*	end-vowel verbs
41	*-i*	emphasizing suffix
7, 177	*i*, S. *i*	end-point pronoun III m.
91	*a-ii-*, *a-iiya*, S. *a-iji-*, *a-ija*	to weep
—	S. *J*	see *y*
84	B. *ji*	see *di*, *dyi*
57, 184 *ff*.	*K*, *g*	making its appearance in a positive manner, creation at work, the idea or the principle that becomes phenomenon
10	*k(a)-*	appearing, being present
5, 29	*ka*, *ga*	there is
125 *a*)	Sm *aka*, G. *ŏka*	to take a bath
136 *e*) 5)	Sm. *akka* !	ach !
55	*ika*, S. *i(k)ka*	a certain time; there was once
163 *b*) 6)	*aiika*	to marry

(Sp.)	*akosa*	a needle
61 *d*)	S. *küssa*	or
172 a) 1) I), 116 *b*)	*akosi*, S. *akussi*	eye
129 *b*) 2)	*kuta*	animal
129 *b*)	*o-kuti*, S. *u-kutti*	foot
170 *d*)	*a-koto-*, S. *a-kuttu-*	to eat
17 *d*)	*Adaie-li o-koto-n*	the Supper of the Lord
128 *d*)	Sm. *akutta*, *aküttü*	to prick
129 *aA*)	G. *a-khoto-*	to collect (firewood)
163 e)	Sm. *aküttühü*	grandmother
(cr.)	S. *gouverneur*	governor
143	*kowa*, Sm. *kawa*	to be absent
—	S. *kawandu-(nn-ua)*	[they were] brought to nought
167	*koia*	shy, wild (animals)
161 *i*)	Sm. *katti u-kurrubu*	full moon
167 a) 1) II)	Sm. *kujara*	deer
128 *h*)	Sm. *u-kkuju*	navel
167 a)	R. *kuyuha*, v. C. *koeja*	star or constellation of stars, spirit
128 *g*)	*a-kuyuko*, S. *u-kkujukku*	the ear (ear-hole or organ of hearing)
167 a) 2)	*koiamoora*, G. *koyumoɔo*	manati
120 e) 4)	*o-koa*	a horn
120 a)	*-kwa (-kwon)*, S. *-koa (-koan)*	yet
120 e) 6)	*a-koado-(n-wa)*	to be round
120 e) 7)	*a-kwaiabo-*, S. *a-kujabu-*	to beseech, to pray
120 e) 7)	*a-kwaiabo-(n-wa)*, S. *a-kujabu-(nn-ua)*	to worship, to do a prayer
120 e) 5)	*kwa(w)ma*	a hat, a crown
97 *g*)	Sm. *akkuaria*	der Breite nach gegenüber
120 a) 2) II)	*-kwon-ci* (f. *-tu*, pl. *-o-no-ci*), S. *-koan-ti (-tu, a-nu-tti)*	a person which is continually doing the thing
120 a) 2) I)	*-kwo(n)na-(hu)*, S. *-koana*	instrumentalis
120 a) 4)	*-kwawa*, S. *-koawa*	amongst each other, reciprocal
94, 178, 184 *ff*.	*L*, G. *l*, λ	1°. willing (and able) to move, loose; 2°. masculine or human, rational class.
99 *f*) 1)	*ala*, Sm. *hala*	Indian seat, bench, footstool
69 *b*)	Sm. *labba*	paca
89	*alaiti*, S. *aruleti*	a candle, a light
122 c)	*oolai*, *ooli*	a hole
—	*a-lakada*	to pour out, to sow
99 *f*) 3)	G. *halalu*, R. *hararo*	spatula, stirrer, pot-spoon
161 e)	Sm.*a-llammada*	to joggle, to rock
(cr.)	*lamp(u?)* S. *lampu*	a light
—	S.*allammulukkuda*, *alamulukkuda*	to assault (a mob)
182 (121 *A*)	Sm. *lana*	black paint, Genipa americana
—	S. *alantina*	a seat (?)
82 *b*)	Sm. *-le*	possessive suffix
109	S. *ma-halle*	to be lacking
126 a)	Sm. *auleara*	chalk
184	Sm. *a-leledü-*	durch einander plaudern
(Sp. ?)	G. *lemono*	lime, Citrus medica lemon
180	S.*a-lesedi-*, *a-lesidi-*	to read

German words in Schultz' texts

Apostel, apostle, *christianus*, a Christian, *engel*, angel, *evangelium*, gospel, *fest*, feast, *funfzig*, fifty, *gerber*, tanner, *gnaden*, grace, *Gutfurth*, The fair havens, *heidi-nu*, heathens, Gentiles, *judu*, Jew, *kaiser*, Cæsar, *kreuz*, cross, (*osser*, idol), *pingsten*, whitsuntide, *priester*, priest, *purpura*, purple, *stadt*, town, *stuhl*, seat, *stundu*, hour, *tausend*, thousand.

CHAPTER I

FINITE VERB

§ 1. Let us consider the following sentence:

H-adeka, d-imigoda hu sikapo wolf o-koboroko jin: ki-o-doma ka-
ye-see I-send you sheep wolf among as this I-because affirmed-
koborokwa-li hu hori jin, ma-wakaia-li bajia hu wiru jin. To-moroa
wisdom-freely ye serpent as, withheld-evil-freely also ye dove as its-but
h-aitoa-li loko-no o-mun. Behold, I send you forth as sheep in the
ye-beware-freely man-plural at
midst of wolves: be ye therefore wise as serpents, and harmless as doves. But beware of men.

The action-words *h-adeka* and *d-imigoda* are composed of a pronominal prefix *(h-, d-)*, a quality-word (quality, state or condition) or object-word *(ade*, strong appearance, *imigo*, readiness, being ready), a consonant which indicates in what way the preceding compound acts *(k* making its appearance in a positive manner, *d* to be firmly established, to stand, to be stiff) and a vowel indicating the general character of what is happening.

The words we here call action-words, are all composed in this way; they all indicate an activity, and moreover a person can be indicated who causes this activity or controls it, which person in the finite forms is indicated by a pronominal prefix, or by an emphasizing pronoun or object-word, which fulfills the same function and occupies the same place as the pronominal prefix.

It is almost certain, that, for instance *lo-oda*, he died, and *h-adunka*, sleep ye, also belong to this category; *a-odo*, S. *a-hudu-*, means: permanently firmly established, or firmly established in space (which may refer to the body or to the soul); *adunku-* may have a similar meaning, or it may mean "to snore".

Ka-koborokwa, ma-wakaia (see §§ 10, 18) we call quality-words, as well as for instance *kokke*, to live; *kokke ka i*, he lives, probably denotes: strength appears him.

§ 2. That the *a* is the real "Zeitwort", appears plainly from those forms in which the *a* with the pronominal prefix is detached from the remainder of the verb (see § 28); then the *a* acts as an auxiliary verb, though not as a colourless copula, but with the meaning of "to happen".

The *a* occurs in numerous other forms, and in comparing them, we find as a kind of greatest common divisor, that the Arawak language uses the *a* to indicate: the aspect of the world in its continual change. Not one single exception to this rule has been met with.

It has been found, that the *i* and the *u* or *o* are also used to express definite principles. The Arawak uses the *i* to express: small dimensions (in space and time) or high tension, the *u* or *o* to express: great dimensions (in space and time) or low tension, whilst the *a* expresses that which stands between the two principles, or partakes in the nature of both.

The Arawak makes no difference between time and space in the way we do; the *a* may indicate both "happening", as well as a condition, or an object considered in its transitory character (Heraclitus *panta rei*). We shall use for this the abbreviation "time-bound reality" or "time-reality".

The *u* or *o* principle is independent of time: it comprises as it were the whole time. We shall translate it, according to circumstances, by "great", "space", "the permanent", "motionless", "not changing", and the *w*, which is related to *u*, sometimes by "vast", "far away".

In the *i* principle, on the other hand, time is as it were, contracted into a single point, into the infinitesimally small. We shall translate it, according to circumstances, by "tiny", "quick", "instantaneous", "free", "principle", "idea", "intensively", "accentuated", and the *y*, which is related to *i*, sometimes by "here". *I*, "here", *a*, "at some distance", in the words *ikirikia*, our own nation, *akirikia*, a foreign nation, and perhaps in *ici*, father, *aiici*, son.

The *i*, and in contrast to it the *u*, *o*, are also used to mark the distinction between man (homo) and nature, or man (vir) and woman. This use of the *i* and the *u*, *o* and also that of the *l-* and *t-*, *r-* for the same purpose, we shall keep strictly apart from the remaining use of those sounds.

It seems that the e is used to indicate a principle, the nature of which may be illustrated by the following comparisons: *a* sound, healthy, somewhat relentless, hard — *e* sickly, delicate, tender: *i* quick, idea, principle — *e* lingering, quality; *i* light — e heat — *a* matter.

The deeper meaning of this use of the vowels in order to indicate definite principles, will be further discussed in §§ 185 ff.

The meaning of the *a* lies between the meaning of *i* and *o* or *u*; the *e* lies between *i* and *a*; it may be that Arawak also makes use of other intermediate sounds in order to express different shades of meaning. An indication of this may be seen in those words where e and *i* alternate, and in the metamorphosis of vowels before *-n*, *-in* (§ 81). Sm., S., Q. use besides the *u*, o, *a*, e, *i* also *ü* and *üü*, Sm. also *ue*, *uéü*, B. *ii*: G. noted ŏ̈, ŏ̈ (*ĭ*) or ŏ̈ (*ü*) (a mixture of ŏ̈, *ü* and *ĭ*), *üĭ* or *ue*, *ĭ* and *ü*, and further in some words a distinct o, in others a distinct *u*.

Often, however, the immediate, and perhaps only cause of such variatons is the influence of the following vowels or consonants. It is especially plain to see, that the *i* has a trend to oust other vowels, and that it may exert a deteriorating influence upon *d* (§ 84), *t* (§ 90), *s* (§ 113), *n* (§ 83 a)), perhaps also upon *b* (§ 125 c) 1)).

§ 3. If the action-word denotes an action that passes quickly or does not end in a state of rest, then in some moods and tenses, the final *a* gives place to an *i* (table § 5, *i* group).

If the action-word denotes an action that passes slowly or ends in a state of rest, then in some moods and tenses, the final *a* gives place to an *o* (table, *o* group).

If the action-word denotes a prolonged action, then the final *a* is retained

in all forms. In this case S. mostly writes *ā* = long *a*. B. in the forms 6 and 9 sometimes *aa*; therefore it is perhaps more correct to say that the final *a* gives place to long *a* (table, *a* group).

In reality, however, one cannot say of any action-word that it belongs to the *i*, *o* or *a* group, for in each case that presents itself, the vowel used is that which is suitable to that particular case. In this way the Arawak can express fine shades of meaning. Sometimes the difference of meaning also appears in the English verb, for instance *a-simaki-*, to call, *a-simaka*, to cry, *ikisidi-*, to judge, to measure, *ikisida*, to reckon.

In a few action-words an *u* is used instead of an *o*. The Moravians mostly use *u* when B. writes o, whilst the *i* group of B. is divided by them into an *i* group and an *ü* group: no distinct difference of meaning between these *i* and *ü* groups has been discovered.

§ 4. Compare the action-word *h-aiitoa*, beware (or: take heed) with *h-aita* [*omuni-ni n*], know [that it is near].

H-aiita is composed exactly in the same way as *h-adeka* and *d-imigoda* (*h-*, pronominal prefix; *aii*, presumably "established security", § 133; *t*, motion towards an object; *a*, time-reality).

H-aiit-a = *h-aiit* time-reality = (ye-) know.

H-ait-o-a = *h-aiit* stationary time-reality = (ye-) know, which remains in itself = (ye-) beware, (ye-) take heed.

Oa, *ua* or *wa* occurs in a great number of forms, see § 120: that one is justified in considering it as composed of *o*, stationary, and *a*, time-reality, appears from the forms 6—10 of the table in § 5, in which the *a* is lacking or is detached from the o.

These stationary forms (which we shall call *oa* forms) are applied:

a) In action-words, if the nature of the action is "not moving from the place of origin", e.g. *l-idankidoa Wacinaci o-mun*, he thanked God, *ika ki t-akodwa, Adaie-li o-mun t-idankidwa*, and she coming in that instant gave thanks likewise unto the Lord, *bu-plate-n aboado fa bu-ma*, thy money perish with thee (comp. *Daii aboadi fa ie ororo abu*, I will destroy them with the earth):

b) For the translation of reflexive forms: the reflexive character is then expressed by *-oaiya*, self, e.g. *b-isadwa b-uaiya*, save thyself (comp. *b-isada-te di*, save me);

c) Very frequently, by Brett, for the translation of English passive forms, e.g. *b-isadwa*, thou art made whole, *l-isado fa*, he shall be saved, *isado-ci m-aici-n goba i*, and he that was healed wist not who it was (comp. *lihi-ki isadi fa n*, the same shall save it, *isadi-ci ki di*, he that made me whole).

Now the *o* expresses the principle of low tension and the correlated principle of motionless, stationary, or in the soul: the principle of not active, expectant, passive (§§ 2, 190). In so far the *oa* forms really contain something of the passive. But they are not passive forms, neither are they intransitive forms (comp. example given under b), and *bo-koborokwa di*, remember me). Their function is, to denote the principle of independency (§ 188).

§ 5.

Mood, tense etc. (approximate)	Action-words						Quality-words	
	i group	o group	*a* group	*i* group, oa	o group, oa	*a* group, oa	I[1]	II[2]
1. Imperative m.	-*a*	-*a*	-*a*	-*oa*	-*oa*	-*oa*	—	—
2. Indicative m., Perfect t. .	-*a goba*	-*a goba*	-*a goba*	-*oa goba*	-*oa goba*	-*oa goba*	— *goba*	— *goba*
3. Abstract	-*a-hu*	-*a-hu*	-*a-hu*	-*oa-hu ?*	-*oa-hu*	-*oa-hu*	— -*hu*	— - *hu*
4. Indicative m., Present t. .	-*a*	-*a*	-*a-ga*	-*oa*	-*oa*	-*oa-ga*	— *ga*	—
5. Potential m., Present t. .	-*a ma*	-*a ma*	-*a koma*	-*oa ma*	-*oa ma ?*	-*oa koma*	— *koma*	— *ma*
6. Indicative m., Future t. .	-*i fa*	-*o fa*	-*a fa*	-*o fa*	-*oo fa*	-*oa fa*	— *fa*	— *fa*
7. Present participle, Infinitive	-*i-n*	-*o-n*	-*a-n*	-*o-n-wa*	-*o-n-wa*	-*oa-n*	— -*(i) n*	— -*(i) n*
8. Agent-noun	-*i-ci*, f. -*i-tu*	-*o-ci*, f. -*o-tu*	-*a-ci*, f. -*a-tu*	-*o-ci*, f. *o-tu*	-*oo-ci*, f. *oo-tu*	-*oa-ci*, f. *oa-tu*	— -*ci*, f. -*tu*	— -*ci*, f. *tu*
9. Object-noun	-*i-sia*	-*o-sia*	-*a-sia*	-*o-sia*	-*o-sia*	-*oa-sia*	— -*sia*	— -*sia*
10. Hortative-Optative . . .	-*ia*	?	-*a-ia*	-*o-ia*	-*o-ia ?*	-*oa-ia ?*	— -*ia*	— -*ia*
symbolic representations	*adeki-*	*imigodo-*	*ikita*	*adeko-(n-wa)*	*imigodo-(n-wa)*	*ikitoa*	*kokke*	*isa*
adopted in this work : . . .	(to see)	(to send)	(to serve)				(to be living)	(to be good)

[1]) The following have been met with: 1⁰. *Ialoko*, being a Spirit, etc.; 2⁰. *d-ajeago*, being upon me, ororo *ajeago*, being in the world (upon earth), *isikwa o-loko*, being in the house, etc.; 3⁰. *k-akosi*, having eyes, *m-akosi*, being blind, *ka-loko*, having contents, *ma-loko*, being empty, etc. (§ 10): 4⁰. *bari*, indeed, (Sm.) *aba*, to be different. *aboa*, ill, *ibi*, ready, *biama*, being two, *ifili*, *ifiro*, great, *(a-)furi*, springing up, *kari*, suffering, *kokke*, living, *kudi*, heavy, *kowa*, absent, *amaro*, afraid, *imeko*, ready, *misi*, right, *nokonne*, sorrowing, *orosi*, being filled with food, -*sabu*, very, *isi*, stinking, *isogo*, small, *yuho*, being a quantity; 5⁰. *alon*, *alomun*, where?

[2]) The following have been met with: 1⁰. *ada*, being a tree, etc.; 2⁰. *lo-tokaini o-loko*, being in the (his) secret chambers; 3⁰. *ma-gura*, having no root, *ka-koborokwa*, wise, *ma-koborokwa*, foolish, *ka-raia*, appearing; 4⁰. *kalime*, being light, shining, *koro*, negation, *alikibe*, glad, *alikibi*, rejoicing, *alokosia*, thirsty, *amisia*, hungry, *murriga*, false, *isa*, good, *saka*, withered, *simika*, jealous, *taha*, far, *yaha*, here, *wakaia*, evil; 5⁰. *ama*, what?

The final vowel that appears in the forms 6—10, appears also in the forms with *-ni* (verbal noun, § 25), *-bi* (Perfect tense, § 58 a)), *-bona* (Perfect tense, § 64 a) 2)), *-ba* ("also", § 60 b)), *faroka* ("if", § 144), *sabu* ("very", § 149), *robu* ("only", § 150), *kwona-hu* (instrument, § 120 a) 2) I)).

The *a* appears also in the forms with *(hit)ti* ("desiring", § 110).

Forms 4: *ga* or *ka*, means "making its appearance in a positive manner — time-reality". This particle is used generally after a word that of itself is indefinite in regard to time (*ikita*, to serve, *ikitoa*, to be served, *kokke*, to live; also after *-n* and *-ni* verbal nouns, §§ 28 c), 29), in order to give it a definite sense. It is not used if the indefiniteness may remain (*isa*, to be good), or if definiteness is included in the construction and meaning of the word, so as with the *i* and *o* groups of the action-words.

Forms 5: *ma* means "reluctant or hesitating — time-reality".

Forms 5: *koma* is a combination of *k(a)* and *ma*; presumably an o is used here, in order that *a* may only occur at the end: analogous forms: *goba*, *kona* (§ 63), *bona* (§ 64), *o-doma* (§ 40), *o-bora* (§ 105).

Forms 2: *goba* indicates a rather remote past; *g* making its appearance in a positive manner, o not changing, *ba*, again (§ 60); see also § 128 k).

Forms 6: *fa* means "striving (aspiring) time-reality".

Forms 10: *ia* expresses: *i*. tension, (released into) *a* the calm flow of time (see § 132).

Forms 3, 7, 8, 9: *-hu*, *-n*, *-ci*, *-tu*, *-sia*, see §§ 21—27.

Examples:

a) *i*, *o*, *a* groups.

lihi oonaba-ga (*a*, 4) *kiana n*, *ajia-n* (*a*, 7) *na-mun*, *Daii bajia adagato fa* (*o*, 6) *hu abar amateli*, *h-oonaba-te* (*a*, 1; *te*, § 95) *kiana di*, and he answered and said unto them, I will also ask you one thing; and answer me: *b-adeka* (*i*, 1), *d-imigoda* (*o*, 4) *d-imigodo-sia* (*o*, 10) *b-isibo o-bora*, behold, I send my messenger before thy face, *kena Wacinaci isadi-sia* (*i*, 10) *to-makwa isiroko-ho adeki fa* (*i*, 6), and all flesh shall see the salvation of God, *n-adagata goba* (*o*, 2) *i lo-dokoto-n* (*o*, 7) *bia na-mun a-dokota-hu* (*o*, 3) *aiomuni o-rea*. *L-oonaba goba* (*a*, 2) *n ajia-n* (*a*, 7) *na-mun*, (they) desired him that he would shew them a sign from heaven. He answered and said unto them, *Wacinaci adeka goba* (*i*, 2) *kiana kalime-hi*, and God saw the light, *to-makwa yauhahu a-kwaiaba* (*o*, 4) *kiana i*, *Poroko o-lokomun b-imigoda* (*o*, 1) *u*, and all the devils besought him, [saying], Send us into the swine, *kena l-adeka* (*i*, 4) *ie tata kiben a-rimodi-n* (*i*, 7), and he saw them toiling in rowing, *tata-tu ajia-hu* (*a*, 3) *toho*: *alika akonnaba ma* (*o*, 5) *n*? this is an hard saying; who can hear it? *n-imisida ma* (*i*, 5) *koro kia ajia-hu* (*a*, 3) *n-ajia-sia* (*a*, 9) *da-konomun*, neither can they prove the things whereof they now accuse me, *alika-i koro ikita koma* (*a*, 5) *biama-no l-adaiana-sia*: ... *abar-li l-ikita fa* (*a*, 6); *l-ibiamti-ci l-imita fa* (*a*, 6), *jiaro*. *Mamari-ga* (§ 147) *h-ikita-n* (*a*, 7) *Wacinaci Mammon bajia biama-n*, no man can serve two masters: ... or

else he will hold to the one, and despise the other. Ye cannot serve God and mammon, *l-onnakia* (*i.* 10) *ifiro-tu b-eke bajia*, let him have thy cloke also, *a-ridi-ci* (*i.* 8) *aicia* (*i.* 10) *to-konomun*, let him that readeth understand (know it-concerning), *ho-dokoda* (*o.* 1) *i*, *l-ausia* (*i.* 10) loose him, and let him go, *bu-isauka andia-te* (*i.* 10) thy kingdom come, *Christ* ... *a-tokodia-te* (*o* ? 10), let ... Christ descend, *naha yaha-ci kiana ajiaia* (*a.* 10), let these same here say, *l-ahakaia* (*a.* 10) *na-mun to-konomun*, that he may testify unto them (L. XVI, 28) :

b) *i, o, a* groups : oa.

da-dankidoa (*i*?, oa, 4) *bu-mun*, I thank thee, *b-adeka*, *b-isadwa* (*i.* oa, 4), behold, thou art made whole, *b-ikiduada Adaie-li Jesus Christ o-konomun*, *kena b-isado fa* (*i.* oa, 6), believe on the Lord Jesus Christ, and thou shalt be saved, *kena hiaro isadwa goba* (*i.* oa, 2) *kia ikisi warea*, and the woman was made whole from that hour, *alika-i kiana isadwa ma* (*i.* oa, 5) ? who then can be saved ? *b-isadwa* (*i.* oa, 1) *b-uaiya* ! save thyself ! *aba-no l-isada barin*, *l-oaiya l-isadoia* (*i.* oa. 10), *kiana*, he saved others, let him save himself, *biama-ga c-isado-n-wa* (*i.* oa, 7) *kiana*, and both are preserved, *to-makwa bu-loa abu b-ikiduadi faroka*, *bu-baptize () doa ma* (*i.* oa, 5), if thou believest with all thine heart, thou mayest (be baptized), *c-ibitoia* (*i.* oa, 10) *ibin ama d-ansi-ka kiana* ? what will I, if it be already kindled ? *toho origahu abu bu-ialoko adagatoo fa* (*o.* oa, 6) *b-aurea*, this night thy soul shall be required of thee, *naii k-ikisi-ka n-akonnabo-n-wa* (*o.* oa, 7) *bia yuho-ni n-ajia-n o-doma*, for they think that they shall be heard for their much speaking, *Rama mun ajia-hu akonnaboa goba* (*o.* oa, 2), in Rama was there a voice heard, *penster aiomun-bonna-n-tu bajia a-torodwa* (*o.* oa, 4), and the windows of heaven were opened, *ho-kwaiaboa* (*o.* oa, 1), *m-ausi-n h-a-n bia wakaia ikisida-hu o-lokomun*, pray that ye enter not into temptation, *to-moroa toho jiamutu koro a-fitikida ma*, *to-moroa a-kwaiaboa-hu* (*o.* oa, 3) *o-doma ma-koto-ni-hi abu to-fitikida ma*, howbeit this kind goeth not out but by prayer and fasting, *ama ibia ho-koborokwatoa ka* (*a.* oa, 4) *ho-loa o-lok-oa* ? why do thoughts arise in your hearts ? *loko o-loa a-koborokwatoa-n* (*a.* oa, 7) *wakaia-hu o-konomun l-iloni-ni warea o-doma*, for the imagination of man's heart is evil from his youth, *to-makwa lo-koborokwatoa-sia* (*a.* oa, 9) ... *lo-loa o-lok-oa*, every imagination of the thoughts of his heart, *d-adaiakitwa faroka* (same form as *a.* oa, 6) *da-uaiya*, *ausirobu-in d-adaiakitwa-ga* (*a.* oa, 4) : *Da-ci adaiakita di*, if I honour myself, my honour is nothing : it is my Father that honoureth me, *ma-sweardoa-n* (*a.* oa, 7) *h-a-li abaren* : *Aiomun koro abu bu-sweardoa fa* (*a.* oa, 6), swear not at all : [neither] by heaven (not shalt thou swear), *loko Aiici andi-n goba-te jin*, *l-ikitwa-n* (*a.* oa, 7) *bia koro*, *to-moroa l-ikita-n bia*, even as the Son of man came not to be ministered unto, but to minister, *a-sweardoa-hu* (*a.* oa, 3) *abu*, [he denied] with an oath, *a-nokondwa-hu* (*a.* oa, 3), lamentation, *k-amunaiga goba kiana w-ajia-n ho-mun*, *kena hui koro a-nokonnedwa goba* (*a.* oa, 2), we have mourned unto you, and ye have not lamented, *aiika-hu-sikwa sanoci*

a-nokonnidwa koma (*a*, *oa*, 5), *ika tu ki aiika-ci na-ma-n ?* can the children of the bridechamber mourn, as long as the bridegroom is with them ? *h-aiitoa-li* (*i*, *oa*, 1) *kiana, h-ikitwa-hu* (*a*, *oa*, 3) *abu a-kwaiabo-n-wa* (*o*, *oa*, 7), take ye heed, watch and pray, *h-aiitoa, h-ikitoa* (*a*, *oa*, 1) *k-iitesia-sia o-rea*, take heed, and beware of covetousness ;

a-wa, in the following : *toho ointment a-iyugarawa ma yuho-ro bia barin*, for this ointment might have been sold for much, *biama ibiro kain kodibiyu a-iyugarawa koro*, are not two sparrows sold [for a farthing] ? *a-forrawa ti-n l-oaiya*, and would have killed himself ;

c) Quality-words, etc., *ga* (*ka*), *koma* class.

kokke ka (4) *i !* he lives ! *kodibiyu-bi ... anda fa-te b-amun, b-ikita-n bia n kokki-n* (7), fowls ... shall come unto thee, to keep them alive, *tanahu isi-ga* (4) *i*, by this time he stinketh, *hui bajia nokonne-ga* (4) *tanahu*, and ye now therefore have sorrow, *nokonne-ga* (4) *yuho-li loko-no o-konomun di*, I have compassion on the multitude, *nokonne* (1) *wa-kona-n bu !* have mercy on us ! *kena hui nokonne fa* (6), *to-moroa ho-nokonne-hi* (3) *a-sifudo fa ahalikibi bia*, and ye shall be sorrowful, but your sorrow shall be turned into joy, *to-moroa ika tu yuho-li loko-no l-adeki-n nokonne goba* (2) *na-konomun i*, but when he saw the multitudes, he was moved with compassion on them ;

k-akosi ka (4) *hu, mamari-ga h-adeki-n ?* having eyes, see ye not ? *waii bajia m-akosi ka* (4) ? are we blind also ? *to-makwa sa-tu ada k-iwi-ka* (4) *sa-tu c-iwi ... sa-tu ada koro k-iwi koma* (5) *wakaia-tu c-iwi* (§ 18), every good tree bringeth forth good fruit ... a good tree cannot bring forth evil fruit, *k-iwi goba* (2) *kiana n*, and (it) brought forth, *mamari-ga t-adinabo t-oaiya k-iwi-n* (7), the branch cannot bear fruit of itself, *alika-i k-ire fa* (6) *kiana n*, whose wife shall she be ?

abar-timen siba oniabu eki a-sikoa goba yumun, Jew-no a-maribendo-n-wa o-loko-ji, abar ka-loko koma (5) *biama firkin jiaro kabuin jiaro*, and there were set there six water-pots of stone, after the manner of the purifying of the Jews, containing two or three firkins apiece, *abar-li yuho-ro k-amun-ci* (8) *akobain ka-loko goba* (2) *yuho-ro c-iwi*, the ground of a certain rich man brought forth plentifully, lit. one much possessing-person ground contained much its-fruit ;

to-moroa oniabu ki Daii a-siki-sia lo-mun, lo-loko fa (6) *a-ciga* (*a-cigi*, to dig) *oniabu a-sorokodo-tu ma-iibo-n-wa-tu kokke-hu bia*, but the water that I shall give him shall be in him a well of water springing up into everlasting life, *Da-ci sikwa o-loko* (4) *yuho-ro bawhu*, in my Father's house are many mansions, *lihi o-loko goba* (2) *kokke-hu*, in him was life, *ororo ajeago goba* (2) *i*, he was in the world ;

Ialoko ka (4) *Wacinaci*, God is a Spirit, *kena abar-li hui o-rea-ci yauhahu ka* (4), and one of you is a devil, *l-augici iri goba* (2) *Jubal*, and his brother's name was Jubal, *Tubal-cain o-yuradatu goba* (2) *Naamah*, and the sister of Tubal-cain was Naamah, *ifili-ci fa* (6) *i*, he shall be great,

ki-o-doma naii ikisida-arin fa (6) *ho-mun*, therefore they shall be your judges;

d) Quality-words which do not take *ga (ka)*, and take *ma* instead of *koma*.

isa (1), *W-adaiana-sia*, well, Master, *isa-li* (1) *kiana hu abaren*, be ye therefore perfect, *isa* (4) *b-ajia-n*, thou hast well said, *lo-boredwa-ga t-adinabo jin, kena saka* (4) *i*, he is cast forth as a branch, and is withered, *kena t-egura kowa-n tu-mun o-doma, saka goba* (2) *n*, and because it had no root, it withered away, *isa fa* (6) *hu*, ye shall do well, *isa-hi* (3) *jiaro, wakaia-hu* (3) *jiaro ? isada-hi kokke-hu jiaro, aboada-hu jiaro ?* to do good, or to do evil ? to save life, or to destroy it ? (L. VI, 9), *kenbena ama ibia koro sa-ma* (5) *n*, it is thenceforth good for nothing (Mt. V, 13), *waakoro fig ada saka-in* (7) ! how soon is the fig tree withered away ! *to-makwa kibi l-onyi-ka isa-n* (7), he hath done all things well;

ifi-ro ka t-adinabo kiana, ki-o-doma kodibiyu-bi aiomun warea-tu ka-sikwa ma (5) *t-iya abomun*, and shooteth out great branches; so that the fowls of the air may lodge under the shadow of it, *bara ma-iaukwa ma kiana*, and there was a great calm, *fox ka-sikwa* (4) *t-oolai o-loko*, foxes have holes (dwell its-hole in), *kena waii anda fa-te l-amun, ka-sikwa fa* (6) *lihi o-ma u*, and we will come unto him, and make our abode with him, *Cain ausa kiana Adaie-li isibo warea, Nod ororo mun ka-sikwa-n* (7), and Cain went out from the presence of the Lord, and dwelt in the land of Nod, *aiomun abomun-tu oniabu a-herakidaia aba-ro o-loko, ka-raia-ia* (10) *kiana waa-tu ororo*, let the waters under the heaven be gathered together unto one place, and let the dry land appear, *ma-gura* (4) *ie na-loa o-lok-oa, to-moroa m-ibena robu n-a oaboddi-n*, and (they) have no root in themselves (their heart), and so endure but for a time.

§ 6. The Arawak language does not distinguish between the active and the passive voice in the same manner as is done in English. The following means have been employed in translating:

a) The English active voice:

1) Ordinary action-word:

- I) No object: *l-adeka*, he looked up (Mk. VIII, 24), *d-ausa*, I go;
- II) Object fully affected: *d-imigoda hu*, I send you, *l-adeka ie*, he saw them;
- III) Object affected in a particular manner; it is indicated by one of the words denoting position, direction or time, enumerated in § 8, preceded by a particle or a word indicating the "person", e.g. with *ibici*, lightly touched: *h-imigoda d-ibici*, ye have sent for me, *l-adeka n-ibici*, he beheld them;
- IV) (II) + III)) *d-imigodi fa-te i h-ibici*, I will send him unto you;

2) *Oa* form:

- I) *t-eda botoli oakudwa*, the (leather) bottles break;
- II) Does not exist;

III) *na-kwaiaboa da-mun*, they worship me;

IV) —;

V) Reflexive, see § 4 b);

3) Quality-word:

I) —;

II) Subject (~ the object fully affected in 1) II)): *isa n*, it was good, *kokke ka i*, he lives;

III) —;

IV) Form II) + object affected in a particular manner: *nokonne goba na-konomun i*, he was moved with compassion on them, *wakaia ho-muni n*, woe unto you, lit. you-at it;

b) The English passive voice:

1) The corresponding active voice has been translated, e.g. L. XXI, 16, ye shall be betrayed, *na-sikiti fa hu*, L. VIII, 5, it was trodden down, *n-atenaa goba t-ajeago*;

2) An *oa* form is used, e.g. Mt. XV, 24, I am not sent, *d-imigodwa-te koro*;

3) In order to emphasize the passive attitude, an *oa* form from a causative is used. Sm. gives this as the usual method, but in S. 's texts such forms are comparatively seldom met with. Examples: S. *na-maqua l-ansi-ssia-ñu ebekittoa üssa-tti üjahü abbu*, and they (his beloved ones) were all filled with the Holy Ghost (Acts II, 4), *ki-hia na-kujaba-ka Pilatus u-ria lu-parrükittu-nn-ua u-kunnamün*, yet desired they Pilate that he should be slain (Acts XIII, 28);

4) A durative form (*a* group) is used, e.g. L. I, 19, I am sent, *imigodaga te di*, L. XX, 18, he shall be broken, *lihi a-kurradaa fa*;

5) S. makes use of a *-hu* verbal noun to do duty as a passive verbal root, after which the particles *ka*, *sia*, etc. are applied; see § 24;

6) A *-sia* verbal noun is used, see § 22.

2) and 3): If the English sentence gives the active subject, then it is translated by one of the words denoting position or direction *o-mun*, *abu* or *o-rea*, with a pronominal prefix or prefixed object-word; examples, see §§ 71 b) 2) III), 65, 97 a).

CHAPTER II

CHARACTER OF THE ARAWAK WORDS

§ 7. The words *hu*, in the example of § 1, denoting persons, we shall call "end-point pronoun"; other similar words we shall call "emphasizing pronoun"; the particles *h-*, *d-* and *h-* we shall call "pronominal prefix".

	pronominal prefix	end-point pronoun	emphasizing pronoun
I	*d(a)-*	*di*	*daii*
II	*b(u)-*	*bu*	*bui*
III m.	*l(o)-*, *l(u)-*	*i*	*lihi*, *liraha*
III f.	*t(o)-*, *t(u)-*	*n* (G. also *no*)	*toho*, *toraha*
I pl.	*w(a)-*	*u*	*waii*
II pl.	*h(o)-*, *h(u)-*	*hu*	*hui*
III pl.	*n(a)-*	*ie*	*naii*, *naha*, *naraha*

The vowel between ( ) is used if it is not ousted by a stronger influence.

I = the speaker,
II = the listener,
III m. = one rational being or male person, other than the speaker or the listener,
III f. = one or more non-rational beings or things or one female person, other than the speaker or the listener,
I pl. = two or more persons, the speaker included,
II pl. = two or more persons, one or more listeners included, the speaker excluded,
III pl. = two or more rational beings, the speaker and the listeners excluded.

Emphasizing pronouns and object-words may be used in the function of an end-point pronoun and in the function of a pronominal prefix, e.g. *wolf*, *loko-no*.

§ 8. Words denoting position, direction or time, such as *o-koboroko* and *o-mun*, fulfil the role of the prepositions and case-endings in European languages. Here follows a list of those words, with the English prepositions etc., for the translation of which they are used (most of them as given in Brett's grammar); for their real meaning, see the §§'s placed after them. After these words *ji* (§ 85) and *wa* (§ 120 g) 6)) may be added as suffixes.

bena, after, § 38
ibici, to, towards, § 58 d) 1)
ibiciro, to, towards, § 102 b)
abu, by, with, § 65

iabo, behind, beyond, § 66
aboloko, on the top of, § 103 c)
abomun, under, § 71 b) 7)
bonna, at the surface of, § 64 a) 1)
o-bora, at a certain future epoch, § 105 b)
o-boramun, at a certain future epoch or place, § 105 c)
aboroko, at the outside, § 103 d)
aji, more than, S. *adi*, upon, § 86 a)
ajeago, on, upon, § 86 b)
adiki, after, § 86 c)
adikiloko, instead of, in the room of, § 86 d)
adinamun, near to, in the vicinity of, § 86 g) 3)
o-doma, because of, § 40
ikira-ji, *ikira-di*, round about, § 106
S. *aku*, in (fire), § 103 e)
o-koboroko, among, § 103 h)
akoloko, in (fire, etc.), § 103 e)
o-kona, against, upon, § 63 a) 1)
o-konamun, at, upon, § 63 a) 3)
o-konomun, of, concerning, § 63 a) 4)
o-konaria, for the sake of, § 97 b) 3)
akosa, on, at the side, § 117 a)
o-loko, in, § 103 a)
i(y)aloko, against, § 103 g)
o-ma, with, § 71 a) 1)
mairia, etc., at the other side, § 97 d)
o-makana, over against, § 71 c)
mun, at, § 71 b)
amun, at, upon, over, § 71 b)
o-mun, to, for, by, § 71 b)
muniro, *o-muniro*, to, unto, § 102 b)
inabo, after, § 79 c) 4)
(e)rabudiki, *(e)rabodogo*, against, towards, § 104 c) 1)
(i)rako, in (a fluid), § 107 a)
irakomun, in (a fluid), § 107 a)
rea, *ria*, *o-rea (aurea)*, *area*, *warea*, from, § 97
aramakona, at, § 104 d)
(e)ribo, *rebo*, at the waterside, § 101 a)
rifu, at the waterside, § 101 b)
ariloko, in (between), § 103 f)
roko, in, § 103 b)
isibo, in face of, § 116 a) 1)
isifu, in face of, § 116 a) 2)
o-tora, at the foot of, § 102 e)
o-toromun, at the foot of, § 102 e).

§ 9. In substance the pronouns are deictic expressions or demonstratives. The pronominal prefixes and the end-point pronouns are short characteristic descriptions of the person; from a comparison with other A. M. languages it appears probable that one kind of pronouns were formerly used for both functions. The emphasizing pronouns are compounds of a pronominal prefix with an emphasizing particle.

The pronominal prefixes are also used in a manner that reminds one of an article. The emphasizing pronouns are also used for the translation of English demonstratives.

That the pronouns denote place, appears also from the fact, that the emphasizing pronouns are composed in exactly the same manner as some words denoting locality, for instance *lihi*, he, this (m.), *naha* these, *yaha*, here (§§ 44, 45).

§ 10. The object-words and the proper names have the same character as the pronouns.

It may be, that in addition to the attributes connoted by an object-word, it is necessary to mention the person involved, as is the case with a thing possessed, a part of the body, a family relation. Then the person is indicated by a pronominal prefix, or by an emphasizing pronoun or an object-word, fulfilling the same function (*h-ada-n*, your staves, *d-akosi*, my eye, *lo-iyu*, his mother). Likewise the words denoting position, direction or time, enumerated in § 8 are always more particularly specified by a person (*wolf o-koboroko*, in the midst of wolves, *loko-no o-mun*, of men, *na-koboroko*, among them).

These words, without the prefixed particle or word, have no other value than to indicate a complex of qualities, and this explains how it is possible, that both object-words and the words denoting position, direction or time just mentioned, can be transformed into a word indicating a quality, state or condition, viz. with *k(a)-* (making its appearance in a positive manner): the quality is appearing, is present; with *m(a)-* (reluctant): the quality is not appearing, is absent.

Examples: *(i)sa*, child, offspring, *ka-sa*, to be fruitful, being with child, *ma-sa*, to be barren; *iwi*, fruit, *k-iwi*, to bring forth fruits, *m-iwi*, not to bring forth fruits; *akosi*, eye, *k-akosi*, to have eyes, *m-akosi*, to be blind; *iri*, name, *ka-iri*, to be called by a name, *ma-iri*, not to be called by a name; *o-banna*, leaf, *ka-banna*, to have leaves; *o-koborokwa*, remembrance, consciousness, *ka-koborokwa*, to be remembering, to be wise, *ma-koborokwa*, to be foolish; *o-loko*, in (or: inside, interior), *ka-loko*, to have contents, to be filled, *ma-loko*, to be empty.

§ 11. a) Emphasizing pronouns, object-words, proper names, words denoting position, direction or time, and quality-words can be used as a verb, denoting the state or condition to be, whatever the word expresses. The action-words with unalterable ending, namely the *a* group, and the verbal nouns, may be included in this category. Notionally they have in common: indefiniteness in regard to time; in form: unalterable ending;

grammatically : that the different moods and tenses are formed in the same way (see §§ 5, 12, 21—27).

b) But the particles by which moods and tenses are formed, are even employed when the word is used in a function that may be fulfilled by a pronominal prefix or an end-point pronoun, e.g. *[David adaie-li-wabu ka-sa goba Solomon] Urias ire-tu goba o-mun,* [and David the king begat Solomon] of her that had been the wife of Urias ; see also the forms with (S.) *kuba, pa,* § 176 b) 2, 3), the forms with *ka,* § 29 a), with *bia,* § 39, and the *-hu* etc. forms, § 24.

c) Concerning the action-words with inflected endings, we have seen already, that the different end-vowels describe the different shades of reality. When we take this into consideration, we see that these words have nothing in their construction that distinguishes them from the other classes of words. Moreover the action-words are used in the sentence in quite the same way as the quality-words (see the examples in § 12), and furthermore certain quality-words may perform the function of action-words (§ 18).

d) In the following example we meet the Indicative mood, Present tense of an action-word doing duty as an object-word : *aiakatwa o-loko,* privily, in secret (parallel to *m-aiakato-n-wa o-loko,* public, openly), *ororo a-iiboa,* the end of the world (parallel to : *ororo a-iibo-n-wa o-bora-n,* unto the end of the world). Comp. also : *l-iciga goba,* he digged (*a-cigi-,* to dig), *aciga,* a ditch.

§ 12. Let us now turn our attention to the structure of sentences.

In Arawak the sentence consists of one or more words which indicate something that is new to the hearer (at any rate in this connexion, or under these circumstances), and often there is moreover indicated the thing that the hearer already knows, to which this new piece of information is added. That which is most intended to attract the attention of the hearer, is first said ; generally this is the most mobile or the most particular thing, or that which dominates the situation. The thing which is least mobile, which is already known, or which is in an expectant or passive attitude, is mentioned the last, unless it must be spoken first, in order to attract special attention. Word-order is determined by the emotional, in so far as reality, as the logical connexion between the things to be described, will permit.

a) 1) *lihi-ki Daii, [ajia-ci bu-mun],* I [that speak unto thee] am he ;

2) *kenbena ada n,* and (it) becometh a tree, *Roman i,* [having understood that] he was a Roman, *Roman-o bari-ni waii,* being Romans (indeed we), *Peter bui,* thou art Peter, *Gabriel daii,* I am Gabriel, *Matthat aiici lihi,* which was the son of Matthat, *John l-iri,* his name is John ;

3) *yaha u,* we are present, *lo-tokaini o-loko i,* [they shall say : behold] he is in the (his) secret chambers, *lo-ma kiana u,* and (we) abode with him :

4) *isa n* ! well done ! *wakaia i,* he is guilty, he is a debtor ;

5) *l-adeka ie,* he saw them, *d-imigoda hu,* I send you, *b-ikiduadi-n isada* (= *isa,* sound, *-d-a*) *bu,* thy faith hath made thee whole ;

b) 2) *lihi Jesus*, this is Jesus, *virgin iri Mary*, the virgin's name was Mary:

4) *ororo wakaia*, it (the earth) was corrupt:

5) *waii icinoci l-imigoda*, he sent out our fathers:

c) *ho-bollita yaha*, sit ye here, *tanahu d-ajinama yaha*, now I stand (here), *yaha h-oabodda*, tarry ye here, *yaha a-kota-he h-amuni-ga* ? have ye here any meat ? *abar-timen kaci o-loko Wacinaci imigoda goba angel Gabriel abar bawhu-yuho mun i-ro Galilee mun-tu*, and in the sixth month the angel Gabriel was sent from God unto a city of Galilee, lit. sixth month in God sent angel G. a city unto Galilee-at-thing, *kia-n bena Jesus auciga temple o-loko i*, afterward Jesus findeth him in the temple, *n-auciga i temple o-loko*, they found him in the temple:

d) Sentences consisting of a single word or compound:

Mary ! Mary ! *Cornelius* ! Cornelius ! *D-adaiana-sia* ! Master ! *Daii* ! it is I, *Bethlehem o-loko [Judea mun]* ! in Bethlehem [of Judæa], *h-adeka* ! behold ! *bu-prophesidoa-te* ! prophesy !

§ 13. If several action-words are to be placed in one sentence, then the Arawak expresses the most important action by a form with the ending *-a* (*-a*, *-a goba*, *-i fa*, *-o fa*, *-a fa*, etc.). Examples:

Acts XI, 25, 26, *Barnabas ausa kiana Tarsus mun i-ro, auadi-n Saul ibici.*
B. go then T. unto seeking S. to
L-aucigi-n bena i, Antioch mun l-anda l-abu. Kenbena abar wiwa
he-finding after him A. at he-come he-with and-after one year
na-herakida church o-loko, a-mairikota-n yuho-li loko-no. Antioch mun
they-assemble church in teaching many men A. at
atenwa a-mairikota-sia-no asoa goba Christian-o, ma-in. Then departed
first disciples called were Christians said, § 35.
Barnabas to Tarsus, for to seek Saul: And when he had found him, he brought him into Antioch. And it came to pass, that a whole year they assembled themselves with the church, and taught much people. And the disciples were called Christians first in Antioch, Acts XXV, 1, 2,
Festus andi-n bena l-ikita-sia bia ororo mun, kabuin kasakabo adiki
F. coming after his-ministry to-be earth at three day after
Cesarea warea Jerusalem mun i-ro l-ausa goba. Priest-no afudyi
C. from J. unto he-went priests surpasser
Jew-no adaiana-sia-no mi-ci ahaka-ga kiana lo-mun Paul o-konomun,
Jews masters with tell then he-at P. concerning
a-kwaiabo-n i. Now when Festus was come into the province, after three
beseeching him
days he ascended from Cæsarea to Jerusalem. Then the high priest and the chief of the Jews informed him against Paul, and besought him.

By this means the Arawak can single out one among several actions, as that which is to be represented as the most important or primary (see for further examples, § 27). And he even can focus the attention on the fact that an action occurs, by splitting up the action-word into a part containing the *-a* with the pronominal prefix, and a less vivid form,

containing the description of the action (§§ 28, 42). See also §§ 55, 145, 147, 148, 151, 153.

§ 14. In the course of this work it will appear, that the great majority of Arawak words are built up from small particles, each of which represents a definite part of the total experience; the same principles that rule the word-order in the sentence, determine the sequence of those particles.

Should one consider the Arawak word as a compound of the type -attribute[2]-attribute[1]-subject, -adverb-adjective-substantive, or (Jespersen, 65 [b]) -subjunct-adjunct-subject, -tertiary-secondary-primary, then it follows from this, that all Arawak words are object-expressions in which the ending represents the object. Now, however, that ending is always a vowel, or a vowel with a durative *-n*, and neither of these endings attains that degree of solid concreteness, which we connect with an "object".

The nature of the Arawak word is better described, when we say: the different peculiarities are mentioned one after another: the sequence is, that the most striking, the most new (also: that which dominates the situation) goes first, and the least striking, the already known (also: that which is expectant or passive) follows.

When the speaker begins to speak a word, the plan of the whole word is already latent in his sub-consciousness, and it is already decided upon, what general or known idea will be expressed at the end of the form. Therefore the consideration which we had to reject just now, contains nevertheless a particle of truth.

Our first supposition would lead to the conclusion that Arawak has only prefixes; our second supposition would lead us to the conclusion that Arawak has only suffixes. For the sake of convenience, however, we shall in this work make use of both terms.

§ 15. [a]) The following compounds of two object-words must be considered as junctions, because if a pronominal prefix is applied, it is put before the first word: *fig-ada*, fig-tree, *ada iwi*, the fruit of the tree, *fig-iwi*, fig (fruit) *c-iwi eda*, the husks (its fruit-skin), *t-eda botoli*, bottles (its hide-bottle), *m-ibiloko-tu baka-da*, thongs (un-broad-thing cow-hide), *hell ikihi*, hell fire, *ikihi-sikwa*, a furnace of fire, *ikihi-kudu*, sticks (fire-things), *yurua kwama*, a crown of thorns.

[b]) In the same way words denoting position, direction or time may be compounded. See the list in § 8 and: *bo-boreda bawhu-yura b-uaiya b-akosi o-loko area*, cast out the beam out of thine own eyes, *H-eta ho-makwa to-loko area*, [he took the cup ... saying] Drink ye all of it.

[c]) In the following examples a form combined with an end-point pronoun or with a word denoting position, direction or time, is used in a function which might also be fulfilled by a single pronoun or object-word:

kena adeki-ci, adeka imigodo-ci di, and he that seeth me seeth him that sent me, *a-forri-ci i eke daii ikita goba bajia*, and (I) kept the raiment of them that slew him, *d-ausa imigodo-ci di ibici-ro*, I go my way to him that sent me, *oaboddi-ci da-kona*, he that abideth in me [bringeth forth fruit].

h-ansi-li k-aiima-ci-no ho-mun, love your enemies, *ausi-ci lo-bora, ausi-ci bajia l-iinabo a-simaka goba, ajia-n, Hosanna*, and they that went before, and they that followed, cried, saying, Hosanna, *Roman i o-konomun d-akonnabo-n o-doma*, having understood that he was a Roman, lit. Roman he concerning my-hearing because, *l-adagata i alomun kondi-n i. L-aici-n bena Cilicia kondi-n i*, he asked of what province he was. And when he understood that he was of Cilicia, lit. he-ask him where of-a-place-being he. His-knowing after Cilicia of-a-place-being he, *kena, abaren kabuin-o wadili anda ibin yumun-tu di bawhu mun*, and, behold, immediately there were three men already come unto the house where I was.

d) Other examples of compound forms, used as a single word, are the following:

isa koro onnaka-he bia i, [Paul thought] not good to take him [with them], lit. good-not-taking to-be he, *tanahu warea k-iwi fa koro ada bu ma-iibo-n-wa-tu bia*, let no fruit grow on thee henceforward for ever, lit. now from with-fruit-future-not-tree thou not-ending-thing to-be.

§ 16. a) The pronominal prefix is attributive, and forms a compound with the word to which it is prefixed.

An emphasizing pronoun or an object-word can be used in the same function (and must then be put in the same place). Seeing that such a word attracts the attention much more than the pronominal prefix, the way in which it is felt perhaps more nearly approaches that of an English subject.

In the following examples the person indicated by the pronominal prefix, is (for our, European, analysis) in some cases subject, dominating, origin, in others object, subordinate, endpoint. But really the function of the pronominal prefix is always the same, viz. to indicate the person who is considered as being connected with the matter from its origin, the person who is in a strong position (in respect to a state of movement: active, in respect to a stationary condition: potential).

Examples:

l-imigoda ie, (he) sent them, *lo-baptize()da goba ie*, (they) were baptized of him, *da-dankidwa bu-mun*, I thank thee, *d-imigodwa-te*, I am sent (N.B.: these forms are not genuine passives, see § 6), *l-isi*, his head, *John Baptist isi*, John Baptist's head, *lo-bugici*, the (his) brother, *John o-bugici*, the brother of John, *da-sanci*, my servant, *d-Adaie-n*, my Lord, *ho-wakaia*, your sins, *loko o-wakaia*, the wickedness of man, *da-plate-n*, my money, *a-fogodo-ci-no plate-n*, the changers' money, *n-anda l-amun*, (they) come to him, *n-anda Jesus amun*, they come to Jesus, *Judea warea*, [he came] from Judæa, *Judea mun i-ro*, [he went] into Judæa, *Jerusalem mun*, [he was] in Jerusalem, *yauhahu bajia w-afuji-ga bu-iri o-doma*, even the devils are subject unto us through thy name, lit. devil also we-rule thy-name because, *w-afudyi-no*, the (our) rulers.

b) If a person who can be indicated by a pronominal prefix, is understood or must be understood to be there, the Arawak always mentions the person. Examples:

h-adeka, (ye) behold, *b-adeka,* (thou) behold (L. I, 31), *bui, da-sa,* thou, (my) child, *l-isanci ifili sabu-ka koro l-adaie-n aji,* the (his) servant is not greater than his lord, *l-oonaba goba n ajia-n na-mun, Abona-ci sa-tu t-isi, loko Aiici,* he answered (it) and said unto them, He that soweth the good (its) seed is the Son of man, *Adaie-li tanahu b-isiki fa Israel o-mun n-isauka ba* ? Lord, wilt thou at this time restore again the (their) kingdom to Israel ?

c) On the other hand the person is never indicated twice. One says *Jesus o-kuti,* the feet of Jesus, or *lo-kuti,* his feet, but never (as is customary in several languages, also in A. M. languages, see § 181) *Jesus lo-kuti.* A deviation is only made from this rule for the purpose of emphasis. Examples:

bu-iauda-a Paul, Paul, thou art beside thyself, *ama w-onyi-ka waii ?* what do we ? (J. XI, 47), *b-ose bui,* go ! (L. X, 37), *to-moroa hui h-aiitoa,* but take ye heed (Mk. XIII, 23), *hui h-onnaka i,* take ye him (J. XIX, 6), S. *dai a-sseki-n|da|ppa bu-mün kiakéwai u-hurruru,* (I giving I-shall thee-to this country).

d) G. The words *bahü,* house, *hamaka,* hammock, *kabuya,* planted field, *waboroko,* path, *awa,* father, *tete,* mother, and perhaps others, do not take a pronominal prefix. If, however, a pronominal prefix must be applied, then the synonimes *sikwa, kura, akoban, abonaha, iči, yu* are used.

§ 17. In the composition of a prefix with a word, the vowel belonging to the prefix may be retained (*lo fa,* S. *lu-ppa,* he shall do).

If the word begins with a vowel which on account of the intrinsic meaning of the word cannot be left out, then this vowel supplants the vowel of the prefix (*l-a,* he did).

If the word contains many *i* sounds, then this sound often influences the vowel of the prefixes and suffixes (*isi,* seed, head, rounded surface, *m-isi,* to be straight, right, *h-imisi-hi,* your righteousness, *misi-ci-no,* the just, *m-imisi-ci-no,* the unjust ; *kidua,* to be true, *w-ikiduada,* we believe, *n-imikiduadi-n,* their unbelief).

Sometimes there is a sort of compromise between the vowel of the prefix and that of the word (*da-sikwa,* my house, *b-isikwa,* thy house, *ka-sikwa,* to dwell ; *sapatu,* a shoe, *l-isapatu-n,* his shoe ; *kaspara,* a sword, *bu-kaspare-n* thy sword, *l-ikaspare-n,* his sword ; Spanish *vela,* sail, *na-welan-wa,* (their) sail, *w-eweladoa,* we sailed, *ma-sogosoko-tu akabo abu,* with unwashen hands, *w-akabo,* our hands, *bu-kabo,* thy hand, *to-kabo,* her hand).

Sometimes both vowels are pronounced (*da-iiri,* my name, *bu-iri, l-iri, virgin iri*).

If there is no prefix, as with abstracts and agent-nouns or if instead of a pronominal prefix, an emphasizing pronoun or an object-word is used, then there are four possibilities :

a) The vowel is indispensable to the word, and is retained (*adeki-ci,* one who sees) ;

b) A vowel belonging to the word, is sometimes used and sometimes

left out (*Peter isikwa*, Peter's house, *isikwa-hu*, villages, *Israel sikwa*, the house of Israel) ;

c) No vowel is applied (*atenwa-tu kaci*, the first month, *kena abar mihu o-lokomun l-iiga, Simon|i()mihu ia*, and he entered into one of the ships, which was Simon's) ;

d) An *a-* is prefixed to a word denoting an event, an *o-* to an object-word or a word denoting position, direction or time ; by this means as it were the general character of the word is announced (*lo-baptize()da goba ie*, (they) were baptized of him, *John a-baptizeda goba i*, (he) was baptized of John, *lo-bugici*, the (his) brother, *John o-bugici*, the brother of John, *a-burita-sia ... a-burito-n-wa Greek o-buri abu*, a superscription was written in letters of Greek, *wolf o-koboroko*, in the midst of wolves, *loko o-wakaia o-ma*, with man ('s evil), *camel o-barra*, camel's hair, *a-koto-*, to eat, *Adaie-li o-koto-n*, the Supper of the Lord).

The system of applying hyphens which has been adopted in this work will appear sufficiently from the examples given.

§ 18. The quality-words formed from object-words and words denoting position, direction or time, by prefixing *k(a)-*, to be with, or *m(a)-*, to be without (§ 10), may, if necessary, also perform the function of an action-word, see examples below. The English subject is then indicated by an emphasizing pronoun or an object-word that is placed before the word (a, b 1) II)). With the *k(a)-* forms a pronominal prefix can also be used ; the prefix *k(a)-* is then left out, presumably because it then becomes superfluous (a, b) 2)). In case it is desired to use a pronominal prefix with the *m(a)-* form, the pronominal prefix is connected with the auxiliary verb *a* (b) 2)).

Ka-koborokwa, ma-koborokwa are indefinite in regard to time, and may remain so, at least in the examples met with ; *k-ansi* and *m-ansi* are also indefinite in regard to time, but in the Indicative mood, the indefiniteness must be removed. For that purpose, with *k-ansi*, *ka* is added to form the Present tense (Potential mood *koma*), conformable to § 5 ; with *m-ansi*, *ma*, containing the element of uncertainty is added. Such forms are comparable to the action-words of the *a* group. In the same way *a-bolli*, to pass, and perhaps still more words.

a) *-Koborokwa*, remembrance, consciousness (§ 120 g) 7)) :

1) with the prefixes *k(a)-* and *m(a)-* :

I) as a verb denoting a state or condition :

ka-koborokwa-li hu, be ye wise, *abar-dakabo-no n-aurea ka-koborokwa goba abar-dakabo-no a-iiba ma-koborokwa goba*, five of them were wise, and five were (remained) foolish ;

verbal nouns :

ka-koborokwa abu, in his right mind, *ka-koborokwa-hu*, wisdom, *ka-koborokwa-ci*, the wise, *ma-koborokwa-ci*, the foolish ;

II) as a verb denoting an action :

kena Peter ka-koborokwa goba Jesus ajia-n, and Peter remembered the word of Jesus:

²) with a pronominal prefix:

as a verb denoting an action:

bo-koborokwa di, remember me, *loko-no a-ni robu-in bo-koborokwa,* thou savourest ... the things that be of men, *Lot ire-tu o-konomun ho-koborokwa-li,* remember Lot's wife, *kena ama ibia ho-koborokwa h-eke o-konomun ?* and why take ye thought for raiment ? *wa-koborokwa lihi a-murrida-ci ajia-n,* we remember that that deceiver said, *d-ajia-n da-koborokwa fa kiana,* and I will remember my covenant:

verbal noun (*kwo-n,* see §§ 81 a), 120 a) 1)):

to-makwa bo-koborokwon abu, [thou shalt love the Lord] with all thy mind;

b) *Ansi,* inner peace, love, loving (§ 80 b)):

1) II) *Da-ci k-ansi-ka di,* my Father love(s) me, *Daii k-ansi goba hu,* I loved you, *ki-o-doma ki ororo m-ansi ma hu,* therefore the world hateth you, *wakaia-be-ci k-ansi-ka k-ansi-ci ie,* for sinners also love those that love them, *m-ansi-ci di m-ansi ma Da-ci bajia,* he that hateth me hateth my Father also, *ororo warea-ci-n ka hu, ororo k-ansi koma t-amuni-sia-no,* if ye were of the world, the world would love his own;

verbal nouns:

k-ansi-hi, love, *k-ansi-ci di,* he that loveth me, *m-ansi-ci di,* he that loveth me not, *abar-li lo-mairikoto-sia, lihi ki Jesus k-ansi-sia,* one of his disciples, whom Jesus loved;

²) *h-ansi-li k-aiima-ci-no ho-mun,* love your enemies, *b-ansi ka di ?* lovest thou me ? *isa-tu-wabu a-bolliti-kwona-hu synagogue o-loko n-ansi-ka,* the chief seats in the synagogues (they love), *m-ansi n-a goba* (auxiliary verb a, § 28 a)) *di ausirobu-in,* they hated me without cause, *ororo koro m-ansi ma* (b) 1)) *hu: to-moroa Daii m-ansi t-a,* the world cannot hate you; but me it hateth, *m-ansi d-a,* I will not (Mt. XXI, 29):

verbal nouns:

h-oabodda-li d-ansi-n o-loko, continue ye in my love, *d-aiici d-ansi-sia d-imigodi fa,* I will send my beloved son;

c) *Ka-sa,* to be fruitful, to be with child, now changes its meaning into: to produce (a child), *k-iwi,* to bear fruits, becomes: to produce fruit. In the same way we might consider *ka-koborokwa* and *k-ansi,* when they fulfil the function of action-words, as: to produce remembrances, to produce inner peace; and so with other words as well.

§ 19. The end-point pronoun is exclusively used:

1⁰. after a quality-word (word denoting a state or condition), and then it indicates the person who is in that state or condition;

2⁰. after an action-word, and then it indicates the person who undergoes the action, or the object fully affected.

As the Arawak pronounces first the emotionally dominant, a sentence

of the type *kokke ka i !* he lives ! , has in reality the value : life (or vital power) !!! appears !! (male third) person !

From this we may assume that some correlation exists between the place behind the word of the end-point pronouns, their expectant, passive function, and their short forms.

On account of this prescribed order of words, the combination of a word with an end-point pronoun has something in common with a junction.

This appears still more strongly with the interrogative words m. *alika-i*, f. *alika-n*, pl. *alika-ie* (§ 139 e)) in which the end-point pronoun remains, even when the person indicated by it is already represented by an object-word or an emphasizing pronoun.

S. always uses this construction :

lu-parra baddia kassiparra abbu i Jacobus Johannes u-hukiti, and he killed James the brother of John with the sword, lit. he-kill also sword with him Jacobus Johannes' brother, *lu-morrua Joseph u-ma kuba i Gott*, but God was with him, lit. he-but Joseph with past-time he God, *na-ssimaki-n-benna|je Apostel-nu n-ibiti ba*, and they called them, lit. their-calling-after them Apostles them-to again, *bu-mallita-tė wa-mallitta-koana-nu-tti bia|u*, make us gods, lit. thou-make gods to-be-us, *n-assā-ka kiahanna i Barnabas, Jupiter, Paulus na-rita|i Mercurius*, and they called (him) Barnabas, Jupiter ; and Paul (they named him), Mercurius.

Such pleonasms also occur in other A. M. languages, see § 181.

G. The end-point pronouns are generally pronounced as if they form part of the preceding word.

§ 20. Before we plunge into the mass of forms, we shall make a few supplementary remarks concerning the general character of the Arawak word.

When, in § 1, we analyzed *d-imigoda*, I send, there remained a root *imigo*, readiness, being ready. This root can again be split into *imi*, being willing, and *g*, a force manifesting itself, *o*, permanently. And *imi* can be split into *i*, quick, *m*, humble or new, *i*, quick.

In every analysis of a genuine Arawak word we experience the same. It appears that the real psychological roots of Arawak, synchronistically conceived, are : *a, e, i, (ü), o* or *u, y, w, h, (g), k, n, l, r, d, t, s, m, b*, and *f* or *p*, each of which has a definite (and always the same) meaning, or represents an elementary principle.

Such a word gives a short description of the thing. The description begins with that which appears first in time or that which is considered as the origin or the basis of the thing. The connexion appears from the sequence, and in the sequence appear fluent transitions and contrasts. The word may be compared to a sentence which has been contracted into a single compound.

We may still mention the fact, that not one case has been met with, of a sound having lost its original meaning when used in a compound (as, for instance, hydrogen and oxygen in water have lost their gaseous quality).

With the exception of *-n* (perhaps also -r in abar, one), consonants are only used before a vowel; they model as it were the formless principle expressed by the vowel. For instance, the particles, *ba*, again, *bi*, just now, *bo* (to remain) at rest for a time, are composed of *a*, time-reality, *i* instantaneous, o permanent, with *b*, the way in which a surface, a shape, presents itself, or quiet, passionless appearance.

Two vowels express:

(1) *i—i*, quick, tiny, full of energy, (2) *a—a*, normal, (3) *u—u* or *o—o*, slow, great, little energy, (4) *i—a*, *i—u*, *a—u*, slowing down, widening out, relaxing of tension, (5) *a—i*, *u—i*, *u—a*, accelerating, narrowing, tightening.

Examples: (1) *hihi*, reed, *iri*, a name, *isi*, seed, *iwi*, fruit, *ibi*, ready, *ifi*, great (striving), (2) *ana*, the midst (in compounds), *ala*, Indian seat, *aba*, a, one, other, *ada*, a tree, *ama*, what, (3) *ororo*, earth, *a-odo-*, to die, (4) *ika*, "there was once", *ina*, a beginning, a continuation, **enu* (A. M.), heaven, *eda*, bark, skin (loosely connected with the tree or the body), (5) *ani*, a thing, *airi*, a tooth, *adi*, something protruding (in compounds), *ona*, the ground (in compounds).

Now there is a habit of speech, which requires that, for instance in order to express "to send", one should always use the sound-sequence *imigod*, but it is quite probable that the Arawak feels this root more or less as *[(i-m-i)-g-o]d*.

When the European thinks, reasons and describes, then for him the most real, that to which everything else seems to be attached, is the "concrete object". Actions and qualities remain for him on another level of consciousness, in the sphere of feeling and will: and if he wishes to think about an action or a quality, he cannot do so without imagining an object which performs or undergoes the action, or possesses the quality. The use of abstract nouns is really an endeavour to transform an action or a quality into a mental image, namely to make an "object" of it. It remains, however, halting between the two opposites: imagination and thought (the motionless, the dead) and feeling and will (the living, the active).

The Arawak language expresses that which lies in the sphere of the feelings and the will.

The European of our time lives alternately in the sphere of imagination and thought and in the sphere of feeling and will; the Arawak probably lives chiefly in the sphere of feeling and will, and this explains how it comes that he expresses himself in elementary principles, which to us appear as abstractions. In § 184 we shall see that his feelings are transformed into a sort of gesture-language of the organs of speech, with the result that to each element of feeling, or elementary principle, corresponds a definite sound.

Considered from the outside, these elementary principles describe different shades of activity, and if we consider the ending of a word as its centre of gravity (§ 14), then we see that the words do the same. In accordance with this, endings which determine the character of an action-

word (for instance *ki, di, ti* or *ci, li, -n*), may determine the character of an object-word as well, and we can now understand, how it comes that the European lines of demarcation between word-classes are non-existent in Arawak (§§ 9—11).

The following may be noted here, because it deviates from the accepted opinions as to the character of the languages of primitive peoples :

The Arawak can just as easily express what we call the abstract, as what we call the concrete.

He has special names for every sort of fish, every kind of tree, but he also has the words *himi* = fish, and *ada* = tree. These words describe "fish" and "tree" (see §§ 76 b), 89), and, so far as we can see, they are not the names for a special sort, which have later been applied to the whole group. Likewise the names for special sorts are in general not derived from *himi* and *ada*, although such forms occur (§ 199, names of tiger-cats and snakes).

In itself, the meaning of the Arawak word is as general as the value of its component parts permits. The habit of speech restricts that meaning, and also often requires the use of certain affixes, by which the meaning is further restricted. Ultimately the word is confined to a certain group of things, actions, etc., or even to one thing or one action, by the context and by the situation in general.

CHAPTER III

INFINITE VERB

§ 21. *-Ci (-tu)* can be suffixed to: [1]) object-words and proper names, [2]) words denoting position, direction or time, [3]) quality-words, [4]) action-words; it adds to the meaning of these words the principle of "being active", "asserting oneself". Presumably the *t* (which with B. often turns into *c* before the *i*) has here again the meaning of motion towards an object (with a touch of will-power in it).

These forms (eventually with an end-point pronoun or a form fulfilling a similar function, behind them) are sometimes used as substantives, and often as adjectives. In the latter case they may be placed either before or after the word governed, and this forms a transition to such uses as remind one of participles and gerunds. They may moreover take the particles *fa*, *goba*, etc. as suffixes.

a) Examples.

1) *ark isikwa-ci-n* (*-n*, possessive, § 81) *l-onnakida kiana Noah*, and Noah removed the covering of the ark, *Pharisee lihi, Gamaliel ci iri, a-mairikota-ci misi-tu-ahaka-hu*, a Pharisee (was he), named Gamaliel, a doctor of the law, *aba-ro hiaro, Martha tu iri*, a certain woman named Martha, *kia hiaro Greek goba, Syrophenicia tu akirikia*, the woman was a Greek, a Syrophenician by nation, *ikihi-tu kaspara*, a flaming sword, *siba-tu taraffa*, the (stone) stairs, *siparari-tu t-isifo-do*, the iron gate, *to-tokoro-tu kwawma*, garlands, *yurua-tu ada*, a bramble bush;

2) *abar-li l-Isa, Awa o-loa o-loko-ci*, the only begotten Son, which is in the bosom of the Father, *bo-loko-tu kalime*, the light which is in thee, *yaha-ci ikirikia bihero-ci wakaia-ci o-koboroko*, in this adulterous and sinful generation (Mk. VIII 38), *taha-tu ororo*, a far country;

3) *sa-ci lihi*, he is a good man, *Sa-ci Awa*, Holy Father, *sa-tu ajia-hu*, the gospel, *wakaia-ci*, the wicked one, *wakaia-tu c-iwi*, evil fruit, *kari-tu hori*, a viper, *aboa-ci*, sick people, *aboa-tu*, [a woman] being sick, *nokonne-ci aba-no o-konomun*, the merciful, *kokki-ci ialoko*, a living soul, *kokki-tu aiadi-tu*, the moving creature that has life. See also the names for family-relations, § 162 ff.;

4) See examples §§ 4 c), 15 c);

b) Different sequence.

1) *imilia-tu a-odo-ci-sikwa*, a new tomb, *imilia-tu testament*, the new testament, *kokke-ci Wacinaci Aiici*, the Son of the living God, *imoro-tu*

abona-gira-hu, green herb, *alikibi bu, ibekito-tu isa-hi abu bui*, hail, thou that art highly favoured;

²) *a-odo-ci-sikwa imilia-tu*, a new sepulchre, *Awa kokki-ci*, the living Father, *Awa misi-ci bui!* o righteous Father (thou)! *to-makwa abona-gira-hu ka-si-tu to-makwa ororo ajeago-tu da-sika ho-mun, to-makwa ada bajia, k-iwi-tu ada ka-si-tu*, I have given you every herb bearing seed, which is upon the face of all the earth, and every tree, in the which is the fruit of a tree yielding seed, *to-moroa na-loko wolf a-bokoti-tu naii*, but inwardly, they are ravening wolves, *Wacinaci, aici-ci wa-loa*, God, which knoweth the hearts, *Peter a-sifuda-ci adeka Jesus a-mairikoto-sia l-ansi-sia ausi-n l-iinabo*, then Peter, turning about, seeth the disciple whom Jesus loved following, *aba-no Greek-no goba andi-ci o-koboroko a-kwaiabo-n-wa bia ifirokoro ka o-loko*, and there were certain Greeks among them that came up to worship at the feast;

³) The Arawak language has no adjectives. The forms with *-ci (-tu, -ci-no)*, *-li (-ro, -no)* and *-sia* are used to translate English attributive adjectives etc. (*ikihi-tu kaspara*, a flaming sword, *biama-no k-augii-ci*, two brethren), but they are very loosely connected, as appears also from the fact that these attributive forms must give way to the pronominal prefix (*sa-ci d-adaiana-sia!* good (my) Master! *sa-ci bu-sa Jesus*, thy holy child Jesus, *wakaia-ci oie-ci da-sanci bui*, thou wicked and slothful (my) servant, *to-makwa sa-tu ada k-iwi-ka sa-tu c-iwi*, every good tree bringeth forth good (its) fruit, *to-moroa na-uaiya m-arulaka ti n-a-n aba-ro na-kabo abu*, but they themselves will not move them with one of their fingers, *l-imigoda goba biama-no lo-mairikoto-sia-no*, he sent two of his disciples);

ᶜ) Plurality.

¹) Persons: *-ci*:

adeki-ci n ahaka-ga kiana na-mun, and they that saw it told them, etc., *m-akosi-ci adeka, ikori-ci akona-ga*, the blind see, the lame walk;

²) The same, but with a word that is already plural:

ka-sa-ci hiaro-no, them (women) that are with child, *Jew-no arulukokita a-kwaiaboa-ci hiaro-no adaie-ro-bi-ci bajia*, the Jews stirred up the devout and honourable women, *kena aba-no bajia, ikita-ci i n-amuni-sia abu*, and many others, which ministered unto him of their substance, *yuho-li botoba-ci hiaro-no goba*, many widows were, *kenbena Roman-o anda fa-te onnaki-ci wa-sikwa wa-kirikia bajia*, and the Romans shall come and take away both our place and nation, *na-makwa aboa-ci*, all that were diseased, *n-a()alikibitoa k-amunaiga-ci ialoko*, blessed are the poor in spirit;

³) Persons: *-ci-no*:

m-akosi-ci-no adeka, ikori-ci-no akona, the blind receive their sight, and the lame walk, *thousand-no k-ansi-ci-no di*, thousands of them that love me, *onnaki-ci-no, angel-no*, the reapers, are the angels, *mihu o-loko-ci-no*, they that were in the ship;

⁴) Persons: *-no-ci, -na-ci*: see § 79 ᵇ);

⁵) Mostly things: *-be-ci*; also, though seldom: *-be-tu*: see § 59 ᵃ) ²);

d) *-Tu* is only used to indicate one woman, or one or more non-rational beings or things.

aba-ro k-amunaiga-tu botoba-tu hiaro anda, and there came a certain poor widow, *wakaia-tu-wabu lihi ajia-ga,* he hath spoken blasphemy, *wakaia d-onyi goba, daii a-sikiti-ci ma-wakaia-tu ite,* I have sinned in that I have betrayed the innocent blood, *kia isadi-tu ajia-hu,* the word of this salvation;

e) Different relations between a *-ci* form and the word connected with it:

1) *imigodo-ci di,* him that sent me, *onyi-ci kidua-hu,* he that doeth truth, *yuho-ro k-amun-ci,* a rich man;

2) *k-aiima-ci bu-mun,* thine enemy, *andi-ci aiomuni o-rea,* he that cometh from above;

3) *isogo-ci ikiduadi-n hui,* o ye of little faith, *l-imigoda-te di akurradaa-ci o-loa d-isadi-n bia,* he has sent me to heal the brokenhearted, *isa sabu koma bu-mun aba-ro-ci akosi bui akodo-n-wa kokke-hu o-lokomun, biama-ci k-akosi-n a-boredo-n-wa hell ikihi akoloko mun aji,* it is better for thee to enter into life with one eye, rather than having two eyes to be cast into hell, *tata-ci-o-kona,* a strong man.

§ 22. *-Sia* adds to the meaning of the word the principle of "the thing that has been realised", like *-ci (-tu)* adds the principle of "realising a thing". On account of this, such *-sia* forms are an easy means for the translation of English passive sentences (N.B. also other than *oa* forms are used for this purpose). *-Sia* probably means: *s,* form, *i,* free, *a,* time-reality (§ 132). Plural forms: *-sia-no* and *-sia-be* (§ 59 a) 1)).

Compare: *sa-ci,* f. *sa-tu,* plur. *sa-ci-no,* a good person or thing, with: *isa-sia ajia-n o-konomun,* [one] of good report, *isa-sia-no n-ajia-n o-konomun,* [men] of honest report. Also: *omuni-ga ie n-ausi-sia isikwa-hu mun i-ro o-rea, kena taha sabu ausi-ci bia jia l-a,* and they drew nigh unto the village, whither they went: and he made as though he would have gone further, lit. nigh-drew they their-go-*sia* village to from, and far more go-*ci* to-be as he-did.

Further examples:

a) *sa-tu onyi-sia t-onyi-ka da-mun barin,* she hath wrought a good work on me, *t-onyi-sia ma kiana t-onyi-ka,* she hath done what she could, *Jesus k-ansi-sia,* [the disciple] whom Jesus loved, *to-makwa d-amũni-sia bui k-amuni-ga,* and all that I have is thine;

b) *i* group:

Wacinaci iibida goba l-imikeb-oa kia ki lo-murreti-sia, God ended his work, which he had made, *hui adeki-sia,* those things which ye see, *h-adeki-sia,* these things which ye behold, *da-ci-a-iibi-sia,* the inheritance, lit. his-father leave-*sia*, *h-auadi-sia ki ibici daii,* I am he whom ye seek, *Jesus daii, b-akudi-sia,* I am Jesus whom thou persecutest, *to-makwa Da-ci a-siki-sia da-mun,* all things are delivered unto me of my Father, *l-iaunti-sia l-isanonoci,* the (his) hired servants, *na-makwa l-aici-sia-no,* all his

acquaintance, *l-isimakiti-sia-no*, them that were (by him) bidden, *dasimakiti-sia-no*, they which were (by me) bidden ;

c) o group :

lo-torodo-sia, the (his) bed *d-imigodo-sia*, my messenger, *a-sogoso-sia*, he that is washed :

d) a group :

a-dokota-sia, a miracle, *ajia-sia goba*, it hath been said (Mk. V, 31), *b-ahaka-sia*, thy record, *w-ahaka-sia*, our report, *lihi koro Kalime ki goba, to-moroa imigoda-sia goba lihi, l-ahaka-n bia Kalime ki o-konomun*, he was not that Light, but was sent to bear witness of that Light, *to-makwa ada isa-be-tu adeka-sia bia*, every tree that is pleasant to the sight, *n-a( )alikibitoa akuda-sia-no misi-hi o-konaria*, blessed are they which are persecuted for righteousness' sake ; S. *ihittarra-sia*, he which is accused :

e) e, in the following :

kia robu-in lo-mairikoto-sia-no a-iige-sia o-loko, [no boat] save that one whereinto his disciples were entered (*a-iige*, enter, *sia*, realised, *o-loko*, "in" place), *hui ikiside-sia jiaro ki abu, hui ikisido fa ba*, with what judgment ye judge, ye shall be judged, *auaduli aragase-sia hihi*, a reed shaken with the wind, *d-akoio fa da-sikwa o-lokomun i-ro da-fitikide-sia goba-te o-rea*, I will return into my house from whence I came out ;

f) oa principle, possessive pronominal prefix :

lo-mairikoto-sia, his disciple, *lo-mairikoto-sia-no*, his disciples, *waii akwaiabo-sia o-mun w-aiita*, we know what we worship, *lo-borago-sia*, his stripes ;

g) oa principle ; the person indicated by the pronominal prefix is the person who undergoes the action :

kia ki b-onnako-sia goba o-rea, for out of it wast thou taken, *alika-i koro a-siko-sia goba o-loko*, [a sepulchre] wherein never man before was laid, *na-makwa koro n-onnaka ma toho ajia-hu, to-moroa t-isiko-sia-no o-mun robu-in*, all men cannot receive this saying, save they to whom it is given (*t*, it, *isiko*, being given, *sia*, realised, *o-mun*, "at" place) ;

h) Miscellaneous examples :

l-Aiici onyi koma amakoro l-oaiya lo-doma wa, to-moroa l-adeki-sia Awa onyi-sia : lihi onyi-sia jiaro ki, l-Aiici onyi-ka ba, the Son can do nothing of himself, but what he seeth the Father do : for what things soever he doeth, these also doeth the Son likewise, *a-burita-sia ki iibidwa kiana, Ikisida-sia lihi wakaia onyi-ci-no o-ma*, and the scripture was fulfilled which saith, And he was numbered with the transgressors, *alaiti ibita-sia a-kalimeta-sia goba i*, he was a burning and a shining light, *k-amun-ci akuyuko l-akonnabo-sia bia abu, l-akonnabia-te*, he that hath ears to hear, let him hear, *alika-i koro a-timiti-sia ma*, no man could bind him, *Wacinaci k-amun-ci di, d-ikita-sia : lihi angel ajinama da-mun kasakoda*, for there stood by me this night, the angel of God, whose I am, and whom I serve, *to-makwa lihi a-murreti-sia goba*, all things were made by him, *kena toho sa-tu ajia-hu isauka o-konomun-tu ajia-sia fa to-makwa*

ororo ajeago-ji ma-n, and this gospel of the kingdom shall be preached in all the world, *ma-koborokwatoa-n h-a-li ho-kokke-wa o-konomun, ama h-eki-sia bia, ama h-eti-sia bia, o-konomun: h-ifiro-hu o-konomun bajia, ama abu h-ekito-sia bia o-konomun,* take no thought for your life, what ye shall eat, or what ye shall drink: nor yet for your body, what ye shall put on (for); Sm. *tú-maqua d-addikī-ssiä-bi,* das alles was ich heute gesehen habe; with *-buna, -kuba, -pa, -nu pa,* d.a.w.i. gestern g.h., d.a.w.i. vorlängst g.h., d.a.w.i. sehen werde, alle die ich sehen werde.

Furthermore, both from the *-sia* and the *-sia-no* forms, an Infinitive can be formed, by means of the suffix *-n.*

¹) Different sequence (parallel to § 21 b)).

1) *abar-li n-aici-sia siba-loko-ci,* a notable prisoner, lit. one they-know-*sia* stone-in-person, *aiita-sia-ma slotro-n h-onnaki-n n-aurea o-doma,* for ye have taken away (from them) the key of knowledge, *n-isadi-sia boia-tu,* the spices which they had prepared, *bu-imaha-sia fig-ada,* the fig tree which thou cursedst, *bawhu a-murreta-ari-no a-borede-sia siba,* the stone which the builders rejected, *l-akodo-sia bawhu,* the house where he entereth in;

2) *Lihi d-Aiici d-ansi-sia,* This is my beloved Son, *hiaro b-isiki-sia da-ma-tu bia,* the woman whom thou gavest to be with me, *bawhu na-bolliti-sia o-loko,* the house where they were sitting, *kena kia l-adura, Adaie-li Wacinaci onnaki-sia loko o-rea,* and the rib which the Lord God had taken from man, *onabo l-onnako-sia o-rea,* the ground, from whence he was taken.

See moreover for *-sia: a-sia,* § 30, *ma-mari-sia, bari-sia,* § 147, and words denoting a human peculiarity, § 118 a).

§ 23. *Hia,* also *ia,* S. *hüa,* adds to the meaning of the word the principle of "existing condition": *h* means perhaps "gentle affirmation" (§ 109), *ia,* free time-reality, etherical (§ 132).

Examples:

kena l-isimaka sa-be-ci botoba-ci bajia, a-siki-n kokke-hia na-muni n, and when he had called the saints and widows, presented her alive (to them), *ama ajia-hu toho h-ajia-ga ho-muni-kwawa, nokonne-hia h-akona-ia?* what manner of communications are these that ye have one to another, as ye walk, and are sad? *kenbena Jesus a-bolli-ci adeka goba loko m-akosi-hia ka-raia-ci,* and as Jesus passed by, he saw a man which was blind from his birth, *ika tu goba d-imigodo-ni hu m-amuni-hia plata-eke, saka bajia, sapatu bajia; amateli h-ansi goba?* when I sent you without purse, and scrip, and shoes, lacked ye any thing? *daii ausa akero-hia ialoko abu,* I go bound in the spirit, *ki-hia na-sikita goba di akero-ia,* yet was I delivered (by them) prisoner, *l-iiba goba Paul a-timitwa-hia,* (he) left Paul bound, *adikito-ia lo-kabo lo-kuti l-akarato-sia kimisa abu,* [he came forth], bound hand and foot with graveclothes, *Herod ... eketoa-ia l-adaiakitwa-kwona-hu eke abu,* Herod, arrayed in royal apparel, *ika ki aba-no Jew-no Asia warea-ci auciga di maribe-ni-hia temple o-loko,* whereupon certain Jews from Asia found me purified in the temple, *m-ikidoa-ni-hia,* I came without gainsaying,

ma-koto-ni-hia a-kwaiaboa n-a-n ka, and when they had fasted and prayed, *habe-ci ia di, d-ire-tu bajia habe ia*, for I am an old man, and my wife well stricken in years (L. I, 18), *toho hiaro kiana, Abraham o-tu ia, Satan akeri-sia*, this woman, being a daughter of Abraham, whom Satan hath bound, S. *l-irei-tu aditta-hüa lu-monnua*, his wife also being privy to it (knowing), *naha Prophete-nu üssanutti hüa hu*, ye are children of the prophets, *hama kurru l-amün-hitti-ka wa-uria-hüa*, as though he needed any thing, lit. thing not his-possession-wish-is us-from-*hüa*.

§ 24. *Hu* also adds to the meaning of the word the principle of "existing condition", but it lacks the free mobility which is expressed by *hia* ; we feel the *-hu* forms as substantives. Compare :

ifili-ci capitan oonaba-ga n. Yuho-ro plata abu daii a-iaunta toho ma-iero-hu, main. To-moroa daii ka-raia goba ma-iero-hia. l-a Paul ajia-n lo-mun, and the chief captain answered, With a great sum obtained I this freedom. And Paul said, But I was free born ;

Capitan ausa kiana a-bokota-ari-no o-ma aunaki-n ie m-aiima-hia, then went the captain with the officers, and brought them without violence, *m-aiima-hu abu b-osa*, go in peace (Mt. V, 34) ;

aucigi-ni|n a-oda-hia, found her dead, *alika-i jiali ikita faroka d-ajia-n, alika koro l-adeki fa a-oda-hu*, if a man keep my saying, he never shall see death ;

a-sweardoa-hia l-ajia-sia waii icinaci Abraham o-mun ki, [to remember his holy covenant ;] the oath which he sware to our father Abraham, *kenbena ki ba a-sweardoa-hu abu abakoro l-a goba ajia-n*, and again he denied with an oath ;

Jesus adeka l-oonaba-n ka-koborokwa-hia, and when Jesus saw that he answered discreetly, *ibe-ci ka-koborokwa-hu abu*, filled with wisdom ;

n-ateda, m-eke-hia, ibika-hia bajia, they fled, ... naked and wounded, *wadili da-forri-n o-doma ibika-hu abu di*, for I have slain a man to my wounding ;

yuho-li murriga-hia ahaka goba lo-konomun barin, for many bare false witness against him (Mk. XIV, 56), *aba-no a-kenakwa kiana, ajia-n murriga-hu lo-konomun* (etc.), and there arose certain, and bare false witness against him, saying (etc., Mk. XIV, 57).

Hu, compared with *-sia* : *toho jia l-a goba ajia-n, a-dokoto-ci a-oda-hu lo-odo-sia bia abu*, this he said, signifying what death he should die, *da-konnaba ajia-hu ajia-sia da-mun*, I heard a voice speaking unto me (Acts XXVI, 14).

An object-word without *-hu* denotes a definite thing (or things) ; with *-hu* it denotes the thing in general or in a more solemn meaning.

Besides *isada-hu*, salvation, one also meets *isada-hi* ; and with other words *-hi, -he* or *-ha* is invariably used. Probably this has something to do with the vowels of the word, but as every vowel of the word has a definite meaning, it may well be that *-hi*, etc. also express different shades of meaning from *-hu*.

Examples :

yumuni ki fa a-iiya-hu atarata-hu airisibo bajia, there shall be wailing and gnashing of teeth, *ikisida-hu*, judgment, *ikiduada-hu*, faith, *a-dokoda-hu*, remission (of sins), *a-dokota-hu*, a sign, a testimony, *a-mairikota-hu*, doctrine, *a-kenakwa-hu*, resurrection, *a-iyurati-ci loko-no ansi abu anda-hu jia h-a-te andi-n lihi abu da-mun*, ye have brought this man unto me, as one that perverteth the people, lit. stirrer people peace with come-*hu* as ye-do coming this with me-to, *kenbena adeka-hu abu l-anda goba*, and came seeing, lit. and sight with he-came, *Ajia-hu*, the Word, *Adaiakita-hu*, honour, *kidua-hu*, truth, *wakaia-tu o-loa-hu, a-forra-hu*, evil thoughts, murders (Mt. XV, 19), *kokke-hu*, the life [was the light of men], *kokke-hu ada*, the tree of life, *aboa-hu*, sickness, disease, *a-ciga-hu*, the tombs (Mt. XXIII, 29), *isikwa-hu*, a village (*isikwa*, house, shelter), *ifiro-hu*, body (also meat : *ifiro*, great), *imikebo-hu*, work, *toho ki d-abona o-rea-tu abona-hu, da-siroko o-rea-tu isiroko-ho*, this is now bone of my bones, and flesh of my flesh (Gen. II, 23), S. *a-ssukussá-hü*, baptism (washing) :

a-kota-he, food, *akuda-he*, persecution, *a-iauda-he*, madness, *onnaka-he-bia-c-iwi*, [white already] to harvest :

abona-ha, way (way of salvation, etc. ; a path through a wood etc. is called *waboroko*) ;

kalime-hi, light (Gen. I, 3), *misi-hi*, righteousness, *alikibe-hi*, joy, *Jerusalem warea ausa-hi bia to-kona*, beginning at Jerusalem, lit. J. from go-*hi* to-be it-against, *iri-hi*, name (Acts IV, 12), title (J. XIX, 19, 20), *ie-hi*, tongues (Acts II, 3, XIX, 6), *k-ansi-hi*, love, *nokonne-hi*, sorrow, *nokonne-hi na-konomun*, mercy (on them), *isa-n bajia akosi-hi o-mun*, and that it was pleasant to the eyes, *isa-hi*, good will, grace, holiness, *aici-n isa-hi wakaią-hu bajia*, knowing good and evil, *kari-hi*, disease, *tata-tu onyi-hi*, mighty work.

It is not quite clear, why in the following example *akosi* takes the suffix *-hi*, and *akuyuko* takes no suffix ; presumably this is to be attributed to the inner meaning of the words : *to-moroa t-a()alikibitoa hui akosi-hi, t-adeki-n o-doma ; hui akuyuko bajia, t-akonnabo-n o-doma*, but blessed are your eyes, for they see : and your ears, for they hear.

S. and Q. use such *-hu* forms as passive verbs (Q. see § 91). Examples :

a) *Philippus a-uttika-hü|ka*, Philip was found, *l-ipiru akarta-hü|ka*, he (his body) is buried, *a-ijumünda-hü|ka|i*, he was taken up (Acts I, 9) ;

b) *a-ssika-hü|kubá*, [the stone] which was set ;

c) *lü-ssiqua a-mallukududa-hü|pa* let his habitation be desolate ;

d) *abba ikissida-hi-ttu kassakkabbu-hü*, a set day ;

e) *n-aditti-koana-wa ani-hü-ssia hidda Apostel-nu abbu*, and signs were done by the apostles, *kia ibenna-ria a-ssika-hü-ssia-kuba*, and distribution was made, *Joseph, Barsabas n-a-hü-ssia* (§ 30) *u-mün*, Joseph called Barsabas ;

f) *wa-méju a-bulleda-hü-n m-a-ni-ka* (§ 32), and when the (our) ship

was caught, *a-pussida-hü-nni|bia|i lu-mün*, that he might loose him, lit. loosed to-be he him-by :

g) *kiahaña adittikitta-hü-ka-hü*, be it known ;

h) *da-ijumujudá-ka-hüa-hü*, (I) publickly.

§ 25. *-Ni* adds to the meaning of the word the principle of "something that really is or shall be".

a) *to-moroa lo-mairikoto-sia-no m-aici-n goba Jesus ni*, but the disciples knew not that it was Jesus, *to-moroa n-aici-n kona Jew-ni*, but when they knew that he was a Jew.

S. uses *né* in the same manner : S. *Petrus Engel baha lihi né !* it is his (Peter's) angel ! *ka-pparka-ti lihi né*, no doubt this man is a murderer, *iribé ti dia mutti lui né*, (he is unclean) !), *luilikewai né !* (it is he !) :

b) *ho-bokota-li i, isa-ni h-ausi-n l-abu*, take him, and led him away safely, lit. ye-take him, good-*ni* ye-going him-with, *akonnabo-ni abu h-akonnabo fa barin*, by hearing ye shall hear, *naii o-mun l-ajia-ga lo-mairikota-ni abu*, and he said unto them in his doctrine, *kena n-amunaigata-ni abu na-koiokota goba i*, and (they) sent him away shamefully handled, *toraha to-makwa d-ikita goba d-iloni-ni warea*, all these things have I kept from my youth up, *d-aimaha fa koro ororo loko o-konaria toho-ni warea ; loko o-loa a-koborokwatoa-n wakaia-hu o-konomun l-iloni-ni warea o-doma*, I will not again curse the ground any more for man's sake : for the imagination of man's heart is evil from his youth ;

c) *Wacinaci lo-ma-ni o-doma*, for God was with him, *d-aiita ama d-onyi-ni wa* (§ 120 g) 6)), I am resolved what to do, *m-ansi w-a liraha w-adaie-ni wa*, we will not have this man to reign over us, *naii akonnabo-n kona kokke-ni o-konomun*, when they had heard that he was alive, *kena m-ikita-n-ci hu m-ikita-ni ma Daii bajia*, and he that despiseth you despiseth me ;

d) With an end-point pronoun :

b-ansi fa tu-muni bu ; b-adaiakiti fa n ; isa fa b-ikita-ni n, wilt thou love her, comfort her, honour, and keep her, *m-aici-n w-a alo area-tu-ni n, n-a kiana oonaba-n*, and they answered, that they could not tell whence it was, lit. not-knowing we-do where-from-thing-*ni* it, they-did then answering, *b-ansi-ka w-ausi-n erigi-ni n ?* wilt thou then that we go and gather them up ? *kena h-akera ibiti-ni n*, and bind them [in bundles] to burn them, *na-makwa loko-no andi-ci adeki-ni n*, and all the people that came together to that sight :

e) *tanahu maribe-ni hu*, now ye are clean, *m-amaro-ni bu*, be not afraid.

§ 26. *-In* adds to the meaning of the word the principle of "being continually present".

ika tu l-aradi-n ajia-n, loko-no akonnabo-in, now when he had ended all his sayings in the audience of the people, *liraha ki koro a-bolliti-ci goba a-kwaiabo-in ?* is not this he that sat and begged ? *t-aucigwa goba ka-sa-in Sa-tu laloko abu*, she was found with child of the Holy Ghost, *lihi ki k-iwi-ka yuho-in*, [he that abideth in me, and I in him,] the same bringeth forth

much fruit, *ho-makwa h-afuji-ci isoko-in, lihi ifi-li fa*, for he that is least among you all, the same shall be great, *n-auciga l-isanci aboa-ci goba isa-in*, (they) found the servant whole that had been sick, *na-makwa n-aici-n Greek-in l-ici o-doma*, for they knew all that his father was a Greek (comp. *to-moroa l-ici Greek wadili goba*, but his father was a Greek (man)).

§ 27. *-N* adds to the meaning of the word the principle of "duration, vagueness in respect to time".

See examples in § 5, and the following:

l-idehada-ga kiana ajinamu-n, akona-n, temple o-lokomun a-kodo-n-wa na-ma; akona-n, a-dehada-n, a-praisedi-n Wacinaci bajia, and he leaping up stood, and walked, and entered with them into the temple, walking, and leaping, and praising God: *kena na-iinata goba a-kurradi-n marisi*, and (they) began to pluck the ears of corn, *kena t-akenakwa goba ikita-n ie*, and she arose, and ministered unto them.

In these sentences all the *-n* forms have no pronominal prefix; the same may be the case with the *-ni* forms (§ 25 d)). On the other hand a pronominal prefix is applied in: *d-ansi-ka b-isiki-n da-mun tanahu kibi John Baptist isi ifiro-tu karubo o-loko*, I will that thou give me by and by in a charger the head of John the Baptist, — because here the person connected with the secondary action-word is not the same as the person connected with the primary action-word.

In general a *-ni* form expresses the sharp, the pithy, an *-n* form more the indefinite, the vague. See also §§ 32, 33.

There is some relationship between the *-ci (-tu)*, the *-ni*, the *-n* and the *-in* forms; if it is not absolutely indicated which of these forms has to be used, sometimes one and sometimes the other is met with, e.g. *Jesus aici-ci na-loa o-konomun ajia goba na-mun*, and Jesus knew their thoughts, and said unto them, *to-moroa ika tu Jesus aici-ni n, yu warea ki l-ausa goba*, but when Jesus knew it, he withdrew himself from thence, *ika tu Jesus aici-n l-oaiya lo-lok-oa lo-mairikoto-sia-no a-ononoda-n to-konomun*, when Jesus knew in himself that his disciples murmured at it, [he said]: *yumuni ki l-auciga abar-li, Eneas ci iri, kabuin-timen wiwa-ci goba lo-torodo-kwona-hu ajeago, aboa-ci goba bele-n*, and there he found a certain man named Æneas, which had kept his bed (on) eight years, and was sick of the palsy, *biam-loko wiwa-n bena i*, and when he was full forty years old [it came in his heart to visit his brethren], *ika tu goba abar-mairia-kutihi wiwa-in Tiberius Cesar adaia-he-n*, now in the fifteenth year of the reign of Tiberius Cæsar, *Adaie-li isa-tu wiwa-in o-konomun d-ahaka-n bia*, [he has sent me] to preach the acceptable year of the Lord.

In the vowel preceding the *-n, the i, o* or *a* principle finds expression; if that vowel is an *i*, then it is often uncertain, whether an *-in* or an *-n* form is meant. *Oa*, preceding *-n*, expresses a combination of the *oa* and the *a* principles. The *oa* principle alone, is expressed by substituting *o-n-wa* for *i-n* (*i* group) or for *o-n* (*o* group), e.g. *to-moroa kasakabo anda fa-te, ika tu fa aiika-ci onnako-n-wa n-aurea*, but the days will come, when the

bridegroom shall be taken away from them, *biama goba kiana n-akosi a-torodo-n-wa*, and the eyes of them both were opened (comp. *Sabbath kasakabo barin ika ki Jesus a-murreta goba ororoli a-torodo-n l-akosi*, and it was the sabbath day when Jesus made the clay, and opened his eyes). These forms may be considered as *-n* forms: *a-torodo-n* and *onnako-n* (— the latter parallel to *onnaki-n*, and only used when *-wa* is suffixed —) with a suffix *-wa* having the meaning of "in itself", etc. (see § 120 g)).

The frequently used *-n-ci (-n-tu)* forms all indicate something including the principle of duration, vagueness in respect to time, together with the *-ci (-tu)* principle; they are also used if there is an element of futurity in the action, the same as with the *ia* forms of § 5. Examples:

Adaie-li, d-ausia banyia to-bora, da-ci d-akarate-n-ci, Lord, suffer me first to go and bury my father (comp. *akarati-ci b-ire-ci*, them which have buried thy husband), *n-aiita barin ma-mairikoto-n-wa-ci naii m-aici-n-ci bajia*, (they) perceived that they were unlearned and ignorant men, *wakaia m-onyi-n-ci-n ka i*, if he were not a malefactor.

It is a matter of course that *-n-ci (-n-tu)* forms especially occur with such like negations.

Connected with these forms are the *-na-ci (-na-tu)* forms (§ 79 b): with both there is a disposition to substitute an *e* for the vowel *a* or *i* preceding the *-n*.

The *-ni, -ci, -tu, -sia, -hu* etc. forms can also take the suffix *-n*.

G. *wa-súko-sá-kona-či*, the priest (our baptizer, lit. we-wash-result-instrumental, § 120 a) 2) -agent).

CHAPTER IV

AUXILIARY VERB *a*

§ 28. *A* expresses: the aspect of the world in its continual change (§ 2). It is the "Zeitwort" of the Arawak language, and is used with pronominal prefixes as a verb "to do", "to be" (not as a copula "to be", this does not exist in Arawak). In a separate word the doing or the being may be paraphrased.

a) Indicative mood, Present tense : *d-a, b-a, l-a, t-a, w-a, h-a, n-a ;*

Indicative mood,	Present tense :		*d-a, b-a, l-a, t-a, w-a, h-a, n-a ;*
,,	,,	Past ,,	the same, followed by *goba ;*
,,	,,	Future ,,	*da fa, bo fa, lo fa, tu fa, wa fa, ho fa, na fa ;*
Potential	,,	Present ,,	the same as Ind. m., Pr. t., followed by *ma.*

Examples :

bu-fitikida-te l-aurea, d-a bu-mun, I charge thee, come out of him, *isa b-a te andi-n,* thou hast well done that thou art come, *toho jia l-a Adaie-li da-mun,* thus hath the Lord dealt with me, *ki-jia n-a kiana,* which also they did, *murriga-ci jia bo fa koro,* [when thou prayest] thou shalt not be as the hypocrites are, *alika wa fa naraha ?* what shall we do to these men ? *alika lo fa-te naha kabuea-ari-no o-mun ?* what will he do unto those husbandmen ? *to-moroa tanahu akona kwa da fa,* nevertheless I must walk to day, *kalime-hi fa !* let there be light ! *d-a ma koro, Adaie-li !* not so, Lord ! (Acts X, 14, XI, 8), *alika l-a ma kiana Satan a-boredwa l-oaiya ?* how can Satan cast out Satan ?

b) This auxiliary verb *a* is often used, when, in describing an action, it is meant to place in relief that an action is taking place, more than the character of the action.

Examples : Usual form : Acts IX, 40, and she opened her eyes, *to-toroda kiana t-akosi-wa,* lit. she-open *-a* then her-eyes-own. Form in which the doing is placed in relief : J., IX, 26, how opened he thine eyes ? *alika l-a a-torodo-n b-akosi ?* lit. how he-a opening thine-eyes ? (comp. English how did he open thine eyes ?).

Further examples :

to-moroa d-ansi-sia-no d-a a-sa-ni hu, but I have called you friends, *kena toho jia bo fa a-murreti-ni n,* and this is the fashion which thou shalt make it of, *toho jia tu fa h-ikalime a-kalimeto-n-wa loko-no o-makana, n-adeki-n bia sa-tu h-imikebo-sia,* let your light so shine before men, that they may see your good works, *ki jia t-a aiomun iibido-n-wa, ororo bajia,*

thus the heavens and the earth were finished, *alika t-a b-akosi a-torodo-n-wa ?* how were thine eyes opened ? *ama-hu h-a k-ikisi-n Christ o-konomun ?* what think ye of Christ ? *kenbena manswa-ki n-a goba nokonni-n,* and they were exceeding sorrowful :

c) The auxiliary verb *a* is also used in association with an Infinitive with the prefix *m(a)-*, e.g. Mt. XXIV, 2, *m-adeki-n h-a toraha to-makwa ?* see ye not all these things ? lit. *m-* (hesitating, reluctant, becomes in this place a negation) seeing ye-do this its-all.

Further examples :

wa-siki fa ? ma-siki-n wa fa botta ? shall we give, or shall we not give ? *m-onyi-n b-a ka-cikibe,* thou shalt not steal (commit theft), *bawhu-yuho muni-ro m-ausi-n b-a-li, bawhu-yuho kono-no o-mun, m-ahaka-n b-a-li,* neither go into the town, nor tell it to any in the town, *da-tu, m-amoto-n-wa b-a,* daughter, be of good comfort, *to-moroa yara anakabo-tu ada iwi o-konomun, M-iki-ni h-a-li kia, m-ibibidi-n h-a-li bajia kia, ma-odo-ni h-a-n bia, l-a Wacinaci ajia-n,* but of the fruit of the tree which is in the midst of the garden, God hath said, Ye shall not eat of it, neither shall ye touch it, lest ye die, *m-ibibidi-n b-a-te di,* touch me not, *b-ikisi-ka ma-kwaiabo-n-wa d-a ma Da-ci,* thinkest thou that I cannot now pray to my Father, *ma-bokoto-n h-a goba di,* and ye laid no hold on me.

d) If it is not intended to negative the single fact, but to negative privatively, then the prefix *m(a)-* is incorporated into the root of the word and prefixes may be applied in the usual way.

Examples :

a-maribendi-, to cleanse (from *iribe,* uncleanness), *a-maiero,* to be free, *a-maierodo-,* to make free (from *aiero,* to be in bondage, to be a slave), *imikiduadi-* to disbelieve (*ikiduadi-,* to believe), *n-imekida goba i,* they stripped him (*eki,* clothes), *a-masiidikiti-,* to (cause to) behead, (*isi,* head), Sm. *a-mabannadi-,* to strip off the leaves (*u-banna,* leaf), *a-maimadi-,* to propitiate (*aima,* wrath), G. *da-matéda-te hime,* I clean a fish (*-té,* intestines).

e) *A* with impersonal prefix *k-*, appearing in a positive manner.

1) See table, § 5, forms 4 : *a* group, *a* group with *oa,* quality-words I ;

2) *ama ibia waii* (emphasizing pronoun) *ma-koto-n ka yuho-ho-in, Pharisee-no bajia ; to-moroa bui a-mairikoto-sia-no ma-koto-n ka koro ?* why do we and the Pharisees fast oft, but thy disciples fast not ?

f) *A* with impersonal prefix *m-*, hesitancy.

1) See table, § 5, forms 5 ;

2) *m-ikita-n-ci hu m-ikita-ni ma Daii bajia,* he that despiseth you despiseth me (also), *ama-koro Wacinaci m-onyi-ni-ma ma,* for with God no thing shall be impossible, ... *ahaka-n na-mun, hui m-ajia-n ma-li abaren,* ... and commandeth them not to speak at all, *Adaie-li Ialoko onnaka goba Philip l-aurea, eunuch m-adeki-n ma goba kiana ba i,* the Spirit of the Lord caught away Philip, that the eunuch saw him no more ;

(N.B. This would seem to be a double negative ; in reality, however, it

expresses a continual state of doubt: the same in §§ 18 b) 1) II), 29 b) 2), 30; comp. van Ginneken, 64, 199).

§ 29. a) Forms with *ka* as a definition of time:

ma-koto-ni abu Adaie-li n-ikita-n ka, Sa-tu laloko ajia-ga na-mun, as they ministered to the Lord, and fasted, the Holy Ghost said (to them), *kena ama a-dokota-hu fa-te kia andi-n ka ?* and what sign will there be when these things shall come to pass ? *h-onnaka ho-mun-wa isauka iibido-tu ho-bora mun ororo a-murreto-n-wa ka warea*, inherit the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world, *passover ka*, at the passover, *a-kota-he ka*, at supper time, *kia-n bena Jew-no ifirokoro ka goba*, after this there was a feast of the Jews, *hui ausa-i-li toho ifirokoro ka ibici*, go ye up unto this feast, *kena amisia ka fa, aboa-hu ka fa, adedisaro fa alomun jiaro*, and there shall be famines, and pestilences, and earthquakes, in divers places, *tanahu abar-timen kaci ka-n, bari-ga ma-sa-tu n-a-ni goba a-sa-ni n*, and this is the sixth month with her, who was called barren.

b) Forms with *ka* as a condition (circumstance) followed by a form with *ma* or *koma*, indicating what will happen if that condition is fulfilled.

1) *d-ahaka-n ka ho-mun, h-ikiduada ma koro : Daii bajia adagato-n ka hu, h-oonaba koma koro di, h-ausikita ma koro bajia di*, if I tell you, ye will not believe : And if I also ask you, ye will not answer me, nor let me go, *h-aici-n ka toho, alikibi ma hu h-onyi faroka n*, if ye know these things, happy are ye if ye do them, *to-moroa t-ikaba kowa-ni-ka pawmu o-mun, ama abu t-ikabatoa ma ?* but if the salt have lost his savour, wherewith shall it be salted ? *to-moroa h-aici-n ka ma toho ki ajia-hu o-konomun ... : m-aboadikiti-n h-a ma ma-wakaia-ci-no*, but if ye had known what this meaneth ... ye would not have condemned the guiltless, *na-sa-n ka goba k-abue-l-ci Beelzebub ma-in, aloman sabu kiana ki-jia na fa a-sa-n l-isikwa o-kono-no*, if they have called the master of the house Beelzebub, how much more shall they call them of his household ? *n-akudi-n ka goba ma di, n-akuda ma bajia hu ; n-ikita-n ka goba ma d-ajia-n, n-ikita koma bajia h-ajia-n*, if they have persecuted me, they will also persecute you ; if they have kept my saying, they will keep your's also ;

2) *isa goba ma lihi-ki loko o-mun, ma-raia-n ka goba ma i*, good were it for that man if he had never been born ;

c) *i-ka*, see § 55.

d) *isaigati-*, to please ; *isa*, good.

e) 1) *k-amunaiga-hu*, tribulation, *k-amunaiga-ni*, affliction, *k-amunaiga-ci-no*, the poor ; *amuna : m* humble ? comp. § 71 b) 5) (A.M. § 182, 134A) ;

2) *kena n-amunaigata-ni abu na-koiokota goba i*, and (they) sent him away shamefully, *l-amunaigatoa-n*, his humiliation, *h-amunaigato-n-wa bia*, to be (ye) afflicted ;

3) G. *minka-ko, minto-ko*, it is very (deep, difficult, etc.).

§ 30. *A-sia*.

l-isanci ki adaie-n anda fa-te kasakabo m-oaboddi-n l-a-sia o-loko o-bora, the lord of that servant will come in a day when he looketh not for him.

lit. his-servant that lord come will day not-waiting he-*a-sia* in future moment, *abar virgin hiaro ibici, kia abar-li wadili ikisida-sia ma-ma-kwa|l-a-sia*, to a virgin espoused to a man, lit. which a man reckoned - thing not-with-yet he-*a-sia*, *tanahu robu-in w-adeka m-adeki-n|w-a-sia be !* we have seen strange things to day, lit. now only we-see not-seeing we-*a-sia* full, *to-moroa abar-li ajinama hui o-koboroko, lihi-ki m-aici-n h-a-sia*, but there standeth one among you, whom ye know not, *ma-koborokwatoa-n h-a-li alika h-a-sia bia oonaba-n, alika h-a-sia bia ajia-n o-konomun*, take ye no thought how or what thing ye shall answer, or what ye shall say, *ma-raia-tu a-odo-ci-sikwa jia h-a-ni o-doma, loko-no aiadi-ci t-ajeago-ji m-aici-n m-a-sia o-konomun*, for ye are as graves which appear not, and the men that walk over them are not aware of them, *lihi-ki waii icinoci m-akonnaba-ti-m-a-sia goba*, (he) to whom our fathers would not obey.

§ 31. *A-hu*.

alika-n ma-tata sabu ka ajia-hu, Bu-wakaia a-dokodwa b-aurea, m-a-hu jiaro ? B-akenakwa, kena b-akona, m-a-hu jiaro botta ? for whether is easier, to say, Thy sins be forgiven thee ; or to say, Arise, and walk ?

§ 32. *A-ni*.

a) *Wacinaci a-ni koro bo-koborokwon o-doma, to-moroa loko-no a-ni robu-in bo-koborokwa*, for thou savourest not the things that be of God, but the things that be of men, *bawhu sibo mun Solomon-a-ni n-a-sia a-sa-n*, in the porch that is called Solomon's, *kena da-korati fa koro to-makwa kokki-tu toho-ni warea, toho jia d-a-ni-n jin*, neither ... will I again smite any more every thing living, as I have done, *hiaro aiita m-aiakato-n-wa t-a-ni wa, to-korogoso-n abu t-anda kiana*, and when the woman saw that she was not hid, she came trembling ;

b) *Adaie-li, l-a-ni ka David a-sa-n i, alika l-a kiana l-aiici-n lihi-ki ?* if David then call him Lord, how is he his son ? *a-kwaiabo-n-wa, t-a-ni ka ma, c-ikisi ausi-n l-aurea*, and prayed that, if it were possible, the hour might pass from him, *kia abu na-murrida fa l-onnawa-sia-no, n-a-ni ka ma*, insomuch that, if it were possible, they shall deceive the very elect ;

c) *lihi Wacinaci o-rea m-a-ni-n ka, ama-koro l-onyi koma*, if this man were not of God, he could do nothing, *m-a-ni b-a, w-a lo-mun*, and we forbad him, lit. not-do-fact thou-do, we-did (said) him-to, *m-a-ni h-a-li ajia-n*, begin not to say, *Wacinaci a-maribendi-sia, ma-mariben-tu m-a-ni b-a-li a-sa-n*, what God hath cleansed, that call not thou common, *ika tu loko-no m-ansi m-a-ni hu ... ika tu n-imirita-ni hu*, when men shall hate you ... and shall reproach you.

§ 33. *A-n*.

ororo o-kona-tu o-konomun d-ahaka a-n-ka ho-mun, if I have told you earthly things, [and ye believe not, etc.], *ho-bollita yaha, ausa d-a-n ka yakitaha mun i-ro da-kwaiabo-n-wa bia*, sit ye here, while I go and pray yonder, *na-cikibe-sia goba i adunka w-a-n ka*, (they) stole him away while we slept, *a-kota n-a-n ka*, and as they did eat [he said], *ajia kwa l-a-n ka, h-adeka ....*, and while he yet spake, lo ..., *m-andi-n d-a-n ka goba ma*,

m-ajia-n d-a-n ka goba na-mun, wakaia-hu kowa koma na-mun, if I had not come and spoken unto them, they had not had sin, *ika tu goba ... Pontius Pilate adaia-hu m-a-n Judea ororo ajeago,* now (it came to pass) ... Pontius Pilate being governor of Judæa, *kenbena, Apollos Corinth mun m-a-n ka,* and it came to pass, that, while Apollos was at Corinth, *kena n-anda goba a-baptize()dikito-n-wa. John ma-siko-n-wa kwa m-a-n-ka siba o-loko o-doma,* and they came, and were baptized. For John was not yet cast into prison, *tora-jia ma-n t-a-n ka, d-ahaka goba ma ho-mun,* if it were not so, I would have told you.

§ 34. *Ka-in.*

saka goba n, ma-iyuyu-ka-in tu-muni o-doma, it withered away, because it lacked moisture, *a-boredi-n biama mite, kia abar farthing, isogo-tu ka-in plata,* and she threw in two mites, which make a farthing (*isogo-tu,* small, *plata,* money), *abar-dakabo ibi-ro ka-in kodibiyu a-iyugara-wa koro biama isogo-tu ka-in plata iauna ?* are not five sparrows sold for two farthings ? *biam-timen, yuho-ro koro himi ka-in bajia, n-a goba ajia-n,* and they said, Seven, and a few little fishes, *aba mihu ka-in bajia lo-ma goba,* and there were also with him other little ships.

Note the diminutive effect of *ka-in* in the last examples. Something of the same character might be seen in *oni-ka-in,* river (*oni, onyi,* water, § 125 a)), and in the following examples : *kenbena l-ausa goba taha sabu ka-in,* and he went a little farther, *m-ibena ka-ini ma-in t-adiki,* but not long after [a tempest arose], *lo-koto-n bena tata ka-ini ka lo-kona,* and when he had received meat, he was strengthened ; S. *elonti-kan,* a little child, *báhü-kan,* the tabernacle, shrine, *u-hurrura-kan,* a field.

§ 35. *M-a-in.*

a) *na-ma-ni ma-in aiika-ci, mamari koma ma-koto-n n-a-n,* as long as they have the bridegroom with them, they cannot fast, *na-herakida goba yuho-li loko-no l-amun, omuni ka-ini ma-in bara o-rea,* much people gathered unto him : and he was nigh unto the sea ;

b) After a quotation of something spoken long ago.

h-akonnaba goba n-ajia-n, B-ansi fa bu-ioci, m-ansi b-a-li k-aiima-ci bu-mun : main, ye have heard that it hath been said, Thou shalt love thy neighbour, and hate thine enemy, *Adam main a-sa-n na-iri,* and called their name Adam, *a-herakida n-a-n ka, n-adagata kiana i, Adaie-li tanahu b-isiki fa Israel o-mun n-isauka ba ? main,* when they therefore were come together, they asked of him, saying, Lord, wilt thou at this time restore again the kingdom to Israel ?

§ 36. *Mo-tu,* after a quotation of something written long ago : o, indicating space ?

kenbena na-sika goba l-isi amun ajia-hu lo-konomun-tu, LIHI JESUS JEW-NO ADAIE-N-WABU, mo-tu a-burita-sia, and (they) set up over his head his accusation written, This is Jesus the king of the Jews, *da-sikwa a-kwaiabo-hu isikwa, mo-tu a-burito-n-wa,* it is written, My house is the house of prayer (L. XIX, 46), *kena aba a-burita-sia, N-adeki fa na-ciadi-*

sia ibici: mo-tu ajia-hu, and again another scripture saith, They shall look on him whom they pierced. *Jesus oonaba goba n|ajia-n. To-buritwa koro hui misi-tu ahaka-hu o-loko. Wacinaci jia mu-ci hui; d-a goba ajia-n; mo-tu koro?* Jesus answered them, Is it not written in your law, I said, Ye are gods?

§ 37. *-N kona*, when; *ko*, the thing in question, *na*, continuation.

n-adeki-n kona, n-adeka siba auribisa-sia ibin, and when they looked, they saw that the stone was rolled away. *n-aucigi-n kona i, n-ajia-ga lo-mun*, and when they had found him, they said unto him. *naii akonnabo-n kona kokke-ni o-konomun, t-adeki-n bajia i o-konomun, m-ikiduadi-n n-a goba n*, and they, when they had heard that he was alive, and had been seen of her, believed not.

§ 38. *-N bena*, after; *be*, full, fulfilled, *na* continuation.

n-adeki-n bena, n-aicikita ajia-hu l-ajia-sia na-mun korilia-ci ki o-konomun, and when they had seen it, they made known abroad the saying which was told them concerning the child. *n-akoio-n-wa bena*, and when they were departed [the angel appeareth], *to-moroa c-imeodo-n bena t-isa wa, ma-koborokwon t-a kari-hi*, but as soon as she is delivered of the child, she remembereth no more the anguish, *toho jia l-a-n bena ajia-n, lo-koida goba onabo ajeago*, when he had thus spoken, he spat on the ground, *biam-loko wiwa-n bena i*, and when he was full forty years old [it came upon his heart to visit his brethren], *toho-n bena da-sa fa koro hu da-sanonoci*, henceforth I call you not servants.

§ 39. *Bia* (after *ama: ibia*, § 139 a)) adds to the meaning of the preceding word (object-word, verbal noun) the principle of something that will be or will happen in the near future; *b*, appearance, *i*, tension, (is relaxed into) *a*, time-reality.

aiomun kibilokoukili omuni fa kalime-be-tu, araga-koto-tu bia origa-hu o-rea kasakabo; kia a-dokotoia, c-ikisi bia, kasakabo bia wiwa bia bajia, let there be lights in the firmament of the heaven to divide the day from the night; and let them be for signs, and for seasons, and for days, and years, *c-ibikidwa kiana ifiro-tu ada bia*, and (it) waxed a great tree, *ibi-kibi b-isifuda()kota di Christian bia di*, almost thou persuadest me to be a Christian, *toho ki h-onyi-sia bia bari-n, to-bora-tu ma-iibi-n h-a-n bia bajia*, these ought ye to have done, and not to leave the other undone, *kena kia l-adura. Adaie-li Wacinaci onnaki-sia loko o-rea, hiaro bia lo-murreta n*, and the rib, which the Lord God had taken from man, made he a woman, *l-amuni-sia bia*, his inheritance, *kenbena na-murreta goba ajia-hu Jesus na-bokoto-n bia ka-ieniko-hu abu na-forri-n bia i*, and (they) consulted that they might take Jesus by subtilty, and kill him, *kenbena loko Aiici a-sikoa a-burrida-tu o-kona l-isiko-n-wa bia*, and the Son of man is betrayed to be crucified:

S. *hama-hü h-ani-ssia-bia-pa*, [take heed] what ye intend to do, *abba Phoenicia muniru akunnu-ssia-bia-pa meju*, [finding] a ship sailing over unto Phenicia, *jumün-tu-pa ahaka-hü-n bu-mün b-ani-ssia-bia-pa*

u-kunnamün, (that place-future) it shall be told thee what thou must do, *dai dä-waja a-dukuttu-n da|ppa-i hallika-kebé-ni-bia-pa* (§§ 139 e), 58 e)) *lu-julattü-n l-ansi-wa dai iri u-kunnaria*, for I will shew him how great things he must suffer for my name's sake.

Biaki, in the following sentences, = *bia*, let it be, *ki*, this ! (§ 48) (?)

S. *ni rubu kurru üsseika-kuba biaki-ka-n diarru|je jumün-kunna-na palettiju wa-mün*, and the barbarous people shewed us no little kindness, lit. a little only not kind-were *biaki-ka-n* such they that-place-persons barbarian,*Julius biaki-ka|kuba Paulus u-mün*, Julius courteously entreated Paul.

§ 40. *O-doma* adds to the meaning of the preceding clause, word or particle, the principle of reason or cause ; *do*, cause, origin, see § 40.

to-moroa t-a( )alikibitoa hui akosi-hi, t-adeki-n o-doma, but blessed are your eyes, for they see, *to-bolisi-n o-doma bu, to-bolisi kia ki b-akoio fa ba*, for dust thou art, and unto dust shalt thou return, *na-makwa kokki-ci o-iyunatu-n o-doma n*, because she was the mother of all living, *h-ausa yaha rea ; ma-odo-n t-a-n ilontu o-doma*, give place : for the maid is not dead, *alika-i koro aunaka-n o-doma u*, [we stand here] because no man hath hired us, *Noah akodwa kiana ... ark o-lokomun : oniabu ifiroto-n-wa bia-n o-doma*, and Noah went in ... into the ark, because of the waters of the flood, *Lydda omuni-n Joppa o-rea o-doma*, and forasmuch as Lydda was nigh to Joppa, *lihi wadili isa-ni o-doma*, for he was a good man, *da-uaiya da-doma wa koro d-ajia-n o-doma*, for I have not spoken of myself, *ama-koro d-onyi koma da-uaiya da-doma wa*, I can of mine own self do nothing, *na-makwa n-ikiduadi-n bia lo-doma*, that all men through him might believe, *h-oaiya ho-doma wa koro h-ajia-ga*, for it is not ye that speak (Mt. X, 20), S. *ka-duma-ttu lui üüssadükittoa hidda-ba*, [examined] by what means he is made whole.

§ 41. In the following forms an *i* is added to *a*, presumably as an intensifying suffix. Sm. says of this : "Wenn es sich auf eine vorhergehende Rede bezieht, so ist in dieser Form gewöhnlich dass man es nicht durch *n* sondern *i* ausdrückt, z.B. *dapai* ich will, werde es thun oder sagen ; *bupai* du sollst es, etc. ; *lupai* er wird, oder soll es, etc."

da fa-i, maribe-n bu, I will : be thou clean, *da fa-i, l-a kiana*, and he promised, lit. I will, he did (said) then, *yaha kwa b-a-i wa-ma*, abide with us (L. XXIV, 29), *ki jiari ki* (§ 140) *l-a-i l-ibiamti-ci bajia*, likewise (did) the second also (Mt. XXII, 26), *ki jiari ki l-a goba-i ba*, and (he) did likewise (Mt. XX, 5), *bui imigodo-n goba ororo ajeago mun di jin, ki jiari ki d-a goba-i Daii imigodo-n ba ie ororo ajeago mun*, as thou hast sent me into the world, even so have I also sent them into the world, *ki jiari ki ho fa-i hui ba*, so likewise (do) ye (Mt. XXIV, 33), *ki jiari ki lo fa-i loko Aiici onnakido-n-wa ba*, even so must the Son of man be lifted up (J. III, 14), *h-ikiduadi-sia jiari ki tu fa-i ho-mun*, according to your faith be it unto you, *ki jiari ki l-a-i himi bajia aloman n-ansi-n*, and likewise (he distributed) of the fishes as much as they would, *ki jiari ki n-a ma-i priest-*

no afudyi, as also the high priest doth bear me witness, *Adaie-li, ha-jia|t-a-i toho wiwa*, Lord, let it alone this year also ; S. *ikka na-maqua — wa|ppa-i — mañ*, (then they all — we shall do — it was said), *ika k-abbukü-n hu|ppa-ī üssa-tti üjahü ho-monn-ua-wa*, and ye shall receive the gift of the Holy Ghost.

§ 42. When in the narration a person is quoted as speaking, then the quotation is always followed by the verb *a*, to do, with a pronominal prefix indicating the person whose words are quoted, and often *ajia-n*, speaking, or such like. The same process is followed when two or more quotations are enclosed in each other.

Centurion oonaba goba n, ajia-n ... kena liraha o-mun B-osa, d-a ajia-n, l-ausa kiana ; aba-li o-mun ba, Ma-hara b-a-te, d-a, l-anda-te kiana ; da-sanci o-mun, Toho b-onyi, d-a ; l-onyi-ka kiana n ; l-a, the centurion answered and said ... and I say to this man, Go, and he goeth ; and to another, Come, and he cometh ; and to my servant, Do this, and he doeth it (Mt. VIII, 8, 9), *ika ki Adaie-li-wabu ajia fa l-iisa mairia-ci-no o-mun, Ma-hara h-a-te ..., lo fa*, then shall the King say unto them on his right hand, Come ..., *Peter bui, d-a ajia-n bu-mun bajia*, and I say also unto thee, That thou art Peter, *daii anda fa d-isadi-n bia i ; l-a Jesus ajia-n lo-mun*, and Jesus saith unto him, I will come and heal him, *hiaro o-mun kiana hori ajia-ga, Ho-odo fa koro kidua-ni-n : ..., t-a tu-mun*, and the serpent said unto the woman, Ye shall not surely die : ..., *alo mun Christ ka-raie-n bia ? l-a goba adagato-n ie*, he demanded of them where Christ should be born ;

S. Acts XVIII, 13, *n-a ihittara-n i*, they did accusing him, Acts VI, 14, *n-a mullika-hü abbu Stephanus amün*, they-did falsehood with Stephen concerning, Acts IV, 20, *n-a Petrus Johannes mu-tti na-mün*, they-did Peter John with-person them-to.

With the cautious *m-a* (comp. *ma-in*, § 35, perhaps also : S. *ka-maijana*, to be manifest, *a-maijanatā, a-maijanattoa*, to preach, to teach, to tell, to make known) :

ki-o-doma Jesus a-mairikoto-sia l-ansi-sia, Adaie-li lihi, m-a ajia-n Peter o-mun, therefore that disciple whom Jesus loved saith unto Peter, It is the Lord, *yuho-li loko-no akonnabo-ci toraha ajia-hu, Kidua-n liraha Prophet ki ; m-a goba kiana ajia-n*, many of the people therefore, when they heard this saying, said, Of a truth this is the prophet ;

S. Acts III, 23, *l-a Moses — m-a Petrus*, Acts VIII, 33, *ma-ru Esaias*, Acts XIII, 47, *mo-rubu n-a Paulus Barabas mu-tti*, discreetly-only they-did P. B. with-person, Acts XV, 11, *mo-rubu l-a Petrus* (V. 9 *l-a Petrus*).

G. *moro, mora*, think, suppose, see §§ 215 (23, 35, 39), 219 (26), 221 (16).

Dialogue :

Adaia-hu oonaba goba n ajia-n na-mun, Alika-i h-ansi-ka da-dokodo-n bia ho-mun naha biama-no o-rea ? l-a. Barabbas, n-a goba ajia-n, the

governor answered and said unto them, Whether of the twain will ye that I release unto you ? They said, Barabbas.

G. I ask A. : "did you go there this morning ?" he answers : "yes" : then I ask B. : "is it really so" ? B. answers : *l-á-ši* (§ 179 c)) or *l-á-diaru*, surely, or *lú-mura-diaro* (§ 140 c)), perhaps (if A. were a woman : *tú-mura-diaro* or *t-á-diaro-ka*, perhaps).

§ 43. Often English indirect speech is converted into Arawak direct speech (especially in S.'s texts).

Mt. II, 7, Then Herod, when he had privily called the wise men, enquired of them diligently what time the star appeared, *ika ki Herod a-simaka goba ka-ieniko-be-ci aiakatwa o-loko, alika wiwa ka-raia goba ? l-a goba adagato-n manswan ie*, lit. occurred ! Herod called wise-men hidden in, "when star appeared ?" he-did asking diligently them, Acts XXVII, 30, under colour as though they would have cast anchors out of the foreship, *t-isiri warea wa-toboda-te anchor, n-a murriga-hu abu*, lit. its-nose from we-cast anchor, they-did lie with ;

S. Acts XXIV, 23, and he commanded a centurion to keep Paul, *ikka l-issika Capitain, u-mün hi-ddia-mu-ttu adia-hü : b-ikittakutta-li-te|i Paulus*, lit. occurred he-put captain, to thus word : thou-cause to keep -him Paul.

CHAPTER V

INTENSIVES, CONJUNCTIONS, ETC.

§ 44. The emphasizing pronouns consist of a pronominal prefix with an emphasizing particle.

a) *-i, -ii.*

I *da-ii,* II *bu-i,* III m., f. do not exist in this series; in their stead the pronouns of series b) are used: I pl. *wa-ii,* II pl. *hu-i,* III pl. *na-ii;*

S. I *da-i,* II *bu-i,* III m. *lu-i,* III f. no examples have been met with; I pl. *wa-i,* II pl. *hu-i,* III pl. *na-i:*

b) *-h-* with vowel: chiefly used as demonstratives.

III m. *l-i-hi,* III f. *t-o-ho,* III pl. *na-ha;* S. III m. *l-i-hi,* III f. *t-u-hu,* III pl. *na-ha;*

c) *-ra-ha,* demonstrative, at a definite place (*ra,* § 104) in space or time.

III m. *l-i-raha,* III f. *t-o-raha* (*t-o-ra,* § 104 f)), III pl. *na-raha;* S. III m. *l-i-raha,* III f. *t-u-raha,* III pl. *na-rraha.*

G. *lihi, toho, naha,* indicate: near;
liraha, toraha, naraha, indicate: somewhat further off:
(likitaha?), tokotáha, nai, indicate: still further off, not in the same space.

Examples a), b), c):

m-aiima-hu da-iiba ho-mun, Daii m-aiima-hu da-sika ho-mun: ororo a-siki-sia jia mo-tu koro Daii a-sika ho-mun, peace I leave with you, my peace I give unto you: not as the world giveth, give I unto you; *Lihi d-Aiici d-ansi-sia,* This is my beloved Son, *h-adeka lihi loko!* behold the man! *lihi anda da-mun,* (he) came unto me (Acts XXII, 13), *lihi o-mun Paul ajia-ga kiana,* then said Paul unto him (Acts XXIII, 3), *liraha ajia goba,* this fellow said (Mt. XXVI, 61), *liraha,* this man (Mt. XIII, 54, 55, 56, J. VI, 52, VII, 15), *liraha wadili, liraha loko,* the man (Acts XXV, 17, 22), *Wacinaci liraha* (he is a god, Acts XXVIII, 6), *liraha b-aiici,* this thy son (L XV, 30), *toho,* this (Mt. XXIV, 48), *toho ointment,* this ointment, *toraha to-makwa,* all these things (Mt. XIII, 51, XIX, 20, XXIII, 36), *laloko toraha,* it is a spirit (Mt. XIV, 26), *kena Da-ci k-ansi fa i; kena waii anda fa-te l-amun, ka-sikwa fa lihi o-ma u,* and my Father will love him, and we will come unto him, and make our abode with him, *naii b-amuni-sia-no goba ki,* thine they were, *Jerusalem mun ka-sikwa goba Jew-no a-kwaiaboa-ci wadili naii,* and there were dwelling at Jerusalem Jews, devout men (worshipping men they), *h-adeka, Galilee warea-ci koro na-makwa naha?* behold, are not all these which speak Galilæans? *naha biama-no o-rea b-onnawa-sia b-aicikita wa-mun,* shew whether of these

two thou hast chosen, *naraha*, these men (Acts IV, 16, V, 38), *k-aiima-ci naraha da-mun*, those mine enemies (L. XIX, 27) ;

S. *lui — Moses akunnukutta Egypten u-lukku-waria je*, he (— Moses) brought them out (from Egypt), *lui Jesus*, this Jesus, *lu-morrua lihi baddia a-maraijattoa*, (but) he also perished, *n-addika baddia lihi üüssadükittu-lliä-ti*, and beholding (they behold also) the man which was healed :

[d]) S. *-wa-i* : see § 121 [e]).

S. *dai|li-wai Adaija-hü !* I am here, Lord, *dai|li-wai*, I am he ;

[e]) S. one of the pronouns enumerated under [a]), [b]), or [c]), with *-ke*, *-kewai*, see § 48 [b]).

[f]) S. III m. *-ki-da*, f. *-ku-da* ; m. *-ki-da-ha*, f. *-ku-da-ha* ; *ki*, *ku* the person or thing in question, *da* firmly established. Probably the same construction in : B. *h-adeka, Christ yaha ; h-adeka li-kitaha*, lo, here is Christ ; or, lo, he is there. Also : B. *a-tukuda*, to command, to charge.

[g]) S. III m. *(lui)-li-kèwai*.

Examples [f]), [g]) :

S. Acts VII, 37, 38 *lihi-kewai Moses, adiâ-kuba-li Israeli-nu u-mün hiddin :*, this is that Moses, which said unto the children of Israel, *lui-li-kèwai|ba, naha mallukku-nni-aukilli-mün a-hurruda-kebé-mutti Israeli-nu ü-kkürküa annaka- ni-rukku-kubâ-li, li-kidaha Jehovah u-ma-tti kuba i adia l-a-ni-ka Sina hurruru-müni*, this is he, that was in the church in the wilderness with the angel which spake to him in the mount Sina, lit. he-this also, those wilderness-in assembled Israelites nation in-the-midst-of-being, he Jehovah with-being he speak he-doing-when Sina mount-at, Acts III, 20, *Lui imékudu-n benna|i Jesus Christus, a-ijumuda-ssia hu-mün wakill lu-bura-mün, u-bura ba :* 21 *Lui-likèwai a-bukuttu-n lu|ppa kassakku lu-monn-ua*, 20 and he shall send Jesus Christ, which before was preached unto you, 21 whom the heaven must receive, Acts XI, 12 *likida Wadili üssiqua 'lukku*, into the man's house, *wahaddia tukuda addiki-ttu kassakkabbu-hü u-kunna ani-hü-nni-bia-pa|n*, and it shall come to pass in the last days, *tukkudaha Prophet David wakilli a-bulliti-ssia*, (this prophet David formerly written-thing), *tukkudaha ipirru-kurru ka-raija-ru-pa Adaija-hü ü-kkassakkabbu-n andi-n u-bura*, before that great and notable day of the Lord come ;

[h]) Sm. and Q. give the pronouns *da-kia, bo-kkia, li-kia*, (II f. is missing in this series), *wa-kia, hü-kia, na-kia*. These are probably antiquated forms; they are not met with in S., B. and G.

Examples : Van Berkel (in his description of the whip-ceremony) *bockja watilly !* lit. thou man ! *dackje wathia !* lit. I also (B. *bajia*). Translation of Genesis (Moravians, 16) : *dai ü-jaüale d-adinamukitta wuraru u-kuña, kia d-ebettira aditti-koana bia dakia wuñabu badia annaka-ni-ruku-di* (B. *da-simara-habo da-sika oraro o-kona, ajia-hu aiciki-n bia n Dai o-mun ororo o-mun bajia*), I do set my bow in the cloud, and it shall be for a token of a covenant between me and the earth. [*Likia* is also met with in Island-Karib].

§ 45. The emphasizing pronouns are composed in a similar way to the expressions indicating position, direction or time of the type *to-loko*, in it, "it-interior place", *na-mun*, to them, "they-humble place". Parallel to *na-mun*, Arawak has *yu-mun(i)*, a place; here *y*, here, *u* space, takes the place of the pronominal prefix.

In a similar way, parallel to the pronouns treated of in § 44:

b) 1) *yaha*, here, to be here (A. M. § 182, 132 C); examples, see § 12.

2) *taha*, far, to be afar off (A. M. § 182, 132 D); *taha-wai*, afar off, with the intensifying particle *-wai*, occurring under d). Presumably *taha* means not exactly "far", but rather another place than the place indicated by *yaha*, comp. S. *taha-maria* — *jaha-maria*, § 97 f). Sm. *táha-kün*, there, *taha-mária*, on the other side; *táha-ssábu-tu*, a little beyond the other side, *taha-wária*, from there, *dâha-ru*, thereto, *kü-ddaha-ru|ka|i*, he is there (comp. f));

c) *yaraha*, the same as *yaha*, but somewhat further off (?)

yaraha abar-li ilon-ci, there is a lad here (J. VI. 9), *bui a-bollita yaraha ikisidi-n di*, [for] sittest thou (here) to judge me (Acts XXIII, 3), *yaraha kwa t-a ma*, it would have remained, lit. here yet it-is presumably;

f) 1) *yakitaha*, S. *jakketa* in the following:

b-osa yaha rea yakitaha mun i-ro, remove hence to yonder place, S. *jakketa málukkuni-aukilli-mün*, (yonder) in the wilderness (Acts XIII, 18);

2) S. *hidda*, now, then; Sm. it is also often used without especial meaning.

S. *ni-kebé-n t-a attikida Petrus u-kutti-mün, tu-húda hidda*, then fell she down straightway at his feet, and yielded up the ghost, lit. immediately she-did fall Petrus feet-at, she-die *hidda*, *bakküllama hidda-n u-duma*, for it was now eventide, *ikka hidda|ba*, (and also) [he has written], lit. occurred *hidda* again, *ikka l-adia-ka hidda|ba*, (and he said also).

§ 46. Parallel to the forms treated of in §§ 44, 45 b), *aha* with pronominal prefix; we may also consider this as a durative (§ 3) of the auxiliary verb *a*. The only examples of these forms, that have been found in the texts are: *ibikido-lia b-aha-ni ka, bu-idwa b-uaiya*, when thou wast young, thou girdest thyself (comp. *yaha-ni ka bu*, if thou hadst been here, and § 32), *fig ada abomun b-aha-n ka, Daii adeka bu*, when thou wast under the fig tree, I saw thee, *bo-koborokwa, kokke kwa b-aha-n ka goba, isa-be-tu amateli b-auciga bu-mun wa*, remember that thou in thy lifetime receivedst thy good things.

§ 47. S. *dannuhu*, B. *tanahu*, now, to day, this day, *tanahu warea*, from henceforth. Presumably *da*, *ta* emphasizes, as in §§ 44, 45: *ana*, comp. *ana-ka (-ku)*, the midst, § 79 d).

§ 47 A. *Da*, emphasis?

isa ma koro 'da di bu-sa-ni bia di b-aiici bia, (I) am no more worthy to be called thy son, *kia-n bena n-onyi koma koro 'da hu*, [them that] after that have no more that they can do, *kia abu da-koto fa koro 'da toho-ni bena*, I will not any more eat thereof, *l-oonaba-n o-doma na-bokwa ia, ma-*

iau-kwa n-a kiana 'da, and they marvelled at his answer, and held their peace.

§ 48. a) *Ki*, "the person or thing in question!"; *k*, appearing in a positive manner, *i*, principle.

hui ajia-ga, Daii ki, ye say that I am (L. XXII, 70), *lihi ki o-mun da-siki fa a-kolda-sia, da-koldo-n bena n*, he it is, to whom I shall give a sop, when I have dipped it, *toho ki abu Da-ci a-kalimetwa, yuho-n bia k-iwi-ni hu*, herein is my Father glorified, that ye bear much fruit, *Daii ki*, I am he [that ye seek], *bui ki d-Aiici d-ansi-sia, bui abu ki d-iisaigatwa*, thou art my beloved Son: in thee I am well pleased, *naii-ki ajia-ga*, [two men stood by them] which also said, *toraha ki*, these things (J. XIV, 25, I, 28, XIX, 24). *Wacinaci ki a-murreti-ci ororo*, (that) God that made the world (Acts XVII, 24), *lihi o-doma ki kokke kwa w-a*, for in him we live (Acts XVII, 28), *kidua-n liraha Prophet ki*, of a truth this is the prophet, *liraha ki Christ*, this is the Christ, *b-isadi-n d-akosi adeki-n o-doma, b-iibidi-sia ki na-makwa loko-no isibo o-makana*, for mine eyes have seen thy salvation which thou hast prepared before the face of all people, *h-adeka Wacinaci Lamb, onnaki-ci ki ororo wakaia-hu*, behold the Lamb of God, which taketh away the sin of the world (comp. *kenbena Roma-no anda fa-te onnaki-ci wa-sikwa*, and the Romans shall come and take away our place), *ka-cikibe-ci-no bajia, a-burrida-tu o-kona-ci lo-ma, imirita ki goba i*, the thieves also, which were crucified with him, cast the same in his teeth;

S. *ke*, the same as B. *ki*: *Matthias ké adittikitta-hü-ka*, the lot fell upon Matthias, *W-adaija-hü-n, bui kê Jehovah*, Lord, thou art God;

b) S. *ke-wai*, *ke* with the intensifying particle *wa-i* (§ 121 e)).

S. *Jesus kéwai dai*, I am Jesus [whom thou persecutest], *kia kewai kassakkabu-hü*, the same day, *lui kewai*, him [hath God exalted], *lihi-kéwai*, the same [did God send], Bernau *tu-maqua dai ani|bui|ani kewai badja*, all that I have is thine;

c) S. *-kei-se*, intensifying, see § 179 f).

d) 1) *-ke-n*, intensifying.

ababa, yauhahu onnaka i aiomun ke-n-tu ororo ajeago mun, again, the devil taketh him up into an exceeding high mountain, *kena to-makwa aiomun-be-ke-n-tu ororo aiomun abomun-tu ha t-itaga goba*, and all the high hills, that were under the whole heaven, were covered;

2) Sm. *-kê-n, bê-n*, intensifying.

Sm. *ibi-n*, to be small, fine, *ibi-kê-n*, to be too small, too fine, *ipi-rru-n*, to be large, *ipi-rru-be-n*, to be somewhat larger;

3) Sm. *-kê*, intensifying.

Sm. *m-oádi|ka|n*, it is too short, *m-oadi-kê|n*, it is very short, *karri-kê|n*, it aches very much, *k-aima-kê|n*, she, or it, is very bad;

e) Sm. *-ma-ké* intensifying.

Sm. *üssa*, good, *üssa-maké|ma*, very good, *k-allikebbe-maké|d-a*, I am very glad;

f) m. *l-iki-ni*, f. *c-iki-ni*, "the only one".

na-fitikita-bo-te abar-li a-odo-ci, likini-ka-ni lo-iyu aiici, there was a dead man carried out, the only son of his mother, *b-adeka-te d-aiici ibici, likini-ka-ini-n da-sa o-doma i*, look upon my son: for he is mine only child, *cikini ka-in lo-tu l-amuni-n o-doma*, for he had one only daughter;

g) *c-iki-n*, at that same moment.

c-iki-n na-fitikidi-n, and as they came out (Mt. XXVII, 32), *c-iki-n n-andi-n t-eribo mun*, as soon then as they were come to land (J. XXI, 9), *c-iki-n Jesus a-simaka-n ki goba ba k-akonnaki-tu a-simaka-hu abu, l-isika goba l-iialoko wa*, Jesus, when he had cried again with a loud voice, yielded up the ghost:

h) *oini ... (i)ki*, to rain: *oini*, water, *(i)ki*, originating, condensing, comp. *-u-ki-li*, a natural phenomenon, § 130 a).

oini ki fa-te, h-a ajia-n, ye say, There cometh a shower, *kenbena oini iki-a* (§ 132) *goba*, and the rain descended, *ikihi brimstone o-ma-tu iki-a goba aiomun warea*, it rained fire and brimstone from heaven, *oini kiana aiomun warea-tu a-iibokotwa iki-n*, and the rain from heaven was restrained, *kena oini d-ikikiti* (§ 91) *fa*, and I will cause it to rain, *Adaie-li Wacinaci m-ikikiti-n kwa ma-n ka oini ororo ajeago mun*, for the Lord God had not caused it to rain upon the earth;

i) *a-iigi ... mihu o-lokomun*, to go, to enter into a ship, *a-iigiti*, etc., to cause to go, etc.: *mihu*, ship, *o-loko*, in, *mun*, place;

j) *ikisi; iki* with *si*, a point, or intensifying.

1) a certain moment.

I) *daii ikisi m-andi-n kwa ma ibin o-doma*, for my time is not yet full come, *c-ikisi anda, loko Aiici a-kalimeto-n-wa bia*, the hour is come, that the Son of man should be glorified, *kia a-dokotoia, c-ikisi bia*, and let them be for signs, and for seasons, *toho ikisi*, this hour (J. XII, 27);

II) Sm. *ikissi-hi*, knotted-string calendar (Kechua *kipu*);

2) *k-ikisi*, to think, to mean;

3) *ikisidi-*, to judge, to mete, Sm., G. also: to taste; *wakaia ikisidi-*, to tempt;

4) *ikisida*, to number, to reckon;

5) *ikisitoa ro* (§ 102) *l-a-n na-mun o-doma*, for he beckoned unto them, Sm. *ikissitû-(nn-ua)*, belieben:

k) 1) *ikita*, to keep, to have regard to, to serve;

2) *imita*, to despise, to mock, to laugh;

l) *kidua*, to be true (A. M. §§ 182, 149 B), *kidua-hu*, truth: *ki*, this ! *d* standing, *ua* in itself (§ 120).

§ 49. a) *Kia*, "the person or thing in question", used as a relative pronoun; *ki* with *a*, see § 132.

Esaias prophet ajia-n iibido-n-wa bia, kia l-ajia goba, that the saying of Esaias the prophet might be fulfilled, which he spake, *to-moroa Awa imigodo-ci di a-sika goba da-mun misi-tu ahaka-hu, kia d-ahaka-n bia, kia d-ajia-n bia*, but the Father which sent me, he gave me a commandment, what I should say, and what I should speak, *ika tu ki n-akonnabo-n kia*

o-konomun, now when this was noised abroad, *hiaro b-isiki-sia da-ma-tu bia, kia a-sika ada iwi da-mun*, the woman whom thou gavest to be with me, she gave me of the tree, *kena hiaro isadwa goba kia ikisi warea*, and the woman was made whole from that hour, *kenbena, kia kasakabo o-loko, Cesar Augustus a-sika goba ajia-hu*, and it came to pass in those days, that there went out a decree from Cæsar Augustus;

b) Sm. *ikiahā*, to be avaricious:

c) Sm. *ikiahaddi-* nöthigen zum da bleiben, von etwas zurückhalten, B. *ikiadi-* to forbid, to restrain from, to speak against, to keep from a purpose.

§ 50. Combinations of *ki* and *kia* with different particles.

Mary Magdalene o-mun l-iraiatwa goba atenwa wabu, kia ki biam-timen yauhahu lo-boredi-sia goba o-rea, he appeared first to Mary Magdalene, out of whom he had cast seven devils, *kia ki Mary a-luita goba Adaie-li ointment abu, kenbena t-arauada goba lo-kuti to-barra abu, kia ki aciligici Lazarus aboa goba*, it was that Mary which anointed the Lord with ointment, and wiped his feet with her hair, whose brother Lazarus was sick, *kia ki ikisi o-loko Jesus ajia goba yuho-li loko-no o-mun*, in that same hour said Jesus to the multitudes:

to-moroa lo-dokoto-n-wa bia Israel o-mun, kia bia ki daii anda a-baptize()da ibici oniabu abu, but that he should be made manifest to Israel, therefore am I come baptizing with water, *d-ahaka fa aba bawhu-yuho mun Wacinaci isauka o-konomun, kia bia ki imigoda-sia-te Daii*, I must preach the kingdom of God to other cities also: for therefore I am sent:

kia o-doma wadili a-iibo fa l-ici wa lo-iyu wa, therefore shall a man leave his father and mother (Gen. II, 24):

ki-o-doma ki bajia loko-no anda l-irabudiki, toraha a-dokota-hu l-onyi-sia o-konomun n-akonnabo-n o-doma. Ki-o-doma Pharisee-no ajia goba, For this cause the people also met him, for that they heard that he had done this miracle. The Pharisees therefore said (J. XII, 18, 19):

ki-hia na-sikita goba di akeroia Jerusalem warea Roma-no akabo roko mun, yet was I delivered prisoner from Jerusalem into the hands of the Romans (Acts XXVIII, 17), *ki-hia-ki onyikita-hu wakaia-hu anda fa-te*, for it must needs be that offences come (Mt. XVIII, 7):

kenbena ki ba a-sweardoa-hu abu abakoro l-a goba ajia-n, and again he denied with an oath (no he-did saying):

Naii ki ka kabuini-no Noah sanoci, naii ki o-rea-ci onnibita goba to-makwa ororo ajeago-ji man, These are the three sons of Noah: and of them was the whole earth overspread:

kenbena l-anda ki ka ba, l-auciga goba ie adunka n-a-n ka, and he came and found them asleep again, *l-ajia ki ka ba lo-mun biama-hi*, he saith to him again the second time:

da-kalimeta goba n, da-kalimeti ki fa ba n, I have both glorified it, and will glorify it again:

kenbena c-imeoda ki goba ba l-augici Abel, and she again bare his brother Abel;

l-ausa ki kiana ba, a-kwaiabo-n-wa, ajia-n kia ki ajia-hu, and again he went away, and prayed and spake the same words;

l-akodwa ki koma ba biama-hi lo-iyu adibeyu o-lokomun, kena ka-raia ma i? can he enter the second time into his mother's womb, and be born?

n-aiita lihi-ki-n i a-bolliti-ci goba a-kwaiabo-n ie Isa-tu-wabu temple-isibo mun, and they knew that it was he which sat for alms at the Beautiful gate of the temple, *kenbena ika tu Jesus atima ki-n|ba mihu o-loko t-oalabaw mairia*, and when Jesus was passed over again by ship unto the other side, *kenbena Jerusalem mun d-anda ki-n bena ba*, and it came to pass, that, when I was come again to Jerusalem.

See also *ki jia, ki jin* etc., § 88 [e]).

§ 51. [a]) *Kena*, and; *ke* points to preceding events, *na* continuation;

[b]) *Kenbena*, and after that, thereupon; *ke-n-bena* (§ 59 [c])).

(In the narrative, beginning L. I, 5:) *To-moroa angel ajia goba lo-mun, M-amaro-n bu, Zacharias, bu-kwaiabo-n-wa l-akonnabo-n o-doma, kena b-iretu Elisabeth ka-sa fa b-aiici wa, kenbena bu-iriti fa i John, ma-in*. But the angel said unto him, Fear not, Zacharias: for thy prayer is heard; and thy wife Elisabeth shall bear thee a son, and thou shalt call his name John;

[c]) *Kenbena ki*.

kenbena ki Jesus a-iinata goba ajia-n, H-isifuda, from that time Jesus began to preach, and to say, Repent (Mt. IV, 17).

§ 52. [a]) *Kia-n bena*.

kia-n bena lo-fitikida, and after these things he went forth, *kia-n bena, Joseph Arimathea kon-di ... a-kwaiaba goba Pilate l-onnaki-n bia Jesus ifiro-hu*, and after this Joseph of Arimathæa ... besought Pilate that he might take away the body of Jesus;

[b]) *Kia-ni warea* (§ 97 [c])).

kia-ni warea ki Adaie-li ataba-kota goba ie, from thence did the Lord scatter them abroad, *kia-ni warea kwa l-a goba m-ajia-ni-n*, and (since he) remained speechless.

§ 53. *Kiana*, "events are proceeding"; *kia*, with *na*, continuation.

ika ki Pilate onnaka goba Jesus kiana; lo-boraga goba i, then Pilate therefore took Jesus, and scourged him, *Jesus a-fitikida goba kiana, eketoia yurua kwawma abu, bonaro-tu waji-tu eke-hu abu. H-adeka lihi loko! l-a kiana Pilate ajia-n na-mun*, then came Jesus forth, wearing the crown of thorns, and the purple robe. And Pilate saith unto them, Behold the man! *m-aiima-hu ho-mun: l-a ki kiana Jesus ajia-n na-mun ba*, then said Jesus to them again, Peace be unto you, *a-herakida n-a-n ka, n-adagata kiana i, Adaie-li*, when they therefore were come together, they asked of him, saying, Lord, etc., *na-bokwa kiana ia lo-mairikota-n o-bora*, and they were astonished at his doctrine;

S. presumably uses *kiahanna*, corresponding to B. *kiana*, only in the signification given by Sm., viz. "darum, folglich".

Acts I, 21—22 *kiahanna ikissida-n wa|ppa-i*, wherefore (ordain we shall), V, 26 *kiahanna Capitain a-ussa hidda lü-ssananutti u-ma Apostel-nu ibiti*, then went the captain with the officers (to the Apostles), III, 19 *uüssadükittu-nn-ua rubu h-ā-li kiahañ*, repent ye therefore, XVII, 19 *nabukutta kiahanna i*, and they took him, XVIII, 6 *maribe-ni-ka kiahanna de!* I am clean, XXVI, 3 *kiahanna da-kujaba bu-mün*, wherefore I beseech thee.

§ 54. *Hinna, hiña* is used by S. to indicate that events are proceeding: *hi* gentle affirmation (§ 109), *nna* continuation.

Acts XIX, 25 *Wadili-nu, h-aditta hinna*, Sirs, ye know, etc., XIX, 34 *akannabü-n n-a-ni-ka Judu hinna i u-kunnamün*, but when they knew (heard) that he was a Jew, XXVII, 33 *bibitikuttihi-benna-li kassakkabbuhü dannuhu hinna-n awâbaddü-n w-a-ni-ka m-äki-ni ma-hüa, ma-buju-nn-ua-kebé hinna u*, this day is the fourteenth day that ye have tarried and continued fasting, having taken nothing, II, 25 *David ahaka hiña kuba luburamün*, for David speaketh concerning him, V, 36 *lu-morrua heika hiña i*, who was slain.

§ 55. *Ika*, the time at which an event takes place; comp. §§ 28 [e], 29.

[a]) *abar-li Agabus ci iri, ajinama goba, Sa-tu Ialoko abu ahaka-n, to-makwa ororo ajeago-ji man ifiro-tu amisia-ika fa, ma-in: t-adiki amisia ika anda-te Claudius Cesar kasakabo o-loko*, and there stood up one of them named Agabus, and signified by the spirit that there should be great dearth throughout all the world: which came to pass in the days of Claudius Cæsar, *murriga-ci hui! oraro o-konomun bajia h-aiita ia bari-n, alika h-a kiana m-aici-ni-n toho ika o-konomun?* ye hypocrites, ye can discern the face of the sky and of the earth; but how is it that ye do not discern this time? *kena yuho-li loko-no a-kwaiaboa goba na-makwa t-isibomun, incense ika*, and the whole multitude of the people were praying without at the time of incense, *aloma t-a-n ororo yaraha-n t-iibo fa koro t-isi-ika, c-iwi-ika bajia*, while the earth remaineth, seed-time and harvest ... shall not cease, *a-kwaiaboa-hu ika*, at the hour of prayer;

[b]) as an independent clause:

[1]) *ika wakaia-hu ikisida ie, na-tikida*, and in time of temptation fall away, lit. occurs evil tempts them, they-fall, *ika angel a-koiwa t-aurea*, and the angel departed from her (L. I, 38);

[2]) with *koro*, negation:

Adaie-li, yaha-ni ka bu: ika koro da-ciligici a-oda ma, Lord, if thou hadst been here, my brother had not died, *Wadili, Isa goba ma ho-mun h-akonnabo-n ka di, ma-dokodo-n-wa w-a-n-te Crete warea, ika koro h-auciga ma toho aboadwa-hu a-boredwa-hu bajia*, Sirs, ye should have hearkened unto me, and not have loosed from Crete, and to have gained this harm and loss;

[3]) with *ki*, announcing a new part of the narration;

4) with *tu* (comp. also *yumuni ki, yumun tu,* § 71 b) 4), *manswa ki, manswa tu,* § 148, *ama tu,* § 139 b) 1), *aloman tu,* § 139 b) 3) ; *tu* = its ?) and a secondary clause (action-word with the ending *-n* or *-ni*) :

ika ki lo-mairikoto-sia-no anda goba ajia-ibici lo-mun, then came his disciples, and said unto him, *kenbena ika tu lo-mairikoto-sia-no andi-n t-oalabaw mun, n-aiikasia goba meli n-onnaki-n bia,* and when his disciples were come to the other side, they had forgotten to take bread, *ika ki Herod tetrarch akonnaba goba ajia-hu Jesus o-konomun,* at that time Herod the tetrarch heard of the fame of Jesus, *kenbena ika tu Jesus akonnabo-ni n, yu warea ki l-ausa goba,* when Jesus heard of it, he departed thence, *ika tu Jesus a-fitikidi-n yuho-li loko-no l-adeka goba, nokonne goba na-konomun kiana i, kena l-isada goba aboa-ci-no na-mun,* and Jesus went forth, and saw a great multitude, and was moved with compassion toward them, and he healed their sick ;

c) *ika tu goba, ika tu fa, ika ki ba, ika tu ki :*

ika tu goba Pentecost kasakabo andi-n, abar o-loko goba ie na-makwa, and when the day of Pentecost was fully come, they were all with one accord in one place, *to-moroa ika tu fa n-akudi-ni hu toho bawhu-yuho o-loko, h-ateda-li aba bawhu-yuho o-lokomun i-ro,* but when they persecute you in this city, flee ye into another, *tanahu d-ahaka-ga ho-mun, t-andi-n o-bora, ki-o-doma ika tu fa-te t-andi-n, h-ikiduada ma lihi-ki Daii,* now I tell you before it come, that, when it is come to pass, ye may believe that I am he, *ika tu a-furi-ni n, k-iwi goba bajia n, ika ki ba ka-raia goba tare,* but when the blade was sprung up, and brought forth fruit, then appeared the tares also, *aiika-hu-sikwa sanoci ma-koto-koto-ni h-a ma kiana, ika tu ki aiika-ci na-ma-n ?* can ye make the children of the bridechamber fast, while the bridegroom is with them ? *b-adeka, ika tu ki b-ajia-n andi-n d-akuyuko o-lokomun, da-sa adehada-ga d-adibeyo o-loko alikibi o-doma !* for, lo, as soon as the voice of thy salutation sounded in mine ears, the babe leaped in my womb for joy, *toho ki ci-biamti-tu Jesus a-dokota-sia, ika tu ki l-andi-n Judea warea Galilee mun,* this is again the second miracle that Jesus did when he was come out of Judæa into Galilee.

§ 56. *-Moroa,* with a pronominal prefix, is used in order to express "but", "however", see § 120 b).

CHAPTER VI

K; B

§ 57. The *k* in Arawak implies activity; in contrast with this, the *b* is used to indicate "being at rest". The way in which *k* is used often reminds one of "creation at work", "the idea or the principle that becomes phenomenon", *b* of "the manner in which that which has been created manifests itself, the appearance".

G denotes the same as *k*, but is perhaps a degree milder (§ 5, forms 4; § 88 b)).

It seems possible that the use of *χ*, *kh* (noted by G.), *gk* (used by some of the Moravians), *k* or *g*, is determined by the strength with which one wishes to express the *k*-principle. Moreover some influence probably comes from the other sounds of the word, and finally there may be personal differences in the speakers themselves and in those who wrote that down.

§ 58. *Bi*; *b* appearance, *i* quick, light.

a) immediate past.

1) *b-iki-bi kia ada iwi?* ... *ama toho b-onyi bi?* hast thou eaten of the (fruit of) the tree? ... what is this that thou hast done? (Gen. III, 11, 13), *ama l-onyi bi bu-mun?* ... *d-ahaka bi ho-mun ibi*, what did he to thee? ... I have told you already (J. IX, 26, 27):

2) *l-isiki bi ororoli d-akosi ajeago-ji, kena da-sogoso bi n, kena d-adika*, he put clay upon mine eyes, and I washed, and do see, *kidua-ni ka Adaie-li akenako-n-wa, Simon o-mun l-iraiato bi*, the Lord is risen indeed, and hath appeared to Simon, *da-burite-sia ki da- buriti bi*, what I have written, I have written, *Adaie-li, b-onnaki faroka bi yaha rea i*, Sir, if thou have borne him hence;

3) *ibi*, used in the same way as the auxiliary verb *a*.

m-adeki-n d-ibi yara o-loko lo-ma bu? did not I see thee in the garden with him? (J. XVIII, 26), *Daii ki, d-ibi ahaka-n ho-mun*, I have told you that I am he (J. XVIII, 8):

b) *ibi-n*, not long ago, already.

Annas imigoda goba ibin i akeraia Caiaphas priest-no afudyi o-mun, now Annas had sent him bound unto Caiaphas the high priest (J. XVIII, 24), *Pilate m-aiici-n ma alika l-a-n a-odo-n ibin*, and Pilate marvelled if he were already dead (Mk. XV, 44), *ikiduadi-ci i aboadikitoa koro: to-moroa m-ikiduadi-n-ci i aboadikitoa, ibin*, he that believeth on him is not condemned: but he that believeth not is condemned already;

c) 1) *ibi*, to be ready, to be accomplished.

to-makwa ibi-ka, all things are ready, *ibi-ka, c-ikisi andi-n*, it is enough, the hour is come (Mk. XIV, 41), *to-moroa hui ikisi ibi-ka kasakabo man*, but your time is alway ready, *kena ibi-ci oaboddi-n* (to wait) *akodwa goba*, and they that were ready went in, *kabuin-timen kasakabo ibi-ka*, and when eight days were accomplished, *ma-hara h-a-te, to-makwa ibi-ni o-doma*, come: for all things are now ready;

2) I) *a-iibi-*, to leave (A. M. § 182, 144), *a-iibo-(n-wa)*, to end;

II) *iibidi-*, to prepare, to fulfill, *iibido-(n-wa)*, to be fulfilled, *iibidikiti-*, to cause to fulfill;

III) *ibiti-*, to burn, *ibito-(n-wa)*, to be burned, scorched;

d) 1) *ibi-ci*.

I) lightly touched (thing, place).

See examples in § 6, and: *ire-no andia-te d-ibici*, suffer the little children to come unto me, *fig-ada ibici h-adeka to-makwa ada ibici bajia*, behold the fig tree, and all the trees (L. XXI, 29), *Wacinaci adeka goba ororo ibici*, and God looked upon the earth, *h-adeka-li hui c-ibici*, see ye to it (Mt. XXVII, 24), *abaren d-imigoda b-ibici i*, I sent (him) straightway to thee, *d-ausa aiomun bonna-n, Da-ci ibici, hui Icinaci ki ibici*, I ascend unto my Father, and your Father, *loko-no o-rea da-borati fa bu, akirikia-no o-rea bajia, k-ibici-ci d-imigodo-ni bu tanahu*, delivering (lit. I will deliver) thee from people, and from the Gentiles, unto whom now I send thee;

II) done in a light manner (?).

kenbena lo-mairikoto-sia-no anda goba onnaka ibici l-ifiro-hu, n-akarata goba n, kenbena n-ausa goba ahaka-ibici Jesus o-mun, and his disciples came, and took up the body, and buried it, and went and told Jesus, *h-adeka, Adaie-li angel ka-raia Joseph o-mun, lo-tobonia, Egypt mun, Ajia- ibici, B-akenakwa*, behold, an angel of the Lord appeareth in a dream to Joseph in Egypt, Saying, Arise, *abar-li n-adaiana-sia anda goba a-kwaiaboa-ibici lo-mun*, there came a certain ruler, and worshipped him, (saying):

2) I) *ibibidi-*, to touch; G. *ĕbébedi-*, to feel (transitive);

II) Sm.*bibiri*, dragon-fly;

III) Sm. *bimiti*, humming-bird, colibri (A. M. § 182, 92);

IV) *bilibili-ro*, the lightning;

V) *ibini-*, to dance; (this might have a mystic meaning, comp. VI));

VI) R. *bina*, Sm. *ibbihi, ibbina*, remedy, charm; B. *ibihidi-*, Sm. *ibbihiki-*, to heal (the medicine-man) (A. M. § 182, 137);

VII) *ibiki-*, to cut, to wound;

VIII) *ibira*, to mock, Sm. spielen, scherzen, im Guten und Bösen;

e) *ki-bi*, or *k-ibi*, very, exceedingly.

1) *kena isa kibi t-a*, and, behold, it was very good (Gen. I, 31), *ki-jia t-a aiomun iibido-n-wa, ororo bajia, to-makwa kibi to-loko-tu bajia*, thus the heavens and the earth were finished and all the host of them,

kenbena yuho-li kibi loko-no ausa goba l-iinabo, and there followed him great multitudes of people, *ama jia kibi l-a lihi ?* what manner of man is this ? (Mk. IV, 41), *ama kibi o-konomun-tu toho ?* what meaneth this ? (Acts II, 12), *isa-tu-kibi ajia-hu*, gracious words, *aloman kiana kari-kibi t-a da-mun c-iibido-n-wa o-bora !* and how am I straitened (*kari*, to suffer) till it be accomplished!

²) *kibe-n*.

oniabu a-murretia kokki-tu a-iadi-tu yuho kibe-n, let the waters bring forth abundantly the moving creature that has life, *abar hiaro k-amun-tu ka-iauna kibe-n-tu· ointment alabaster kasa o-loko*, a woman having an alabaster box of very precious ointment, *t-aji-kibe-n-tu ajia-hu wakaia-hu o-rea-n o-doma*, for whatsoever is more than these (words) cometh of evil, *b-adeka alika kibe-n-tu siba yaha, alika kibe-n-tu ifiro-tu bawhu bajia*, see what manner of stones and what buildings are here, *aba-hi kibe-n*, in a moment of time (L. IV, 5) (comp. § 59 c) 2)).

c) *ibi kibi, ibi kibi bo* (§ 62).

t-adiki-tu sabbath kasakabo o-loko ibikibi hara na-herakida-n bawhu yuho kono-no, akonnabo-n Wacinaci ajia-n, and the next sabbath day came almost the whole city together to hear the word of God, *da-tu ibi kibi bo a-odo-n*, my daughter is even now dead.

§ 59. *Be* is closely related to *bi*, and sometimes they are difficult to distinguish from each other. In so far as there is a difference in meaning, it seems that *be* implies more substantiality than *bi*.

a) *be*.

1) fulness, plentitude.

waii o-mun misi-ka n barin, w-onyi-sia-be iauna w-auciga waii: to-moroa amakoro wakaia-hu lihi onyi-be goba, and we indeed justly: for we receive the due reward of our deeds; but this man hath done nothing amiss; *to-moroa toho, k-amunaiga-tu wabu barin a-boreda aradi-n to-makwa t-amuni-sia, c-ikitwa-sia be abu*, but she of her want did cast in all that she had, even all her living, *tanahu robu-in w-adeka m-adeki-n|w-a-sia be !* we have seen strange things to day, *yumun-tu be n-akwaiabo-n-wa*, where prayer was wont to be made, *l-aiici-n bia aloma-be-n-tu n-aucigi-n t-aji-sabu*, that he might know how much every man had gained [by trading];

2) plurality.

1) *wakaia-be-ci, isa-be-ci bajia*, both bad and good (guests, Mt. XXII, 10), *isa-be-tu pearls*, goodly pearls, *imilia-be-tu wahadu-be-tu bajia*, things new and old, *kalime-be-tu bia kia*, let them be for lights, *ifiro-be-tu himi*, great whales, *to-makwa k-adina-be-tu kodibiyu*, every winged fowl, *to-makwa kokki-be-tu a-iadi-tu ororo ajeago-ji*, every living thing that moveth upon the earth, *ma-boredi-n h-a-li pearl h-amuni-be-tu poroko isibo-mun*, neither cast ye your pearls before swine, *na-iinata-ga kiana ajia-n aba-be-tu ajia-hu abu*, (they) began to speak with other tongues;

II) *kudibiyu-bi*, the (i.e. a great many) birds, G. *hime-be*, fishes, *wiwa-be*, stars, *toho-be*, these (things, plural), *báka-be wabo* (§ 121 [d)] [1)]) *th-ábokoáwa*, a herd of cows, *kudibiyu-be wabo th-ábokoáwa*, a flight of birds;

[2]) parallel to § 58 [a)] [2]), *ebe*.

kokke kwa d-ebe isa-hi abu Wacinaci isibo-mun tanahu kwon, I have lived in all good conscience before God until this day, *m-iitesia-n d-ebe alika-i jiali plate-n*, I have coveted no man's silver, *m-akonnabo-n w-ebe abaren ama Sa-tu Ialoko-hu-n*, we have not so much as heard whether there be any Holy Ghost, *m-aridi-n h-ebe*, have ye never read (Mt. XXI, 16);

[b]) *ibe*, to be full.

[1]) *to-moroa a-bota-sia abu ibe ho-lok-oa hu, wakaia-hu abu bajia*, but your inward part is full of ravening and wickedness, *Sa-tu Ialoko abu ibe fa i*, and he shall be filled with the Holy Ghost, *lihi ibe-sia o-rea*, of his fulness (J. I, 16), *Ajia-hu ... ibe-tu isa-hi abu kidua-hu abu*, the Word ...full of grace and truth, *nete l-aiyuraka goba ororo mun, ibe-tu ifiro-tu himi abu*, (he) drew the net to land full of great fishes;

[2]) *ibikiti-*, S. *e-bekitti-*, to fill;

[c]) [1]) *bena*, after, see § 38; *be*, full, *na*, continuation (§ 79 [a)]);

[2]) I) *k-ibena*, to be a long time, *m-ibena*, to be a short time.

kena yumuni ki k-ibena goba i, and there he abode, *yumuni ki k-ibena goba na-ma i, lo-baptize()da goba*, and there he tarried with them, and baptized, *m-akosi fa kiana bu, k-ibena fa m-adeki-n b-a-n adaili ba*, and thou shalt be blind, not seeing the sun for a season, *k-ibena-n bena ma-koto-n n-a-n*, but after long (their) abstinence, *m-ibena di, kenbena m-adeki-n ho fa di; aba m-ibena fa ba di, kenbena h-adeki fa di*, a little while, and ye shall not see me: and again, a little while, and ye shall see me, *m-onyi-ti l-a-n o-doma k-ibena goba i*, and he would not (do) for a time;

II) *m-aici-n n-a ama ibenata-n i temple o-loko*, and marvelled that he tarried so long in the temple, lit. not-knowing they-did what to be a long time causing him temple in;

[3]) *ibena*, a part.

ma-siki-n l-a goba ororo ibena lo-mun, and he gave him none inheritance in it, *vine-kabuea iwi ibena na-siki-n bia lo-mun*, that they should give him of the fruit of the vineyard, *isa-n bu-mun o-doma abar b-ibena aboado-n-wa bia*, for it is profitable for thee that one of thy members should perish;

[4]) *abena*, a portion (?) in:

h-isika wa-mun h-oili-a abena, give us of your oil, *na-makwa na-tata-o-kona m-aben-tu*, every man according to his ability.

§ 60. *Ba*; *b* appearance, *a* time-reality.

[a]) again, also.

[1]) *lo-sogoso-n bena na-kuti, l-onnaka goba l-eki wa lo-bollita goba*

ba, so after he had washed their feet, and had taken his garments, and was set down again, *to-moroa d-adeki fa ba hu*, but I will see you again, *c-iialoko anda kiana ba*, and her spirit came again, *aunaki-ci ki d-imigidosia jiaro, aunaka Daii ba*, he that receiveth whomsoever I send receiveth me (also), *isa-hi h-onyi-li, a-tenabo-in, m-aucigi-n h-a-n bia amateli ba*, and do good, and lend, hoping for nothing again, *kena kaarta l-isiribida, l-isiki-n bia c-ikita-kwon-ci omuni ba n*, and he closed the book, and he gave it again to the minister, *kia-n bena aba jia l-a goba a-raiato-n-wa ba*, after that he appeared (again) in another form, *naii bajia ausa kiana ahaka-n aba-no o-mun, m-ikiduadi-n n-a bajia naii ba ie*, and they (also) went and told it unto the residue: neither believed they them, *m-ibena kiben t-adiki aba-li adeka ba i*, and after a little while another saw him (L. XXII, 58):

2) S., G. *a-balli*, B. *a-bolli*, to pass, to occur;

3) Sm. *bállida*, a comb, *a-ballidü-*, to comb. S. *a-ballidâ-ni-bá-n*, speaking evil ("to comb out"?): (A. M. § 182, 58):

4) Sm. *báiara*, a saw-fish;

5) Sm. *báijabu*, a centipede; *iabo*, behind, § 66;

b) *b-anda-te, b-adeki ba- te*, come and see (thou), *h-anda-te, h-adeki ba-te*, come and see (ye), *b-osa, bu-simaki ba b-ireci wa, kenbena b-anda-te yaha ba*, go, call thy husband, and come hither, *w-asiga-te Bethlehem mun i-ro, w-adeki-ba-te toho*, let us now go even unto Bethlehem, and see this thing, *bui aunti ba w-ansi-sia ifirokoro ka o-bora*, buy those things that we have need of against the feast;

c) 1) *iba, eba*, the last, the end (connected with § 58 c)).

yu warea mamari fa bu-fitikidi-n, plata iba-n isogo-tu ka-in b-aradi-n o-bora a-iaunti-n, thou shalt by no means come out thence, till thou hast paid the uttermost farthing, *kenbena ika tu fa-te t-eba-ni andi-n*, and then shall the end [of the world] come, *kasakabo iba-ni o-loko*, at the last day;

2) *t-ebo-n-wa* in: *to-moroa oaboddi-ci t-ebo-n-wa o-bora, lihi-ki isado fa*, but he that shall endure unto the end, the same shall be saved (comp. also *a-iibo-(n-wa)*, § 58 c) 2) 1), in: *kenbena ika tu Jesus a-iibo-n-wa ajia-n toraha*, and it came to pass, when Jesus had ended these sayings, *ma-iibo-n-wa-tu kokke-hu*, everlasting life);

d) *aba*, some, other, another.

1) *aba a-tikida goba waboroko-sa ... aba a-tikida goba yurua o-koboroko*, some (of the seed) fell by the way side ... and some fell among thorns, *ma-iaukwa l-a ki goba ba aba biam-timen kasakabo o-loko*, and he stayed yet other seven days, *ama ibia kiana w-ansi-ka aba ahaka-ci bia ba ?* what need we any further witnesses ? *Mary Magdalene aba Mary anda goba*, came Mary Magdalene and the other Mary, *na-iinata-ga kiana ajia-n aba-be-tu ajia-hu abu*, and (they) began to speak with other tongues, *akwaiaboa l-a-n ka aba mun*, as he was praying in a certain place, *bilibiliro a-kalimeti-tu aiomun abomun aba warea, aba mun i-ro aiomun*

abomun a-kalimeti-tu bajia, ki jiari ki lo fa-i loko Aiici lo-kasakabo o-loko, for as the lightning, that lighteneth out of the one part under heaven, shineth unto the other part under heaven; so shall also the Son of man be in his day;

2) *aba*, a, one, *abar, abar-li, aba-ro, aba-no*, see § 152;

3) *aba-koro*, no, § 136 d);

4) *aba-ba*, again.

aba-ba, h-akonnaba goba wakili-ci-no ajia-n, again, ye have heard that it hath been said by them of old time;

5) *abati-*, to alter, *abato-(n-wa)*, to be altered;

6) G. *waboroko abágoda-(n)*, two roads cross each other:

7) G. *aba-loko, aba-roko*, several;

e) *bania, banyia*, lasting some time; *nia* continuing in a free manner.

ika tu yauhahu iibidi-n ikisidi-n wakaia abu i, t-iiba banyia i, and when the devil had ended all the temptation, he departed from him for a season, *toraha l-ajia-n bena na-mun, Galilee mun kwa-re l-a bania*, when he had said these words unto them, he abode still in Galilee, *ire-no orosidoia banyia*, let the children first be filled, *Adaie-li, b-oabodda da-bora banyia*, Lord, have patience with me.

§ 61. *Ko* or *ku*; *k* creative force, *o, u* remains at rest, or manifests itself in space.

a) "faculty, power", for instance *ieni-ko*, cleverness, § 91, *ime-ko*, readiness, § 73 b), S. *malli-ku*, able to, § 74 d); B. *ki l-eke o-mun t-akosa-ko kowa* (§ 143) *goba*, now the coat was without seam (*akosa*, needle);

b) "place, position", for instance *o-loko, roko*, in, *ajeago*, upon:

c) intensifying, in: Sm. *hallikebbe-kû*, or, *hallikebbe-maké*, to be very glad (§ 48 e)), *hallikebbe*, to be glad:

d) S.: also (and).

na( )ussa a-ijukarrâ-n na-ssiqua-i n-äni ku, and (they went) and sold their possessions and goods, *Creta-kunna-na, Arabia-kunna-na ku*, Cretes and Arabians, *hiaru-nu u-ma, Maria Jesus u-ju u-ma ku*, with the women, and Mary the mother of Jesus.

In B.'s texts *ko* has been found only in the following sentences: *aloman-ci da-ci a-iaunti-sia l-isanonoci wa k-amuni-ga yuhoro kibi meli na-siki-sia ma ko, daii a-oda bo* (§ 62) *amisia abu*, how many hired servants of my father's have bread enough and to spare, and I perish with hunger, *priest-no afudyi-no, a-buriti-ci-no bajia lo-kona mun goba habe-ci-no ko bajia*, the chief priests and the scribes came upon him with the elders;

e) S. *kü-ssa*, or; *ssa* is probably an intensifying particle (§ 116 d) 10)), comp. § 179 f).

lui l-oaja lu-kunnamonn-ua, aba u-kunnamün küssa baha ? [speaketh he] of himself, or of some other man ? *a-hudu-tti mammalli-pa akünneku-nn-ua ba, abbâ-kurru Engel, üjahü küssa jarraha badja*, [saying] there is

no resurrection, neither angel, nor spirit, *m-ansi-rubu|da|kubā|n platta, karrukulli üssa-huabu küssa, āke-hu diarru hu-uria*, I have coveted no man's silver, or gold, or apparel, *aboā-ttu l-ani-ssia, ma-kuburukkua-hū küssa*, [if it were] a matter of wrong or wicked lewdness.

§ 62. *Bo* adds to the meaning of a word the principle of "without motion", "to remain at rest for a time".

a) *loko Aiici ausa-bo barin, ki-jia t-a a-burito-n-wa lo-konomun*, the Son of man goeth as it is written of him, *h-ahaka-li Sion o-tu o-mun, B-adeka, b-Adaie-n-wabu anda bo-te b-ibici*, tell ye the daughter of Sion, Behold, thy King cometh unto thee, *wadili h-isiki-sia siba-o-loko ajinama bo temple o-loko a-mairikota-n bo loko-no*, behold, the men whom ye put in prison are standing in the temple, and teaching the people, *Jesus Nazareth kon-di a-bolli-ga bo, n-a ahaka-n lo-mun*, and they told him, that Jesus of Nazareth passeth by (L. XVIII, 37) ; G. *l-odó-ya-bo*, he is dying (*l-ōda*, he has died) ;

b) *Jesus adeka bo ka l-ikira-ji wa*, and Jesus looked round about (Mk. X, 23), *meli n-akurrada-bo goba bajia*, and (they) breaking bread (*akurradi-*, to break), *akurrada-bo-ho meli abu*, [they continued] in breaking of bread, *akurrada-bo-sia ibara-tu*, the fragments [of bread] that remain ; G. *a-šifudā-bo-či*, one who hesitates ;

c) *kari-tu hori sanoci hui, alika aicikita ho-mun h-atedi-n bia-te k-aiima-hu andi-tu bo-te o-bora-ji ?* o generation of vipers, who has warned you to flee from the wrath to come ? *to-makwa abona-gira-hu bo-in kia koro Da-ci aiomun kon-di abone-sia, erigo fa*, every plant, which my heavenly Father hath not planted, shall be rooted up, *kena b-onnaki fa bu-mun-wa to-makwa a-kota-he eke-sia-bu-in*, and take thou unto thee of all food that is eaten ;

d) *Paul a-siki-n bo lo-kab-oa na-si ajeago, Sa-tu Ialoko bajia anda n-ajeago mun*, and when Paul had laid his hands upon them, the Holy Ghost came on them, *Galilee bara rifu-ji l-akona-n bo Simon l-adeka*, now as he walked by the sea of Galilee, he saw Simon, *a-odo-ci sikwa mun n-anda, adaili a-fitikidi-n bo*, they came unto the sepulchre at the rising of the sun, *kidua-ni bo loko Aiici ausi-n barin, ki jiari ki t-a-n bia i*, and truly the Son of man goeth, as it was determined, *na-forra-ti-n* (*ti*, § 110) *bo i, aba-no ahaka-ga ifili-ci soldaro-no capitan o-mun*, and as they went about to kill him, tidings came unto the chief captain of the band, *Paul akodwa ti-n bo loko-no o-koboroko mun, lo-mairikoto-sia -no m-ausi( )kita ti goba i*, and when Paul would have entered in unto the people, the disciples suffered him not ;

e) *ika tu bo kasakabo hara-n*, and when the day began to wear away (L. IX, 12), *ika tu bo l-itimati-n Achaia ororo mun i-ro*, and when he was disposed to pass into Achaia (Acts XVIII, 27), *ika tu bo Peter a-kodo-n-wa, Cornelius ausa l-irabudiki*, and as Peter was coming in, Cornelius met him (Acts X, 25) ;

eA) G. *l-a-bo*, he was, did, said, §§ 214 (8), 215 (2, 18), S. *kiahanna d-a-bu-te hu-mün*, and now I say unto you;

f) 1) *a-bota*, to catch away, to spoil;

2) *a-bokoto-*, to lay hold on, to, hold;

3) *a-bokodo-kwona-hu itimi*, the rudder bands, S. *abukudu-tti-kill*, the master (or mate) of the ship;

4) G. *ka-budya*, little being left (for instance if there is a lot of fruits of which many people have partaken, *bo-bódyatá-ya-da*, thou hast made it less, taken much); *a-búdia-či*, a corpse, *ho-bodya-to* (f.), your corpse, is said in a house where death has taken place, to avoid using the word *a-odo-či*; comp., however, *bodi*, stiff.

§ 63. a) 1) *O-kona*, at, on, attached to, concerning; *ko* with *na*, continuation.

Pareciyu adeki-n kona kari-tu a-iyuhodo-n-wa lo-kabo o-kona, and when the barbarians saw the venomous beast hang on his hand, *alika-i jiali a-siki-ci lo-kab-oa plough* o-*kona*, [no] man, having put his hand to the plough, *kena ama-koro to-bana robu-in l-auciga goba to-kona*, and (he) found nothing thereon, but leaves only, *a-burrida-tu o-kona l-isikoia*, let him be crucified, *kenbena na-kodo-sia yurua kwama na-sika goba l-isi o-kona*, and when they had platted a crown of thorns, they put it on his head,*ma-kona-ci eke-hu*, and (a man which) ware no clothes, *ororo o-kona-tu*, earthly things, *aiomun-tu o-kona-tu*, heavenly things, *nokonne wa-kona-n bu*, have mercy on us, *waii ka-kona-ia l-itena*, *wa-sanoci bajia ka-kona-ia n*, his blood be on us, and on our children, *to-moroa to-kono-n goba koro ie*, *n-ausa goba*, but they made light of it, and went their ways (Mt. XXII, 5);

2) *kona*, when, see § 37;

2A) *o-kona*, nearly.

G. *bikidólia-koná-yada|i*, he looks young, *hálira-kuna(η*, whitish, *hehekhona(η*, yellowish, B. § 117 d) 2) *a-korogosa o-kona*, to tremble (= shake-like), § 90 b) *tata o-kona*, force, strength (= hard-like); § 134 a) 3) *kari-kona*, reproaching (= pain-like);

3) *o-kona mun*.

priest-no ... anda na-kona mun, the priests ... came upon them (Acts IV, 1);

4) *o-konomun*, concerning.

1) *m-aucigi-n wa kaarta bu-konomun-tu Judea warea, alika-i jiali koro w-augioci andi-ci a-dokota wakaia-tu ajia-hu bu-konomun*, we neither received letters out of Judæa concerning thee, neither any of the brethren that came shewed or spake any harm of thee, *isa goba kiana Adaie-li Abel o-konomun, l-isiki-sia o-konomun bajia. To-moroa Cain o-konomun goba koro i, l-isiki-sia koro bajia o-konomun*, and the Lord had respect unto Abel and to his offering: But unto Cain and to his offering he had not respect, *kabui-ni ʄa abakoro b-a-n ajia-n da-konomun*, thou shalt deny me

thrice; lit. three future no thy-doing speaking me-concerning, *ho-makwa hui akatadi ʄa Daii o-konomun*, all ye shall be offended because of me, *baru bajia bore-kwa ma ibin ada egura o-konomun*, and now also the axe is laid unto the root of the trees;

II) *Adaie-li, to-konomun ga koro bu ?* Lord, dost thou not care (L. X. 40), *to-moroa ama koro lo-konomun-ga a-ʄorra-kiti-tu bia i akera-kiti-tu bia jiaro i*, but to have nothing laid to his charge worthy of death or of bonds;

III) *ka-konaminda goba kiana na-bolliti-n*, and they sat down in ranks;

b) 1) *o-kon-di*, pl. *o-kono-no*: *di* firmly established, standing.

bui ma-luiti-n ka oili da-si o-kona, to-moroa toho hiaro a-luita ointment da-kuti o-kon-di, my head with oil thou didst not anoint: but this woman hath anointed my feet with ointment, *ointment tu-luita to-kon-di*, (she) anointed them (the feet) with the ointment, *kena na-koida goba lo-kondi*, and (they) did spit upon him, *abar-li wadili to-makwa lo-kon-di isere-ci*, a man full of leprosy, *Samaria o-kono-no bawhu-yuho-n o-lokomun ma-kodo-n-wa h-a-li*, into any city of the Samaritans enter ye not, *l-isikwa o-kono-no*, them of his household, *wadili-no Niniveh o-kono-no*, the men of Nineveh, *Nineve o-kono-no*, the Ninevites;

2) m. *kon-di*, S. *kun-di*, f. *kon-du*, S. *kun-du*, pl. *kono-no*, S. *kunná-na*.

Wacinaci, aiomun kon-di bui, Our Father which art in heaven, *Egypt kon-di lo-korata kiana, a-ʄorri-n i*, (he) smote the Egyptian, *yumun kon-di k-abue-l-ci ibici l-ausa kiana lo-ma-n bia i*, and he went and joined himself to a citizen of that country, *lihi-ki Samaria kon-di*, and he was a Samaritan, *alika ba bui Jew adagato-n bu-ta-ni-wa daii Samaria kon-du o-rea ?* how is it, that thou, being a Jew, askest drink of me, which am a woman of Samaria ? *Jew-no Samaria kono-no ma eraga-n ma-n na-muni- kwawa o-doma*, for the Jews have no dealings with the Samaritans, *Parthia kono-no, Media kono-no*, Parthians, and Medes, *yuho-li Israel kono-no*, many in Israel, *yuho-li aiomun kono-no*, a multitude of the heavenly host;

3) *kon-tu* has been met with in: *Jordan eribo-kon-tu ororo ajeago-ji l-anda kiana*, and he came in all the country about Jordan;

4) *kondi-tu* has been met with in: *wakaukili ho()bawhu-yuho-n warea-tu wa-kondi-tu w-arauada wa-kona-rea w-a-n ho-konomun*, even the very dust of your city, which cleaveth on us, we do wipe off against you:

S. *Pamphylia kundu-ttu Stadt*, a town in Pamphylia;

5) in the following forms with *kondu, kondo*, the ending *u, o* perhaps does not point to the feminine gender, but to "space".

toho akabo-kon-du abu d-aiika-ga bu-ma, with this ring I thee wed, *kena akabo-kon-do-hu h-isika lo-kabo o-kona*, and (he) put a ring on his

hand, *biama goba kiana ma-kon-do-n ie*, and they were both naked, *ma-kondo-ia di*, (I was) naked.

§ 64. a) 1) I) S. *u-banna*, surface, at the surface of.

S. *aijumün kassakku u-banna, wunabu u-bana baddia*, [wonders] in heaven above ... and in the earth beneath;

II) *bonna*.

m-ibibidi-n b-a-te di: m-ausi-n kwa d-a-n aiomun bonna-n Da-ci ibici o-doma, touch me not; for I am not yet ascended to my Father, *totola a-sorokodo-kwona-hu kiana atagwa, aiomun bonna-n-tu bajia penster*, the fountains also of the deep and the windows of heaven were stopped, *ki-o-doma mihu o-loko l-iiga, a-bolliti-n bara bonna*, so that he entered into a ship, and sat in the sea, *kenbena ajia-hu lo-konomun ausa goba to-makwa toraha isikwa bonna-hi-ji*, and the fame of him went out into every place of the country round about;

2) *bona*, S. *bunna*, past tense, less recent than *bi* (§ 58 a)), and not so long ago as *goba* (§ 5).

I) *ma-iakato-n-wa o-loko na-boragi bona u m-ikisidi-n n-a-ia u, Roma-no bari-ni waii*, they have beaten us openly uncondemned, being Romans (Acts XVI, 37);

II) *ama tata-o-kona abu, alika-i iri abu, b-onyi bona toho?* by what power, or by what name, have ye done this? (Acts IV, 7), *ama o-doma mamari bona waii a-boredi-ni n?* why could not we cast him out? (Mk. IX, 28), *aloman tu hour o-loko sa-sabu bona i; l-a goba kiana adagato-n ie. Miaka, biam-timen hour o-loko audasia a-iibo bona i: n-a goba ajia-n lo-mun*, then enquired he of them the hour when he began to amend. And they said unto him, Yesterday at the seventh hour the fever left him;

III) *h-auada d-ibici, a-dokota-hu h-adeki-n bona o-doma koro, to-moroa meli h-eke-n bona o-doma, orosi-n bona o-doma hu*, ye seek me, not because you saw the miracles, but because ye did eat of the loaves, and were filled, *m-amaro-ni hu: d-aiici-n h-auadi-n Jesus ibici o-doma, a-burrida-tu o-kona-ci ki bona*, fear not ye: for I know that ye seek Jesus, which was crucified;

3) S. *u-bannamün, u-bannamân*.

S. *l-akannaba hidda|i lü-lesidi-n Esaia ü-kârta-n u-bannamün*, and (he) heard him read the prophet Esaias, *Judea u-bannamân*, [scattered throughout the regions] of Judæa;

4) I) *o-banna*, leaf (A. M. § 182, 112): Q. *u-bannabu-hü*. R. *to-banna-abu*, banab, temporary shelter, B. *bawna-boho*, tabernacle;

II) R. *o-banna(-hu)*, liver (A. M. § 182, 13);

III) *o-barra*, hair, Sm. *ú-bara*, hair, feathers (A. M. § 182, 115);

IV) Sm. *ú-bbadda*, nail, R. *o-bada*, claw (A. M. § 182, 114);

b) 1) S. *u-ban-di*.

S. *hurruru u-ban-di*, they that were [scattered] abroad (earth-surface), *n-amuda Sura-ban-di*, they went up in an upper room, *Samaria u-ban-di*,

[they passed] through Samaria, *kairi u-ban-di Paphos muniru*, [gone] through the isle unto Paphos;

²) *bon-di*.

wa-malamalada goba Adria bon-di, as we were driven up and down in Adria, *n-ausa ki ka ba bara bon-di*, they committed themselves unto the sea;

³) S. *u-banna-ttu*.

S. *w-anda Lycia u-banna-ttu Stadt — t-iri Myra — mün hidda*, we came to Myra, a city of Lycia.

§ 65. *Abu*; a time-reality, *bu* at rest, or *b* appearance, *u* in space.

a) with, by, on, in.

bui ki d-Aiici d-ansi-sia, bui abu ki d-iisaigatwa, thou art my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased, *wahajia h-adeki fa loko Aiici a-bolliti-n tata-o-kona iisa mairia, l-andi-n bo-te aiomun oraro abu*, hereafter shall ye see the Son of man sitting on the right hand of power, and coming in the clouds of heaven, *kena Beelzebub abu Daii a-boredi faroka yauhahu*, and if I by Beelzebub cast out devils, *siba abu l-ibikwa*, and (he) cutting himself with stones, *kena n-ekita goba i l-oaiya l-eke abu, kenbena n-ausa goba l-abu a-burrida-tu o-kona na-siki-n bia i*, and (they) put his own raiment on him, and led him away (lit. they went him-with) to crucify him, *h-erigi faroka tare, marisi bajia h-erigi fa t-abu*, lest while ye gather up the tares, ye root up also the wheat with them, *ho-bokota ho-kabo abu di*, handle me (L. XXIV, 39), *ama abu w-ekito fa?* wherewithal shall we be clothed? *misi-tu-ahaka-hu a-sikoa goba-te Moses abu barin*, the law was given by Moses, *hui a-baptizedo fa Sa-tu Ialoko abu*, ye shall be baptized with the Holy Ghost;

b) *abuia* or *abuie*, to feed (= calm appearance continuing for some time?); Sm. *abüja*, bush hog (A. M. § 182, 90).

§ 66. *Iabo*, probably "the outer (free) side".

t-anda yuho-li o-koboroko l-iabo-mun, (she) came in the press behind (him), *b-osa da-iiabo mairia, Satan*, get thee behind me, Satan, *kena bu-pesidi fa n to-loko mairia t-iabo mairia bajia pesi abu*, and (thou) shalt pitch it within and without with pitch, *l-iiabo-area lo-kuti amun t-ajinama a-ii-n*, and stood at his feet behind him weeping, *adeki-ci l-iabo-muniro*, (a man) looking back.

§ 67. *Bodi*, stiff; *bo*, at rest, *di*, to stand, to be stiff.

a) *bo-bodi*, (thy fish-)hook, Sm. *tattá-ru búdde-hi*, iron (strong) fish-hook (A. M. § 182, 56);

b) *tatta-budi-*, to be stiff (example § 79 a) 3) 1));

c) Sm. *búddali*, cassava-baking pan (A. M. § 182, 50A);

d) Sm. *buddahalálissi*, dead coal (comp. *balisi*, ash, § 116 b) 1));

e) Q. *u-buddalli-hü*, the knee, bone.

§ 68. *Botta*, or, rather; *bo* quiet appearance, *tta* emphasizing?

to-moroa h-ausa botta a-iyugara-ci-n ibici, but go ye rather to them

that sell, *John baptism, aiomuni warea goba ? loko-no botta warea ?* the baptism of John, was it from heaven, or of men ? *misi-ka wa-mun wa-siki-n bia tribute plata Cesar o-mun, abakoro botta ?* is it lawful for us to give tribute unto Cæsar, or no ? *l-ajia fa koro botta lo-mun,* and will (he) not rather say unto him (L. XVII, 8), *to-moroa k-amunaiga-ci o-mun botta h-isika amateli h-amuni-sia ibena,* but rather give alms of such things as ye have, *ki-jia m-a-ni b-a-li botta,* but do not thou yield unto them (Acts XXIII, 21).

CHAPTER VII

F; P; B

§ 69. By means of the *f* or *p*, the Arawak expresses the principle of: to strive, to aspire, airily, lightly.

No difference in meaning has been ascertained between *f* and *p*. B. mostly writes *f*, Sm., S. and Q. mostly *p*; G. has noted almost exclusively *f*, with the exception of foreign words; in the writings of Pen. and Roth only *f* is to be found.

In order to show the character of the *f (p)*, different *f* forms are given below beside the corresponding *b* forms.

a) *ibi-li-no ifi-li-be-ci bajia*, from the least to the greatest (Acts VIII, 10), *ibi-ro*, something small, in: *lo-kab-oa ibi-ro*, his fingers, *biama ibi-ro ka-in kodibiyu*, two sparrows;

m. *ifi-li*, f. *ifi-ro*, great; *ifiro*, the human body; *ifirota*, to enlarge; Sm. *ipiru*, the body, *adda ippiru*, the stem of a tree;

a-fitikidi-, to go forth, to go out, to come out, *a-fitikiti-*, to bring forth;

b) *ba*, again, *aba*, some, another, *iba*, *eba*, being the last, the end, *ibara*, to remain, to be left;

fa, future (§ 5), will (§§ 28, 41);

Sm. *a-pappassü-*, sich ausbreiten, gross werden; G. *tó kudibiyu fófasoa a-morodo-n*, the bird is soaring;

Sm., G. *papáia*, papaya (A. M. § 182, 124A);

Sm. *appapu-rru*, böses, wildes Wasser, heftige Brandung; R. *appapu-ru*, bore, tidal wave;

Sm. *parássa*, a spear;

a-fatadi-, to smite;

a-fadakudi-, to shake (off — dust of your feet; of his raiment);

G. *kuliala fâmodoa-tu málada*, the boat is floating away upside down;

G. *ifa*, Sm. *ipa*, duck (A. M. § 182, 95);

Sm. *labba*, water haas, paca (*lapa* or *lappe* in modern Trinidad creole) (A. M. § 182, 85);

A. M. (§ 182, 103) **kopa*, fish;

foto-boto-ri, a nail;

fata? how many? (§ 159 f));

c) *bari-ga*, though;

faroka, if;

d) *bo*, *bu*, quiet, quiet in space;

a-burrida-tu, S. *ka-balladara-tu ada*, cross;

S., Sm. *a-balti-*, *a-ballati-* B. *a-bolliti-*, to sit;

bolla kwa (kwon), S. *ballâ-koa*, to be sitting ;
bore kwa (kwon), S. *püllа-koâ-n* (?) to be laying ;
Sm.*bórudi*, basket, trinket-box ;
a-boredi-, *a-boridi-*, to cast away, to lose ;
o-buri, letter, character, *a-buriti-*, S. *a-bulledu-*, to write ; G. *buüli*, to draw, to adorn, with colours or in black, *a-búleti-*, to have drawn, to write ;
a-bolli, *bolli*, to pass ;
a-fudi-, to blow ;
Sm. *ehépudü-*, to sweep clean ;
afu-dyi, principal person, ruler, *afuji*, to surpass, to rule ;
a-furi, *furi*, Sm. *pulli*, to spring up (a seed) ; B. *atenwa tu-furi*, first the blade (Mk. IV, 28) ; *a-furiti-*, to bring forth (plants) ;
a-fulifulito fa, [rough ways] shall be made smooth ;
a-fuili, to loose, to unloose ; *lo-folida goba l-eki wa*, (he) laid aside his garment ;
G. *funá|i*, he is greedy, *fúna-či*, a glutton ;
e) *a-boragi-*, to scourge, to beat (A. M. § 182, 134B) ;
a-forri-, to slay, to kill (A. M. § 182, 134B) ; *a-forraa*, to strive, *aforraa*, war ;
f) *a-iibokota*, to rebuke, *a-iibokoto-(n-wa)*, to be restrained ;
a-fogodo-, *a-fokodo-*, to divide, to part ;
g) *sibo*, face, in face of, etc. (in rest) ;
sifu, do. (in motion) ;
h) *ribo*, water side (in rest) ;
rifu, do. (in motion) ;
i) S. *wunabu*, (at) the ground ;
S. *wunapu*, (to) the ground.
j) *iribe*, uncleanness ;
Sm. *úellipe*, refuse, G. *bahü-fĭ(h)*, a delapidated (straw) hut, *t-ĭfĭ(h*, a thing no longer fit for use, *mába fé*, bees wax.

CHAPTER VIII

M

§ 70. The *m* everywhere indicates something like "hesitating", "humble", "mild".

As a negative or privative prefix : *m(a)-*, §§ 10, 28 d)).

As "uncertain" : *ma*, §§ 5, 28 f)), 29 b)), 32, 33, 138, *ma-in*, § 35, *mo-tu*, § 36.

Expressing surprise : § 136 e) 3)), and perhaps also the following :

a) *ma(n)*, S. *u-mâ(n)*, every, all, entirely, the duration is indicated by the long *a*.

kasakabo ma n-a goba naii temple o-loko, and they, continuing daily with one accord in the temple, *kasakabo ma-n-tu bia n na-sa-sia-no o-mun*, for perpetual generations (Gen. IX, 12), *kenbena, h-adeka, kasakabo ma-n ho-ma di*, and, lo, I am with you alway, *l-ici lo-iyu mi-ci ausa goba Jerusalem mun i-ro wiwa ma-n, passover ifirokoro ka*, now his parents went to Jerusalem every year at the feast of the passover, *origa-hu ma-n kasakabo ma-n*, [with prayers] night and day ;

S. *lu-ma-ré lü-kkürküa u-mân*, and (with him) all his kindred, *manswa-ttu k-amonaika-hü ku a-ussa Egypten u-hurruru u-mân, Chanaan u-hurruru mâ baddia*, and great affliction (came over all the land of Egypt and Chanaan) :

Sm. *dá-mân*, I quite *(bú-, lú-, tú-)*, *wá-mân*, we quite, or each one of us *(hú-, ná-)* ;

b) *-ma-kwa*, all, see § 120 a) 5)).

c) *-no-ma*, a group, see § 158 a)).

§ 71. In the following forms *m* is used to indicate "to be (somewhere) in an unpretending manner" (with *a* time-reality, *o* or *u* space, *i* principle ; comp. also the interrogative words *ama*, § 139 a)), *alo-man* and *alo-mun*, § 139 b))).

a) 1) *o-ma*, with (time-reality).

Pharisee-no anda goba Sadducee-no o-ma, the Pharisees also with the Sadducees came, *ama ibia b-ajia-ga to-ma*, why talkest thou with her ? *bui bajia Jesus Galilee kon-di o-ma-ci goba*, thou also wast with Jesus of Galilee, *hiaro b- isiki-sia da-ma-tu bia, kia a-sika ada iwi da-mun*, the woman whom thou gavest to be with me, she gave me of the tree (fruit) :

2) m. (human) *mi-ci*, S. *mu-tti*, f. *mu-tu*, S. *mu-ttu*, combines two or more persons previously indicated, to one group.

Jesus ausa()kita Peter, James, John mi-ci lo-ma wa, Jesus taketh with

him Peter, and James, and John, *kidua-ni ka Adaie-li a-kenako-n-wa, Simon o-mun l-iraiato bi, mi-ci ajia-n*, saying, The Lord is risen indeed, and hath appeared to Simon (L. XXIV, 34), *Lamech aija goba l-irenoci o-mun, Adah Zillah mi-ci, h-akonnaba d-ajia-n*, and Lamech said unto his wives, Adah and Zillah, Hear my voice, *l-ajia-sia Jesus o-konomun o-doma Joseph lo-iyu mi-ci abokwa ia*, and Joseph and his mother marvelled at those things which were spoken of him, *b-ici daii mi-ci a-uada b-ibici*, thy father and I have sought thee, *n-aiakatwa kiana Adam l-iretu mi-ci*, and Adam and his wife hid themselves, *auaduli oniabu mu-tu o-mun l-ahaka-ga*, he commandeth even the winds and water, *b-auta w-ausi-n t-abokwa-boa* (§ 120 g) 6) XII)) *mu-tu poroko o-lokomun*, suffer us to go away into the herd of swine, *yuho-ro kibi b-amuni-ga maiaukwa-mu-tu* (§ 131 a) 2)) *yuho-ro wiwa bia*, thou hast much goods laid up for many years;

3) perhaps connected with the afore-mentioned, S. *-mu-kille* (§ 176 c)).

S. *gi-dia* (§ 88 b)) *lu-mükille adiā-n l-akudoa*, and as he talked with him, he went in (Acts X, 27), *gi-dia wa-mükille andi-n abba kairi — t-iri Clauda — ü-jaboamün hidda*, and (we) running under a certain island which is called Clauda (Acts XXVII, 16), *gi-dia na-mükille akannabü-n*, when they heard these things (Acts VII, 54);

b) *mu-n*, with different prefixes is used in the following forms to indicate "the place where a thing is or remains".

1) *mun(i)*.

kia kasakabo o-loko prophet-no anda goba Antioch mun Jerusalem warea, and in these days came prophets from Jerusalem unto Antioch, *akodo-tu loko o-noroko mun a-ribeta koro i; to-moroa a-fitikidi-tu lo-noroko o-rea, kia a-ribeta loko*, not that which goeth into the mouth defileth a man; but that which cometh out of the mouth, this defileth man, *abar-li Simon t-eda-isada-arin isikwa mun ka i*, he is lodged in the house of one Simon, a tanner, *tanahu b-isikwa muni-n fa di o-doma*, for to day I must abide at thy house;

2) *o-mun*.

I) *isa goba Julius Paulus o-mun*, and Julius courteously entreated Paul, lit. good was J. P. *o-mun*, *kena ifiro-tu a-kota-he Levi a-murreta l-oaiya l-isikwa o-loko lo-mun*, and Levi made him a great feast in his own house, *kena na-kwaiaba tu-mun i*, and they besought him for her, *d-imisidi fa tu-muni n*, I will avenge her:

II) *a-kolda-sia l-isika goba Judas Iscariot Simon aiici o-mun*, he gave it (the sop) to Judas Iscariot, the son of Simon, *l-a Jesus ajia-n Simon o-mun*, Jesus said unto Simon, lit. he-did J. saying S. *o-mun*, *ho fa ajia-n lo-mun*, shall ye say unto him, *Jesus oonaba-ga na-mun, ajia-n*, and Jesus answering them said, *da-dankidwa bu-mun*, I thank thee;

III) *daii a-baptize-dikitwa ti-ka bu-mun*, I have need to be baptized of thee, *ma-baptize-dikito-n-wa-ci lo-mun o-doma ie*, [they rejected the

counsel of God], being not baptized of him, *h-adekito-n-wa bia na-mun,* [do not your alm before men] to be seen of them :

IV) *Wacinaci da-mun ama o-doma bu-iba di* ? my God, why hast thou forsaken me ? lit. God (our-father) me-*mun* what because thou-leavest me, *Abraham o-mun Wacinaci,* the God of Abraham (L. XX, 37), *ororo o-mun kalime Daii,* I am the light of the world, *bu-kalimeta oriroko-ho wa-mun,* lighten our darkness :

V) *omuni,* to be near, to draw near.

omuni-ga-te kia kasakabo barin, and the time draweth near (L. XXI, 8), *kasakoda anaka-in aba ororo o-rea omuni-ga u n-a matoroso-no,* about midnight the shipmen deemed that they drew near to some country, lit. night midst-being one country from near is we they-said shipmen, *W-adaiana-sia ajia-ga, d-ikisi o-bora omuni-ga,* the Master saith, My time is at hand, *ika tu fa-te toraha to-makwa h-adeki-n, h-aiita omuni-ni n,* when ye shall see all these things, know that it [the end] is near, *h-adeka a-sikiti-ci di omuni-n,* behold, he is at hand that doth betray me ;

VI) *wakaia* (evil) ... *omuni n,* woe unto :

to-moroa wakaia lihi loko omuni n a-sikiti-ci loko Aiici, but woe to that man by whom the Son of man is betrayed, *wakaia ho-muni n, a-buriti-ci-no, Pharisee-no, murriga-ci hui !* woe unto you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites !

3) *umuni* (u, space), has been met with in one example, viz.

kena lo-bollita goba ikisida-hu a-bolliti-kwona-hu ajeago, umuni ki a-soa-ga Imiselda-sia, and (he) sat down in the judgment seat in a place that is called the Pavement ;

4) *yumun(i)* (§ 123).

I) *k-ibena-n bena yumun i,* and after he had spent some time there;

II) (comp. *ki, tu,* § 55 b) 3, 4)).

yumun-tu jiaro a-odo-tu, yumuni ki eagle kodibiyu a-herakida fa, for wheresoever the carcase is, there will the eagles be gathered together, *h-adeka yumuni ki goba loko asoare-ci kabo,* behold, there was a man which had his hand withered, *h-adeka-te yumun-tu Adaie-li a-torodo-n,* see the place, where the Lord lay, *kenbena ika tu n-andi-n yumun-tu Golgotha,* and when they were come unto a place called Golgotha :

III) *yumuni,* to be in a place.

kena b-ateda-li Egypt mun i-ro, kena yumuni fa bu d-ahaka-n bu-mun o-bora, and flee into Egypt, and be thou there until I bring thee word, *yumuni-n o-doma sa-tu h-amuni-sia, yumuni ki fa ho-loa ba,* for where your treasure is, there will your heart be also ;

5) *amun(i)* (a time-reality).

I) *ika tu l-andi-n t-amun,* and when he came to it (comp. *Jesus oonaba-ga kiana ajia-n tu-mun,* and Jesus answered, and said to it, Mk. XI, 13 and 14), *a-siki-ni n apostle-no o-kuti amun,* and laid them down at the apostles' feet, *ika ki Wacinaci ajia-n anda goba Zacharias aiici amun malokon-aukili mun,* (then) the word of God came unto John the son of

Zacharias in the wilderness, *kenbena, ika tu loko-no a-herakida-n l-amun,* and it came to pass, that, as the people pressed upon him, *l-anda goba l-amuni-sia amun,* he came unto his own, *l-ajinama t-amun, a-iibokoto-n audasia l-ajia-n abu,* and he stood over her, and rebuked the fever, *Sa-tu laloko a-tokoda goba-te l-isi amun,* and the Holy Ghost descended ... upon him (*l-isi,* his head), *kenbena na-sika goba l-isi amun ajia-hu lo-konomun-tu,* and (they) set up over his head his accusation, *tanahu d-anda b-amun,* and now I come to thee;

II) *k-amuni,* to possess, *m-amuni,* to possess not.

to-makwa d-amuni-sia bui k-amuni-ga, all that I have is thine, *to-makwa Awa k-amuni-sia d-amuni-ga,* all things that the Father hath are mine, *alika-i jiali k-amun-ci n, lihi-ki o-mun t-isiko sabu fa ba, kenbena yuho-ro sabu l-amuni fa; to-moroa alika-i jiali m-amun-ci n, lihi-ki o-rea l-amuni-sia onnako fa,* for whosoever hath, to him shall be given, and he shall have more abundance; but whosoever hath not, from him shall be taken away even that he hath, *Cesar amun-tu,* [the image on the coin is] Cæsar's;

III) *amunte, amute* (= *amun-ci* ?), to be wont.

kena l-ausa synagogue o-lokomun, l-amute-n be l-ausi-n jin, sabbath kasakabo o-loko, and, as his custom was, he went into the synagogue on the sabbath day, *lo-mairikota goba kiana ba ie l-amute-n,* and, as he was wont, he taught them again, *kia ki ifirokoro ka ikisi o-loko adaia-hu l-amunte goba a-dokodo-n abar-li siba-loko-ci loko-no o-mun, n-ansi-sia jiali ki,* now at that feast the governor was wont to release unto the people a prisoner, whom they would;

6) *aiomun(i),* a high place; *i,* free, *o,* space ? see, however, § 83 a).

1) *aiomun bawhu o-loko na-sika goba n,* they laid her in an upper chamber, *kenbena l-anda n-abu aiomun-tu ororo ajeago mun,* and (he) bringeth them up into an high mountain, *H-icinaci aiomun kon-di,* your Father which is in heaven, *aiomun isauka,* the kingdom of heaven, *kenbena, h-adeka, ajia-hu aiomuni o-rea ajia goba,* and lo a voice from heaven, saying, *kena abar cubit o-loko b-iibidi fa aiomuni-ni n,* and in a cubit shalt thou finish it [the ark] above;

II) *aiomunti-,* to exalt;

7) *abo-mun,* under; *b* in rest, *o* space.

Wacinaci kiana a-murreta goba kibilokoukili, aragakoto-n kibilokoukili abomun-tu oniabu, kibilokoukili amun-tu oniabu o-rea, and God made the firmament, and divided the waters which were under the firmament from the waters which were above the firmament, *da-sikwa-sidi-tu abomun,* [to come] under my roof, *t-adina abomun,* [to gather] under her wings, *tapel abomun-ga pero,* the dogs under the table, *n-abomun goba i,* (he) was subject unto them, *ajia-hu abomun-ci loko daii barin, soldaro-no d-amuni-ga daii abomun,* I also am a man set under authority, having under me soldiers;

c) *o-makana,* over against; comp. *o-ma,* with § 71 a) 1), *kona,* against, § 63.

a-bolliti-n a-odo-ci-sikwa o-makana, sitting over against the sepulchre,

to-moroa abakoro l-a goba ajia-n na-makwa na-makanna, but he denied before them all, *b-iibidi-sia ki na-makwa loko-no isibo o-makana*, which thou hast prepared before the face of all people, *lo-makana-ci-no*, the (his) neighbours, *misi-n bia w-onyi-n b-akosi o-makana*, (we) to do always that is righteous in thy sight.

§ 72. *M* = holding in, holding back, hesitating, shrinking from.

a) 1) *amaro*, to be afraid, to fear;

2) *amaronto-*, to threaten;

b) *n-amoto fa d-aiici o-bora*, they will reverence my son, *m-amoto-(n-wa)*, to be of good cheer, to have courage, confidence;

c) Sm. *u-mároa-n*, 1. Th. *morowa*, arrow with blunt head for shooting birds (comp. *to-moroa*, but, § 120 b)) ;

d) *mimi*, to be cold, *mimi-li* the cold, winter, *imimidi-*, to cool, *imimido-(n-wa)*, to wax cool.

§ 73. *M* = submissive.

a) 1) S. *a-ssika* ... *äme*, to believe, to obey (*a-ssika*, durative to put, to give).

S. *abba-nu n-ebenna assika-ka hidda l-adia-ssia-bi-ru äme, kan abba-nu m-a-ni-rubu n-a*, and some believed the things which were spoken, and some believed not, *a-ssika-hü-ssia bia Wamallitakoanti, hui äme âdi-n*, we ought to obey God rather than men (you), *bu-morrua ma-ssika-n b-a-li n-äme*, but do not thou yield unto them;

2) Pen. *b-ithe-fa-do d-ame-ni*, you will drink for me;

b) 1) Sm. *imê-n*, willig, munter sein zu etwas, B. *hime-n*, oft (Mk. VII, 3), S. *Thessalonika-kunna-na âdi-kubá|je nai-kewai imê-n üssa-ttu ibiti*, (Acts XVII, 11 Thessalonicans more-than-were they they willing holy (word) touched);

2) *ime-wabu, imehi-wabu*, always;

3) S. *iméniku-hu abbu*, gladly;

4) Sm., S. *imenikuttu-*, to cause to be willing;

5) *imeko ka di*, I am ready, S. *iméku-ka-hüa|de*, I am ready, *imeku-hu abbu*, diligently;

6) *imigodo-*, S. *imekudu-*, to send;

7) *k-imikebo*, to work, to toil, to till;

8) Sm. *himekúne*, yam (napi), Dioscorea trifida; (or: *hime-kune*, fish-like, § 63 a) 2A) ?)

9) *tamo-tu goba, mamari-tu imisido-n-wa*, (she) was bowed together, and could in no wise lift up herself (comp. *tata*, hard, and Island Karib *tamon*, prisoner, slave, *l-emon-hali*, he is bowed together, *tamonet*, crane (bird)).

§ 74. *M* = new, humble, discreet, cautious, fine.

a) —

b) *imeodo-*, to bring forth (children);

c) *imi-lia*, to be new;

d) 1) *mali*, should, ought.

lihi wadili Jew-no a-bokoto-sia, na-forri-sia mali, this man was taken of the Jews, and should have been killed of them, *waii m-ikisi mali kiana Wacinaci korrokori jia-mu-tu bia,* we ought not to think that the Godhead is like unto gold ;

2) S. *ma-malli,* not to be able, not to be possible ;

3) *mari,* to be not certain (?, § 146) ;

4) *ma-mari,* to be not at all (§ 147) ;

5) S. *a-malliti-,* B. *a-murreti-,* G. *a-maliti-,* to bring forth, to create, to make (A. M. § 182, 144A) ;

6) S. *malliku,* to be able to ;

7) S. *a-mallikutta,* B. *a-mairikota,* to teach, B. *a-mairikoto-(n-wa),* to learn ;

8) Pen. (11. 17a III p. 105) *Mali,* the mother of knowledge ;

e) 1) *kaspara o-mana,* the edge of the sword, Sm. *ká-mana,* to be sharp, *má-mana,* to be blunt, *a-manti-,* to sharpen (A. M. § 182, 146) ;

2) Sm. *mánna-li,* sieve, *mánna-ka,* manicole palm (A. M. § 182, 124) ;

f) animals which cast their hide (? ; see § 168 ; A. M. § 182, 43) : *emena-hu,* worm, worms (probably "vermin", "insects"), *imina-ri,* scorpion, scorpions.

§ 75. *M* = tender.

a) *seme-tu amateli k-amun-ci,* (they which) live delicately, S. *seme-tu Evangelium,* the Gospel, Sm. *seme-n,* to be sweet ;

b) *miaumia-tu eke-hu,* soft clothing, *miaumia-ci eke,* a man clothed in soft raiment, G. *toho múyamúya-ya,* this is soft.

§ 76. *M* = floating.

a) *amodi-,* to go up (into a mountain, out of the water) ;

b) 1) *mihu,* a ship (A. M. § 182, 52) ;

2) *himi,* a fish (A. M. § 182, 102) ;

c) Sm. *málla-li,* current ; Sagot *malá-li,* fall, Pen. *Koritini o-mala,* Corentyn stream ; B. *wa-malamalada goba Adria bon-di,* we were driven up and down in Adria, *na-tokodo( )kota kiana na-wela-n wa, a-mullidi robu t-a-n bia,* (they) strake sail, and so were driven ; S. *a-malladü-,* to float away ; B. *onikain mulla-n kia bawhu o-kona mun,* the stream beat upon that house ;

d) 1) G. *simála,* Sm. *simara,* R. *shimara,* arrow (*si,* point, § 116 c) ; A. M. § 182, 54) ;

2) S. *a-humadu-* to rush (the wind) ;

e) *a-morodo-,* to fly (a bird) ;

f) *o-horomurrida,* waves, etc., see § 122 d) 1) IV) ;

g) 1) *murriga,* to be false, to lie ;

2) *a-murrida,* to deceive, *a-murrida-koto-(n-wa),* to err ;

h) *camel ho-mokoda,* (you) swallow a camel.

CHAPTER IX

N

§ 77. The *n* is used in the Arawak language, in order to indicate "firmness or substantiality of a neutral character". The consonants give form, firmness, to the shapeless mass indicated by the vowels ; the *d, t, k, m* etc. do this, each in its own characteristic way ; the *n* does the same, but without any specific character.

§ 78. *Ni.*

a) *nii-ka-n, nii-ma-n,* a while, a little.

niikan n-a k-ibena-n, and after they had tarried there a space [they were let go], *niiman t-adiki ajinama-ci-no yumun anda goba l-amun,* and after a while came unto him they that stood by, *h-ahakobu-in bia niiman,* [come] and rest (ye) a while, *kena lo-kwaiaba i l-icirikidi-n bia t-eribo-area niiman,* and (he) prayed him that he would thrust out a little from the land :

b) S. *ni rubu kurru,* a long time, no little, no small, not a few ;

c) S. *ni-kebé,* to occur immediately, straightway, forthwith ;

d) *-ni,* something that really is, or shall be, see § 25 ;

e) 1) *ani, anye, anyi, onyi,* a thing, a thing possessed ; see examples in § 32, and :

alika-i koro ajia goba l-amuni-sia o-konomun, Daii a-ni toho, ma-in ; to-moroa na-makwa n-anye to-makwa, neither said any of them that ought of the things he possessed was his own ; but they had all things common, *b-onnaka b-anyi-re-n, kena b-osa,* take that thine is, and go thy way, *kenbena yumuni ki da-siki fa to-makwa d-anyi iwi, da-nyikau bajia,* and there will I bestow all my fruits and my goods, *wa-herakida w-onyi-wa,* we took up our carriages (Acts XXI, 15), *k-onyi-li,* the owner (Acts XXVII, 11) :

2) *onikau, o-nyikau,* Sm. *anniku-hu* goods, B. *sa-tu onyikau,* treasure ;

3) S., Sm., v. C. *ani,* B. *onyi,* to do (A. M. § 182, 139) ;

f) *onnibita* (or *onnibiti-*), to disperse, S. *a-nebetu-(nn-ua) ... n-auri-koawa,* to be dispersed, scattered, divided.

§ 79. *Na, no.*

a) *-na,* continuation.

1) *kena,* and (§ 51), *kenbena,* and thereupon (§ 51), *kiana,* events are proceeding (§ 53), S. *hinna,* do. (§ 54), B. *bena,* after, *ibena,* a time, a part (§ 59), *kona,* etc. (§ 37), *bona,* etc. (§ 64), *kwona,* instrumental (§ 120 a) 2)) ;

2) *iana,* heel (§ 132), *adina,* arm (§ 86 g)), *itena,* blood (comp. § 187);

3) *o-no* means the neck (or the throat ?) (A. M. § 182, 20) :

I) *hui tatabudi-ci o-no-ro*, ye stiffnecked, *molo siba a-iiodokota-n ka lo-no-ro o-kona*, that a millstone were hanged about his neck, *onnaka-ro-hu h-isika ti-ka a-mairikota-sia-no o-no-ra-ji*, (ye wish) to put a yoke upon the neck of the disciples, *naha loko-no anda-te na-no-roko abu da-mun, n-areroko abu n-adaiakita di*, this people draweth nigh unto me with their mouth, and honoureth me with their lips ;

II) G. *honoli, anula*, herons (A. M. § 182, 21) :

b) 1) *-na-*, plurality of a family-relation : often the preceding vowel is metamorphosed, and also apocope of the a occurs :

ici, to be father to one person (indicated by the pronominal prefix), *ici-na-ci*, to be father to more than one person, *wa-ci-na-ci*, our father :

adaia, to have authority, *adaiana-sia*, master :

isa, to be child, *l-isa-n-ci*, his servant :

da-bogi-ci, Sm. *da-buki-ti*, my (man) older brother, *na-boge-n-ci*, Sm. *na-bukëi-n-ti*, their older brother :

2) *-no*, plurality (two or more) of rational beings (see also § 187) :

I) *wa-ci-no-ci*, Sm. *wa-tti-nu-ti*, our fathers : *wa-boge-no-ci*, Sm. *wa-buke-nu-ti*, our (man) older brothers: *-kwono-no-ci*, see § 120 a) 2) II):

II) *loko*, man, *loko-no* : *hiaro*, woman, *hiaro-no* ; *akirikia*, nation, *akirikia-no* ; *soldaro*, soldier, *soldaro-no* : *publican*, *publica-no* : *prophet*, *prophet-no* ; *virgin*, *virgin-o* : *Pharisee*, *Pharisee-no* : *Jew*, *Jew-no* ; *Roman*, *Roman-o* ; *Christian*, *Christian-o* ; *Christ*, *Christ-no* ; *angel*, *angel-no* (all English words) : etc.

In the same manner : *aba-no*, some, *biama-no*, two, *kabuin-o*, three, etc. ; *fata-no*, how many — when used in relation to people ; *habe-ci-no*, the elders, *a-buriti-ci-no*, the scribes, *lo-mairikoto-sia-no*, his disciples, etc.

Wadili, man, often takes no plural suffix :

Wadili, Sirs (Acts XXVII, 21), *biama-no wadili*, two men (L. XXIV, 4), *wadili Nineve o-kono-no*, the men of Nineveh (L. XI, 32), *wadili jiaro hiaro-no jiaro*, whether they were men or women.

However : *wadili-no Niniveh o-kono-no*, the men of Nineveh (Mt. XII, 41), *wadili-no a-bollita goba kiana*, so the men sat down (J. VI, 10), *biama-no angel-no*, two angels (J. XX, 12), *biama-no soldaro-no*, two soldiers (Acts XII, 6).

S. gives, contrary to the principles of Arawak : *issehü-nnu* the worms, *Stadt-nu*, cities, S. and Sm. *kuddibiju-nu*, fowls, birds, Sm. *üjehi-nu*, lice ;

III) *noma*, indicating a group, see § 158 a) :

c) 1) *ina*.

t-isiri kiana hatatwa ... to-moroa t-iina a-kororoswa, the [ship's] forepart stuck fast ... but the hinder part was broken, *abar aiomun ina-rea aba t-ina-rea ki ba*, from one end of heaven to the other, *a-sika-sia t-ina-roko-tu bia*, which is become the head of the corner, *bawhu-yuho ina-roko mun*, [standing] in the corners of the streets ; S. *Gott aditti-ti wa-llua u-ina-mün-tu*, God, which knoweth the hearts :

²) *iinata*, to begin.

na-iinata-ga onyi-n toho, and this they begin to do, *a-iinata d-a-n ka ajia-n*, and as I began to speak ;

³) *inaka : n-akoikita goba na-iina-ka mun-i-ro*, they went backwards (J. XVIII, 6) ;

⁴) *inabo*, (following, etc.) after.

abaren na-iiba goba na-neti-n, ausi-n l-iinabo, and straightway they forsook their nets, and followed him, *ajia-hu n-imigoda l-iinabo kiana*, and (they) sent a message after him, *l-onnaki-n bia n Jesus inabo*, that he might bear it after Jesus, *kena l-isifuda-ga ajia-n l-iinabo-ci o-mun*, and (he) turned him about, and said unto the people that followed him ;

d) *anaka* (time-reality), *anaku* (space), the midst.

kasakoda anaka-in, about midnight, *kena t-isidi-tu anaka-roko-ji na-tokodo-kota i lo-torodo-kwona-hu ajeago anaka-bo Jesus isibo-mun*, and (they) let him down through the tiling with his couch into the midst before Jesus, *kena l-isika goba anaka-bo na-mun i*, and (he) set him in the midst of them, *Jesus anda goba anaka-bo l-ajinama goba*, came Jesus and stood in the midst, *yumuni ki anaka-bo ka Daii na-mun*, there am I in the midst of them, *kibilokoukili anaka-bo fa oniabu o-mun*, let there be a firmament in the midst of the waters, *anaka-bo-tu yara o-mun kokke-hu ada bajia*, the tree of life also in the midst of the garden, *a-iibi-n i anaku-ji a-oda-hu abu*, leaving him half dead, *kena anaku-ji abu l-anda*, and (he) brought a certain part, *anaku-ji-bo kiana lo-kurrada-ga*, he burst asunder in the midst, *kena aiakata-kwona-hu kimisa temple o-loko-tu a-terakidwa goba anaku-ji bo*, and the veil of the temple was rent in the midst ;

e) 1) I) *onabo*, low, the ground.

onabo o-bolisi, the dust of the ground, *a-buriti-n lo-kabo abu onabo ajeago*, and with his finger wrote on the ground, *onabo-ci*, them of low degree, *onabo-tu*, the low estate, *onabo-n-ci o-loa-n o-doma di*, for I am ... lowly in heart, *onabo-tu o-loa abu*, with all humility of mind ;

II) *oonaba*, to reply ; the object is always indicated, e.g. *centurion oonaba goba n, ajia-n, Adaie-li*, etc., the centurion answered and said, Lord, etc., *to-moroa ma-onaba-n l-a goba abar ajia-hu tu-mun*, but he answered her not a word, *ama koro b-oonaba-ga ?* answerest thou nothing ?

III) R. *n-onabo-kuanna*, a shield ;

²) S. *wunapu* in the following : *l-ittikida ... wunapu-ddi*, (he) fell down [from the third loft] ;

³) *onnaki-*, S. *a-onnaki-*, to take : *a-odo-ci n-onnaki-kwona-hu*, the (their) bier ; *aunaki-*, S. *anniki-*, to receive ; Sm. *anniki-*, nehmen, tragen, Sm. *annakú-(nn-ua)*, to paddle ; see § 91 (A. M. § 182, 136) ;

⁴) *onnaka-ro*, burden ;

⁵) *onnawa*, to choose.

§ 80. *An, on*, having firmness, forms a part of :

a) 1) *waboroko anda-hi mun*, [they found the colt] in a place were two ways met, G. *waboroko andá-ka*, two ways meet ;

2) Sm. *andaka*, joint, articulation;

3) *andakoto-*, to join, to cleave to;

4) *andi-*, to come; *andi- ... abu*, to bring, *ausi-ci Paul abu anda l-abu Athens mun*, and they that conducted Paul brought him unto Athens;

5) Sm. *ansâ*, *ansi*, to grate (cassava, etc.);

b) *ansi*, inner peace, G. (according to Baptist:) vitality; Island Karib *ánichi*, heart, soul, life, *k-anichico*, wise;

1) love, to love, see § 18;

2) *na-tattada n-ansi-wa*, they comforted them, lit. they strengthened their-*ansi*-own, *bu-tattadoa-li b-ansi-wa*, be of good cheer;

3) *yura ... ansi*; *yu*, §§ 123, 124, *ra*, §§ 104—108.

Jerusalem mun l-anda ti-n o-doma yura l-ansi Pentecost kasakabo o-bora, for he hasted, if it were possible for him, to be at Jerusalem the day of Pentecost, lit. J. place he-come wishing because *yura* his *ansi* P. day future point of time. S. *ni-kebé-ka jura-n w-ansi akunnu-n Macedonia-muniru*, immediately we endeavoured to go into Macedonia, Sm. *jūra d-ansi*, I long for:

4) S. *jura-kû d-ansi*, I must by all means;

5) S. *jura-hü'lukku ansi*, he hastened, (he) was zealous;

6) *a-iyurati- ... ansi*, Sm. *a-ijulattu- ... ansi*, to trouble, to be troubled, to be vexed, to care for: also: *to-makwa ororo ajeago-ji lo-yurata Jew-no ansi*, a mover (lit. he moves) of sedition among all the Jews throughout the world.

§ 81. *-n*, *-in*, metamorphosed vowel + *n*, inserted vowel *-n*: that which is indicated by the word, loses its mobility, its vividness, in the firmness of the *n*; it becomes vague in regard to time.

a) behind object-words, when they indicate possession (alienable possession).

1) *ada*, tree, stave, *h-ada-n*, (your) staves; *kaarta*, book, *l-ikaarta-n*; *Galilee*, *akirikia-no Galilee-n*, Galilee of the Gentiles; *sapatu*, shoe, *l-isapatu-n*; *a-burrida-tu*, cross, *bu-burrida-tu-n*; *temple*, *Diana temple-n*, the temple of Diana; *sikapo*, sheep, *da-sikapo-n*; *pound*, *bu-poundi-n*; *priest*, *Jupiter priest-in*, the priest of Jupiter; *lamp(u?)*, lamp, *wa-lamp-en*; *itena*, blood, *da-tene-n*; *yara*, hedge, *l-iyara-in*; *baka*, ox, cattle, *ho-baka-in*; *plata*, silver, money, *bu-plate-n*; *nete*, net, *na-neti-n*; *kano*, vessel, *ti-kane-n*; *tapel*, Sm. *tafel*, table, *da-tapelo-n*, Sm. *da-táfulu-n*;

2) *w-ikiduadi-n*, our faith, *n-imikiduadi-n*, their unbelief, *a-sogoso-n na-boragi-n*, and washed their stripes, *n-ajia-n*, their tongue, *bu-sweardoa-n*, thine oaths, *w-aboa-n*, our infirmities, *n-aboa-n*, their diseases, *b-aboa-n*, thy plague.

With some words, as for instance *kokke*, life, no *-n* is applied. Both forms, in the following examples: S. *a-huda-hü ü-karri-n*, the pains of death, *na-karri-n*, *na-karri*, their diseases, *lü-karri-n*, *lü-gkarri*, his disease;

b) *da-ie-n*, S. *da-ia-n*, mine, etc.

da-sa, *b-osa*, *b-imikebo ba tanahu da-ie-n vine kabuea o-loko*, son, go

work to day in my vine-yard, *m-iitesia-n b-a bu-ioci iretu, l-ikita-kwon-ci bajia, l-ikita-kwon-tu bajia, l-iie-n baka bajia,* thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's wife, nor his manservant, nor his maidservant, nor his ox, *n-ibilokota phylacterie na-iie-n,* they make broad their phylacteries, *kenbena aba-no ho-boragi fa h-iie-n synagogue o-loko,* and some of them shall ye scourge in your synagogues ;

c) in the particle *mun,* indicating place ;

d) 1) in order to take from the verb the definiteness in regard to time, see § 5, table, forms 7, and §§ 26, 27 ;

2) something similar in the forms *ji-n* (§ 88 b)) and *-kwo-n* (§ 120 a) 2), related to *-kwona*).

§ 82. a) With the following substantives, all ending in *i,* an *a* is added if they indicate possession :

korrokorri, gold, *lo-korrokorri-a* ; *logie,* garner, barn, *da-logi-a* ; *marisi,* wheat (maize), *lo-marisi-a* ; *meli,* bread, loaf, *wa-meli-a* ; *oili,* oil, *h-oili-a* ; *sesi,* chariot, *l-isesi-a* ; *warriwarri* (Roth), fan, *lo-wariwari-a* ; Sm. *borudi,* a basket, *da-borudi-a* ; *hátti,* Cayenne pepper, *da-hatti-a* ; *horudi,* woman's basket, *da-horudi-a* ; *kekelli,* cassava-soup, *de-keh(?)lli-a* ; *kirahudúlli,* spindle, *ikiruhudúlli-a* ; *mánnali,* a sieve, *da-mánnali-a,* G. (creole *máti,* friend), *da-máti-a, kómiki,* a bowl, *da-kómiki-a.*

Beside *da-logi-a, da-logie-n* also occurs ; a difference in the meaning has, however, not been found. Sm. uses the *-n* with several words ending in *i,* for instance *dúbuli,* a ray, *dá-dubuli-n, hádduli,* a sort of rabbit, *b-áhadduli-n* ; *sikkisikki,* grass-hopper, *da-ssikkissikki-n* ; *siparálli,* iron, *dá-ssiparálli-n* ; *wáijoukássi,* small arrow, *d-oáijoakássi-n.*

b) *-Ti, -te, -le* (comp. *-ci,* § 21, *-li,* §§ 175, 176) have been met with in : *alaiti,* a candle, *ifiro-hu alaiti-ti,* the light of the body ; Sm. *ipa,* a duck, *d-ipa-te* ; *júli,* tobacco, *da-júli-te* ; *ikana,* bush rope, *d-ikána-te* ; *pimittika,* wax, *d-ipimitikka-le.*

§ 82 A. a) G. *fukuléọuọi-a,* snake *(uọi)* resembling an aguti *(fukuleọu)* ;

b) G. *warakaba aọoa-te,* tigers *(aọoa)* that look like or behave themselves like trumpet-birds *(warakaba).* Other examples, § 199.

Comp. also B. *ji-n, ji-a,* as, § 88. It may be that the Arawak considers an object in itself, the alienable possession, as a likeness, an image or a copy of the idea which it embodies, or as only the external form of its spirit.

§ 83. a) *-N-* (Arawak or A. M.) becomes *-ñ-, -y-,* — :

inabo (§ 79 c) 4)), *iabo* (§ 66), behind ;

ani, anyi, onyi (§ 78 e)), *ie* (? § 81 b)), a thing, a thing possessed ;

S., Sm., v. C., G. *ani,* B. *onyi,* to do ;

bania, banyia (§ 60 e)), lasting some time ;

(**-augi-na-ci,* **-augi-no-ci* ?), *-augi-o-ci.* Sm. *-huki-n-ti,* several brothers:

(**na,* **ena* ?), *ie,* endpoint pronoun III pl. ;

A. M. § 182, 18 **enene,* **ine ñe,* Arawak *ie,* tongue ;

„ „ 17 **numa,* mouth, Arawak Sm. *ema, uima, aema-mũn,* the mouth of a river ;

A. M. § 182, 38 **eno*, Arawak *iyu*, mother;
„ „ 60 **eno*, Arawak *a-io-mun*, heaven;
„ „ 63 **iuina*, Arawak Sm. *wiyua*, Pleiades;
„ „ 32 **e(š)ina-ru*, Arawak *hia-ro*, woman;
„ „ 107 A, 107 B **haniu*, Arawak *hayu*, wasp, gnat, ant;
„ „ 120 **kaniri*, Arawak Sm. *kalli*, cassava, *kanneki-ddi*, Cassabistöcke;

b) *-ng* instead of *-n*:

G. *da-sikwa-ŋ*, my house, *ulalo tikidi-ŋ*, fog in the morning, R. *b-anshi-ng-odóma|de*, if you like me, *hiaro-no-dulluhi-ng*, woman's pole (R. 19*a*, Sect. 155);

c) S. spells instead of *-nn-* also *-ñ-*, instead of *-mm-* also *-m̃-*; presumably we have to do here with a mark of abbreviation in the MS;

d) *-m* instead of *-n*:

S. *u-müm*, *amüm*, most often however *u-mün*, *amün*; v. C. *isa-m bia* = B. *isa-n bia*, G. see § 193.

CHAPTER X

D

§ 84. The *d*, in the meaning of "to stand", "will-power manifesting itself by remaining motionless", we have already met with, when we considered the construction of the action-words (§ 1), and further in emphasizing particles (§§ 44—47A), as well as in the ending of object-words (*kon-di, kon-du, bon-di*, §§ 63 b), 64 b)). In the last-named function, also in:

afu-dyi, principal person, ruler, *afu-du-wabu*, queen, *ho-kuti-roko-do*, your sandals (*ho-kuti-roko-area*, (from) under your feet), *l-isi-bora-du*, a (his) pillow, *siba o-bora-do*, the foundations of the prison, *ma-bora-do ia*, (being) without a foundation, *isifo-do*, door.

Di sometimes alternates with *dyi* and *ji*, (phonetically *dzyi*); a corresponding phenomenon has been noted with the *t* and the *s* (§§ 90, 113).

§ 85. *-(l)ji, -di*, the preceding form is meant as a fixed place or thing.

to-makwa church-iji man na-sika habe-ci-no ikita-ci bia ie, and when they had ordained them elders in every church, *meli na-kurrada-bo goba bajia aba aba mun bawh-iji*, and (they) breaking bread from house to house, *n-ausa goba kiana na-uaiya na-sikwa-ji na-makwa*, and all went to be taxed, every one into his own city, *n-ausa kiana to-makwa bawhu-yuho-ji man ausi-n ajia-ci sa-tu ajia-hu, isadi-n to-makwa-ji*, and they departed, and went through the towns, preaching the gospel, and healing every where, *kena n-anda l-amun to-makwa-ji warea*, and they came to him from every quarter, *aba-ji-bo n-akoiwa goba na-uaiya na-horora mun i-ro kiana*, they departed into their own country another way, *aiomun-ji-tu kodibiyu*, [over] the fowl of the air [have dominion], *n-akonnaba Adaie-li Wacinaci ajia-n, akona l-a-n ka yara o-loko-ji mimi-aukili-di*, and they heard the voice of the Lord God walking in the garden in the cool of the day, *yuho-li akodwa to-loko-ji*, [broad is the way] and many there be which go in thereat, *Adaie-li kalime a-kalimetwa n-ikira-ji*, and the glory of the Lord shone around them, *ma-odo-ni bo fa Adaie-li Christ o-bora-ji b-adeki-n bia-te i*, that he should not see death, before he had seen the Lord's Christ, *l-adiki-ji*, the (his) younger son, the second (son), *taha-ji-be-tu ororo mun bajia*, and unto the uttermost part of the earth (Acts I, 8), *kena a-burrida-tu na-sika lo-nora-ji*, and on him they laid the cross, *alomun-ji jiaro fa ifiro-tu adedisaro*, and great earthquakes shall be in divers places, *yumun-ji ki lo-bolli-n fa-te o-doma*, for he was to pass that way, *kena Jesus akodwa goba a-bolli-n Jericho o-koboroko-ji*, and Jesus entered and passed through Jericho.

§ 86. *Adi, aji* (§ 20), protruding.

a) S. *adi*, upon (in an abstract sense).

S. *Gouverneur bia|i Egypten u-hurruru ādi, lū-ssiqua-mūn-ti ádi ba*, governor (to be he) over Egypt and all his house, *hū-ttenna-wa andi-n-kebė ma-ppa h-issi ādi*, your blood be upon your own heads ;

b) S. *adiaku*, upon (in space), B. *ajeago*, upon : *ku, go*, § 61.

S. *Paulus m-ani-beña a-ssiki-n lū-kkabbu na-ssibu adiaku, ūssa-tti ūjahū anda hidda n-âdi*, and when Paul had laid his hands upon them, the Holy Ghost came on them, *ahabula adiáku*, [to sit] on [his] throne ;

B. *aba a-tikida goba yumun-tu siba ajeago*, some fell upon stony places, *daii adeka goba Ialoko a-tokodo-n wiru jin aiomuni o-rea l-ajeago, oaboddi-n l-ajeago*, I saw the Spirit descending from heaven like a dove, and it abode upon him, *kia ki h-ajia-li bawhu ajeago-area*, that preach ye upon the house-tops, *Adaie-li Ialoko d-ajeago ka*, the Spirit of the Lord is upon me, *aloman ororo ajeago ka di*, as long as I am in the world (earth upon) :

N.B. in other cases "upon" is rendered by *amun*, § 71 b) 5), or *o-kona*, § 63.

c) 1) *adiki*, after.

kena a-kota-he adiki, and supper being ended, *kenbena yuho-ro koro kasakabo adiki, l-adiki-ji l-aiici a-herakida to-makwa*, and not many days after the younger son gathered all together ;

S. *gi-dikki n-akujoa*, then returned they :

2) Sm. *adikki-hi*, footprints, track ;

d) *adiki-loko*, instead of, in the room of ; after-in.

l-isiroko l-andakota kiana ba t-adikiloko, and (he) closed up the flesh instead thereof (Gen. II, 21), *l-ici Herod adikiloko*, [Archelaus did reign] in the room of his father Herod, *da-siki fa bu-muni n b-amuni-sia bia, bu-sanoci k-amuni-n bia b-adikiloko n*, he would (I will) give it to him (thee) for a possession, and to his (thy) seed after him (thee), *waii icinoci n-adikiloko-ci*, our fathers that came after (them) :

e) *adiki*, the lobe of the ear ;

f) 1) *adibeyo*, belly, womb (§ 124) ;

2) *to-moroa t-adibo-loko n-adeka amudikile-hi jiamutu*, but they discovered a certain creek with a shore :

g) 1) *adina*, arm, wing, Sm. *adena*, lower part of the arm, from the elbow unto the hand (A. M. § 182, 25) ;

2) *adinabo*, branch (A. M. § 182, 26) ;

3) *adina-mun*, near to, in the vicinity of.

t-adina-mun-ci, her neighbours (L. I, 58), *w-asiga-te t-adinamun-tu bawhu yuho mun, yumun d-ajia-n bia ba*, let us go into the next towns, that I may preach there also ;

4) *ajinamu-, ajinama*, to stand, to rest (the ark upon the mountain of Ararat).

§ 87. *Aji*, more than.

a) *b-a( )alikibitoa hiaro-no aji*, blessed art thou among women, *kia isogo-tu wabu barin to-makwa t-isi aji*, which indeed is the least of all seeds, *na-bolli goba kiana Mysia aji, Troas mun andi-n*, and they passing by Mysia came down to Troas ;

b) *kalime-hi sanoci aji-ka ka-ieniko-n toho ororo sanoci na-kirikia o-loko*, for the children of this world are in their generation wiser than the children of light, *a-kota-he aji-ka kokke-hu, koro ? eke-hu aji-ka ifirohu, koro ?* is not the life more than meat, and the body than raiment ? *t-aji-n bia hu*, and subdue it (Gen. I, 28), *kena l-aji goba n-ajia-n priest-no afudyi-no ajia-n bajia*, and the voices of them and of the chief priests prevailed, *n-aji-ti* (*ti*, § 110) *goba bajia na-muni kwawa*, and there was also a strife among them : other examples, see § 149 b).

§ 88. a) *jia*, S. *dia*, doing as, becoming as.

toho jia l-a Adaie-li da-mun, thus hath the Lord dealt with me, *naii jia ho fa koro kiana*, be not ye therefore like unto them, *ajia-hu k-amun-ci jia l-a-n goba a-mairikota-n o-doma ie, a-buriti-ci-no jia l-a goba koro*, for he taught them as one having authority, and not as the scribes, *bilibiliro jia l-a goba ka-raie-n, kena snow jia t-a goba l-eke arira-n*, his countenance was like lightning, and his raiment white as snow (Note the word-order in the Arawak sentence, § 13), *ifili-ci-wabu hui o-koboroko, lihi isogo-ci-wabu jia ma fa*, he that is greatest among you, let him be as the younger ;

b) *jin*, S. *din*, being as (*-n*, form, comp. in the following example *atiki-di-n* and *bilibiliro ji-n*).

daii adeka goba Satan a-tikidi-n aiomuni warea bilibiliro jin, I beheld Satan as lightning fall from heaven. Other examples in § 1 ;

c) S. *di-ssia*, to be a custom, a manner ; G. *dai diša-ya ulisebe u-kili mautia anobo-(n*, I am accustomed to rise at daybreak, *l-idišadoa dā-ma*, this man has remained true to me ;

d) *o-ma-n-jia, o-ma-n-jin*, like.

loko wa-murreta-te wa-ma-n-jin, waii jia-mu-ci bia, let us make man in our image, after our likeness, *Wacinaci o-ma-n jia-mu-ci-n bia i lo-murreta goba i*, in the likeness of God made he him, *imilia-tu ibena to-ma-n-jia ma koro wahadu-tu o-kona bajia*, and the piece that was taken out of the new agreeth not with the old ;

e) Combinations of *ki jin* and *ki jia* with different particles (comp. § 50).

ki jin ki to-buritwa Adaie-li ajia-n o-loko, as it is written in the law of the Lord (L. II, 23), *b-ahaka-n o-loko-ji Jerusalem mun da-konomun, ki jin ki ba b-ahaka fa da-konomun Rome mun*, for as thou hast testified of me in Jerusalem, so must thou bear witness also at Rome, *ki-jin ki ba Abel anda atenwa-tu l-isikapo-n-isa abu*, and Abel, he also brought of the firstlings of his flock (Gen. IV, 4), *Adaie-li, tanahu b-ikita-kwon-ci b-akoiokota m-aiima-hu abu, b-ajia-n jin ki ba*, Lord, now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace, according to thy word, *ki jin ki goba h-icinoci, ki jin ki ba hui*, as your fathers did, so do ye, *Jesus n-a goba a-iriti-n i : ki jia l-a-n*

goba angel a-sa-n o-doma i, his name was called Jesus, which was so named of the angel, *ki jia l-a kiana a-kudi-n loko a-fitikiti-n*, so he drove out the man (Gen. III, 24), *kena ki-jia tu fa, na-makwa kokki-ci m-akonnaba-ti-ci lihi Prophet ajia-n aboado fa loko-no o-koboroko area*, and it shall come to pass, that every soul, which will not hear that prophet, shall be destroyed from among the people (Acts III, 23), *b-osa bui, ki-jia ba-n-ci onyi-n*, go, and do thou likewise;

f) *jia-mu-ci*, f. *jia-mu-tu*, *jia-mo-tu*.

naraha jia-mu-ci omuni-n aiomun isauka o-doma, [suffer little children:] for of such is the kingdom of heaven, *ki-jia-mu-ci Awa k-ansi-n o-doma a-kwaiabo-ci bia lo-mun*, for the Father seeketh such to worship him, *ororo jia mo-tu koro Daii a-sika ho-mun*, not as the world giveth, give I unto you, *ki-o-doma tata-tu onyi-hi tora-jia-mu-tu l-onyi-ka lo-kabo abu ?* [what wisdom is this], that even such mighty works are wrought by his hands, *ki-jia-mu-tu ajia-hu*, a parable, *ki jia mo-tu koro h-icinoci eke goba manna*, not as your fathers did eat manna;

g) S. *dia-ma-ru* (*-ru*, § 176).

S. *ipirru-tu hallira-ru kimissa dia-ma-ru äke*, as it had been a great sheet, lit. great-thing white-thing cloth *diamaru* raiment, *Statuta dia-ma-ru adiá-hu n-a-ni-benna a-lesedü-n*, and after the (their) reading of the law;

h) S. *gi-dia* and *hi-ddia*, *gi-din* and *hi-ddin* = thus; the *h* indicates "affirmation", but of a milder kind than is indicated by the *k*; the *g* might possibly have an intermediate meaning (§ 57);

i) *ha-jia*, thus.

da-sa, ama o-doma ha-jia b-a ? son, why hast thou thus dealt with us ? *ha-jia-t-a-i* (§ 41) *toraha*, suffer ye thus far (L. XXII, 51), *ma-iyurati-n h-a-li naraha ansi, ha-jia|naii*, refrain from these men, and let them alone, *ama o-doma ha-jia-mu-tu ajia-hu d-akonnaba bu-konomun ?* how is it that I hear this of thee ? (L. XVI, 2): G. *hadiá t-a séme-ŋ*, (the beverage) is too sweet;

j) *ha-jia-ki*, gladly, willingly, with longing.

l-ajia-ga na-mun, Ha-jia-ki d-a k-ansi-n toho passover d-iki-n bia ho-ma kari-n o-bora di, and he said unto them, With desire I have desired to eat this passover with you before I suffer;

k) *bajia*, co-ordinating word: *ba*, again, *jia*, as.

atenwa-wabu Wacinaci a-murreta goba aiomun, ororo bajia, in the beginning God created the heaven and the earth, *naii ki o-koboroko goba Mary Magdalene, Mary James Joses bajia o-iyunatu, Zebedee sanoci o-iyunatu bajia*, among which was Mary Magdalene, and Mary the mother of James and Joses, and the mother of Zebedee's children, *biama goba kiana ma-kondo-n ie, wadili l-iretu bajia, ma-haburi goba bajia ie*, and they were both naked, the man and his wife, and were not ashamed, *kena na-synagogue o-loko l-ajia goba to-makwa Galilee ororo ajeago-ji man, yauhahu bajia lo-boreda goba*, and he preached in their synagogues

throughout all Galilee, and cast out devils. (Note, how *bajia* is attached to *yauhahu*, and not to the verb) :

[1]) *ajia*, to speak.

§ 89. *ada* (§ 20), tree : also staff, wood (A. M. § 182, 109) : *ada-fu-ji*, loin : *ada-na-ina*, shoulder : *alaiti-adaia*, candlestick, torch (*alaiti*, candle, light, A. M. § 182, 132E) : *adaia*, to have authority, to be a ruler : *adaiakiti-*, to honour : *adaiana-sia*, master, ruler : *adaili*, sun :

eda (§ 20, skin, bark (A. M. § 182, 7) : *idan*, leg (below the knee), Sm. *idê*, gar sein, *adinti-*, gar machen, *idiballe*, smoke-dried meat, *dele*, an anchor, S. *üssa-kebé a-delledoa-hü*, The fair havens :

o-doma, because, *a-dokoto-*, to show, *a-dokodo-*, to loose, to forgive : Sm. *u-dúkku*, der Schooss : Sm., G. *duli*, root (said from cassava and Ichnosyphon) (A. M. § 182, 110A), Sm. *dúrrukoáru*, yam, Dioscorea cayennensis, *kira-hudú-lli*, cotton spindle (*akkürrü-*, to bind), *addura*, to plait, B. *adura*, rib, *m-adure-ci*, the maimed, Sm. *addura-hü*, rib, *adüllebu*, the ribs, *m-adulle-ti*, a maimed person.

CHAPTER XI

T

§ 90. The *t*, in the meaning of "moving towards an object" (with a touch of will-power in it), we have already met with when we considered the construction of the action-words (§ 1). It occurs in a similar meaning in the particle *te* (§ 95), and in a great many words, for which we refer the reader to the Alphabetical Index, especially under *T*.

In some words and particles *ti* alternates with *ci* (phonetically *tsyi*). It is possible that *ti* is especially used if it is necessary to make the *t* principle appear plainly, or if the *t* principle is strongly felt, and *tsyi* etc. where that is not the case. Probably also euphony plays an important part in this phenomenon, e.g. *t-isi* (ph. *t-isyi*), its seed, *t-isa* (ph. *t-isa*), her child, *c-ikisi* (ph. *tsy-ikisyi*), (its) moment, *c-iwi* (ph. *tsy-iwi*), (its) fruit.

T in the meaning of "being active", "asserting oneself", in the verbal nouns ending in *-ci* (f. *-tu*).

T in the meaning of *d*, see §§ 44 f), 45 f), 47, 179 c), and with a similar meaning in the following:

a) 1) *tata-ni ho-loa o-doma*, for the hardness of your heart, *Daii tata-ci*, I was an austere man, *ma-tata-tu ialoko*, a spirit of infirmity, *tata kiana t-adeki-n l-ibici*, and (she) earnestly looked upon him, *to-moroa tata sabu goba l-ajia-n*, but he spake the more vehemently, *aba tata-tu-wabu auaduli*, a tempestuous wind, *tata-tu onyi-hi*, mighty works;

2) *hui tatabudi-ci o-no-ro*, ye stiffnecked, Sm. *tatabuddi-*, stark sein, hart sein;

3) *l-itatada goba na-loa*, (he) hardened their heart;

b) *tata o-kona*, power, force, strength (*o-kona*, § 63 a) 2A); a similar construction in *a-iige-sia o-loko*, § 22 e), etc.).

1) *l-ajia-n o-kona tata-ni o-doma*, for his word was with power, *tata da-kona da-siki-n bia n*, I have power to lay it down, *tata ho-kona h-ete-n bia*, are ye able to drink [of the cup, etc.], *tata wa-kona*, we can, *koriliaci ibikidwa goba tata-ci bia o-kona ialoko abu*, and the child grew, and waxed strong in spirit;

2) *a-tatadi-n na-makwa a-mairikoto-sia-no o-kona*, strengthening all the disciples, *bu-tatadi-n goba lo-kona jin*, as thou hast given him power;

c) *tau*, power (?) in: S. *ka-tau-ti Gouverneur*, most excellent Governor, *bui ka-tau-ti wabu Felix*, most noble Felix, G. *ka-tau-či*, a learned man, a saint;

T in the meaning of "touched", in the following:

d) Sm. *tétte*, to itch ;

e) *ibici*, S. *ibiti*, lightly touched, § 58 d) 1) ;

f) 1) Sm. *ikitti(-hi)*, eyelash (eye-*iti*) (A. M. § 182, 11) ;

2) Sm. *ittima(-hü)*, moustache, beard (*iti*-mouth) (A. M. § 182, 12) :

3) *t-itibi*, a tittle (L. XVI, 17), Sm. *ittebe*, a birth-mark, R. *tu-tebe*, "Mongolian spot" ;

4) *t-itibo-ko*, (bird's) nest (A. M. § 182, 111) ;

5) *tibo-kili*, a bush (A. M. § 182, 111).

g) *tere*, Sm. *ittere*, heat.

§ 90A. *Toko*, that which slowly falls or settles.

a) Sm. *tukkudun*, a mud bank in sea, B. *mo-togo*, sand (G. *mo-roli*, mud) ;

b) *a-tokodo-*, to come down, to descend, *a-togodo-tu*, the strangled (Acts XV, 29) ;

c) *o-toko-ro*, flower, G. *thokololo-n*, windfallen unripe fruit ;

d) *a-tok(o-?)*, to devour (fowls eating seed), Sm. *a-ttuku-*, essen mit saugen, z.B. Früchte, G. *a-toko-*, to bite (a snake).

Tik(i), that which quickly falls.

a) *itika*, excrements, rust (A. M. § 182, 13) ;

b) *a-tikidi-*, to fall, to cast, G. to pluck a leaf.

CHAPTER XII

FORMATION OF VERBS, ETC.

§ 91. We may now more closely examine the inner structure of the action-words, of which something has already been said in §§ 1 and 20.

Eke, to eat (§ 171 [a)]), is used wihout any inflexion, as a transitive verb: *d-eke kiana n*, and I did eat (it), *h-onnaka n, h-eke n*, take (it), eat (it) !. In other forms *eki* and *iki* prevail, and it is possible that the last *e* of *eke* is a slight indication that here an *a* ought to be used.

D-eke, I eat, belongs to the type: pronominal prefix — root. The type pronominal prefix — ending or particle (without root), is met with in: *l-a*, he did, *lo fa*, he shall do (§ 28), *d-ibi*, I did (a moment before) (§ 58 [a) 3)]), *d-ebe*, I have accomplished doing (§ 59 [a) 3)]).

In *a-ii-*, to weep (A. M. § 182, 150), the root consists only of a long *i* (felt as a sound-imitation ? see, however, A. M. § 182, 151, rain): *Jesus a-iiya goba*, Jesus wept.

In *a-ti-*, to drink (A. M. § 182, 3), the root consists of a *t* with only traces of a preceding *e*; *t(i)* indicates the motion of the fluid: *h-eta*, drink, *na-ta goba*, they drank, *da-ti fa*, I (will) drink, *da-tena a-ta-hi*, my blood is drink, *a-ta-kwona-hu*, a cup.

In *a-iibi-*, to leave (§ 58 [c) 2)]), the root is *ib(i)*, quick, slight appearance (§ 58): *na-iiba to-makwa*, they forsook all.

S. *akunnu-*, to depart, to go, to walk (Imperative *b-akun-te, h-akun-te, b-aku-te*; *-ci* verbal noun *akun-ti*), B. *akona*, to walk, and Sm. *abbunü-*, B. *abone-*, to plant, to sow (A. M. § 182, 145), indicate something like "to be on the earth", the first in an active sense, and the second in a quiet or peaceable way; comp. *kona* and *bonna*, §§ 63, 64.

The great majority of the verbs have *d*, *t* or *k* as endings, respectively indicating the principle of "standing", "movement towards an object", "appearing in an active, positive manner", with different vowels. Combinations also frequently occur.

Examples: *praise*, praise, *a-praisedi-*, to praise, *ikisi*, opinion, *ikisidi-*, to judge, *isa*, formed, good, sound, *isadi-*, to heal, *nokonne*, sorrow, *a-nokonnedi-*, to cause sorrow or sadness;

eke, clothes, wrappage, *eketi-*, to clothe, *kari*, to suffer, *a-kariti-*, to torment, *iri*, name, *iriti-*, to call one's name, *kokke*, life, *a-kokketo-*, to quicken (J. V., 21);

a-ti-, to drink, *ma-teki-tu bajia iju*, and the paps which never gave suck; *onna* (in compounds, § 79 [e)]), in a fixed place, *onnaki-*, to take (to

appear in a fixed place), *onnakidi-*, to lift up, *onnakiti-*, to compel to bear, G. *lu-manikidoa*, he is proud, lit. he-not-lift up-self;

ime, willingly, *imeko*, readiness, to be ready, *imigodo-*, S. *imekudu-*, to send:

ie, presumably at one time *ieni*, § 83 a), tongue, *a-ientwa*, to sing, *ieniko*, cleverness, wisdom, *ka-ieniko*, to be clever, subtle, wise, G. to be an eloquent man, a crafty speaker, a poet (the Arawaks make poems), *ienikoto-*, to make wise (comp., however, § 80 b)), G. *ieni-hi*, song, *a-yentoa*, to sing;

a-forra, to slay, *a-forrakiti-*, to put to death;

akeri-, to bind, *akeraki*, bond, bands, *akerakiti-*, to cause binding;

a-siki-, to put, to give, *a-sikiti-* to deliver;

aici-, to know, *aiciki*, a token, a mark, *aicikiti-*, to warn, to betray;

itimi, rope, bonds, *a-timiti-*, to bind, *abar-dakabo a-timitiki baka*, five yoke of oxen, Sm. *a-ttimetikitti-*, fest machen lassen:

o-buri, letters, *a-buriti-*, to write, *a-buritikiti-*, to cause to write;

aboa, to be ill, foul, *aboadi-*, to destroy, to waste, *aboada-be-tu wolf*, grievous wolves, *aboado-(n-wa)*, to be destroyed, *aboadikiti-*, to condemn, *aboadikito-(n-wa)*, to be condemned, *toho ki aboadikitoa-hu*, and this is the condemnation.

With regard to these forms, Sm. remarks: "Alle ihre Verba können in eine Form gegossen werden, die der Conjugation Hiphil ratione significatus correspondirt; und davon wird das Passivum gemacht auf die Weise: *amalitin*, machen, *amalitikittin*, machen lassen, *amalitikittúnnua*, gemacht werden." It will be evident now (— see also §§ 4 c), 6 b) —), that this formula does not exactly get to the heart of the matter.

Q. states with more insight: "Activ. *a-ssukussu-(n)*, waschen, Passiv. simplex. *a-ssukussa-hü-(n)* (§ 24), Reciproc. *a-ssukussu-(nn-ua)*, sich selbst waschen, Activ *a-ssukussukuttu-(n)*, waschen machen, oder lassen, Pass. *a-ssukussukuttu-(nn-ua)*, machen, dass man gewaschen wird, wird aber auch oft als ein blosses Passivum gebraucht."

In each of the elements added, the vowel has a meaning of its own. All sorts of combinations occur, but it is a matter of course, that combinations of elements containing the same vowel-principle occur most frequently. Striking examples of this are: *a-tikidi-*, to fall, to cast, *t-itikidi-kiti-n i*, it hath cast him, *a-tokodo-*, to come down, to descend, *lo-dokodokoto-ni n*, and when he had opened it [the book].

It is possible that the wish to obtain harmony between the sounds is of some influence in those cases where the meaning would not thereby be placed in jeopardy.

In the application of the different forms, the Arawak is very precise, e.g. Mt. XXII. 4, Behold, I have prepared my dinner, has been translated by: *H-adeka, da-koto-n d-iibidi()kita*, lit. Behold, my-dinner I -prepare-caused.

§ 92. Miscellaneous compound forms:

a) With an *-n*, indicating continuation or plurality (comp. the *-n-ci* forms, § 27) between the root and the *d* or *t*: *a-ma-ribe-n-di-*, to cleanse

(§§ 100, 28 [d]), *amaro-n-to-*, to threaten (§ 72 [a] [2]). *Damascus mun kasikwa-ci Jew-no lo-m-ajia-n-dikita goba*, (he) confounded the Jews which dwelt at Damascus (*ajia*, to speak) ;

b) *to-moroa ika tu Pharisee-no akonnabo-n ma-iaukwa lo ma kiti-n Sadducee-no o-konomun*, but when the Pharisees had heard that he had put the Sadducees to silence, *ama jia wa ma koti fa Wacinaci isauka ? ama wa-siki fa kiana ki-jia t-a-n bia ?* whereunto shall we liken the kingdom of God ? or with what comparison shall we compare it ? *Daii ki-jia-ma koti fa i ka-koborokwa-ci*, I will liken him unto a wise man, *ki-o-doma aiomun isauka ki-jia-ma kotwa abar-li adaie-li-wabu jin*, therefore is the kingdom of heaven likened unto a certain king ;

c) *ika tu yuho-li kibi loko-no eragi-n andi-n l-amun, to-makwa bawhu-yuho wa-rea-di-ci*, and when much people were gathered together, and were come to him out of every city (every city from-*di-ci*), *kia na-makwa Asia kono-no a-kwaiabo-sia o-mun tanahu barin, to-makwa ororo ajeago-di-ci bajia*, whom all Asia and the world worshippeth (all earth upon-*di-ci* also) ;

d) *ama ibia koro isa u waii l-isanonoci*, we are unprofitable servants, *wakaia a-tekita-kwa-ma-ci na-sa wa omuni n*, woe unto them that give suck, lit. evil drink-cause-yet-with-person their-child own unto it ;

S. *waikille*, far, *da-waikilledü-pa|hü*, I will carry you away ;

(B. *kidua*, true, *kidua-n*, verily, *kidua-in*, Amen), S. *kiduaheini-hü u-kunnamün*, [know] the certainty, *ikidduaheindi-*, to expound, to prove, *ikkiduaheinti-*, to give testimony.

§ 93. Reduplication is used in order to indicate "repeatedly" or "several". *to-moroa ika tu ho-kwaiabo-n-wa, m-ajia-n h-a-li kia ki kia ki ajia-hu ausirobu-in, akirikia-no ajia-n jin*, but when ye pray, use not vain repititions, as the heathen do, *m-imite-n bia di t-andandadi-n o-doma*, lest by her continual coming she weary me, *akorakorada kwa l-a Peter*, but Peter continued knocking, *l-ahadadadi-kita yuho-ro ajia-hu abu i*, then he questioned with him in many words, *aiimahaimadi-n*, disputing, *onnakennakodwa-tu bara o-horomurrida-n abu*, [a ship] tossed with waves, *wa-malamalada goba Adria bara bo-n-di*, we were driven up and down in Adria, *ka-siri-siri a-u-kili waboroko a-fulifulito fa*, and the rough ways shall be made smooth, *aiomun-tu ororo abolokoloko ka-raia goba*, were the tops of the mountains seen, *m-ausi-n h-a-li aba aba mun bawhu mun i-ro*, go not from house to house, *ma-sogosoko-tu akabo*, unwashen hands (Mk. VII, 2), *k-augi-k-augi-mi-ci*, the brethren, *wariwari*, fan, *bilibili-ro*, the lightning, *tata*, hard, *ibi kibi*, even now, *ibibidi-*, to touch, *-kwawa*, reciprocal, *fotoboto-ri*, nails, *bibici*, four, S. *sibassiba-ru*, waves (*siba*, stone, rock) ;

S. *na-ussa kiahañ adiadiadü-n Paulus ahaka-ssiä-bi-kurru ü-jalukku, imitamitadü-n badiä|n*, and (they) spake against those things which were spoken by Paul, contradicting and blaspheming, *ahakahakadü-*, to testify, to dispute (Sm.: viel reden machen), *a-ssimassimadü-*, to cry out (a

multitude: Sm.: to weep over the dead, without tears), *aimaimadu-*, to strive, to threaten repeatedly, *a-ijumujumuda*, to foretell, to prophesy (several prophets), *a-huñahuñadü-*, to murmur, *lu-ijulaijulattü-n-ti n-ansi*, (he) to vex (them), *anianidi-*, to do repeatedly, *a-ssikassikadü-*, to minister (daily, several persons), *akunnakunnadi-*, to travel, to pass through a country, *a-ijahaijahaddü-*, to pass through a country, *a-lammalam̃adü-*, to be tossed (a ship by a tempest):

Bernau *jumün lui arrada tu-maqua l-amün-tu a-kuttakuttada-hü a-ttatada-hü mu-ttu*, and there he wasted his substance with riotous living (eat-eat drink-drink with);

G., see § 212 ff.

The long *a*, indicating duration (action-words a group, §§ 3, 5) may also be classed with the reduplications.

CHAPTER XIII

L; R

§ 94. *L* in Arawak generally indicates the principle of "loose", "willing (and able) to move", whilst *r* on the contrary indicates the principle of "fixed", "unable to move", "motion being impeded".

G. Arawak has an *l*, an *r*, and two intermediate consonants: for the consonant most closely resembling *l*, the sign λ is used; for the consonant most closely resembling *r*, the sign ϱ is used. It is possible that on further examination no real difference will be found between λ and ϱ.

L and *r* are used in places where the difference is of importance, for instance *-loko*, in (free), *-roko*, in (bound), *kalime*, shining, *karime*, black. It is, however, not clear, why they say *pēro*, dog, and *kaϱina*, fowl, *báϱa*, sea.

In a few cases a word in a vocabulary contains an *l* where an *r* might be expected, and vice versa: presumably these are simple mistakes resulting from indistinct pronunciation.

§ 95. *Te* added to a verbal form, denotes "limited motion": *t* motion towards an object, *e* slowing down.

Li added to a verbal form, denotes "freely flowing forth": *l* loose, *i* principle or quick [1]).

Examples, with *ausa*, to go, or really "to form a void" (§ 130 [b])).

[a]) *ma-heragi-n bena na-muni kwawa ie, n-ausa kiana*, and when they agreed not among themselves, they departed, *h-ausa ho-kona mairia-tu isikwa-hu mun i-ro*, go into the village over against you, *h-ausa, h-ahaka-li John o-mun ba h-akonnabo-sia o-konomun h-adeki-sia o-konomun*, go and shew John again those things which ye do hear and see:

[b]) *yu warea ki, w-augioci akonnabo-n bena wa-konomun, n-ausa-te asakada-n wa-ma Appii Forum mun*, and from thence, when the brethren heard of us, they came to meet us as far as Appii forum, *b-osa-te da-iinabo*, follow me (Mt. VIII, 22):

[c]) *h-adeka, w-ausa-i-li Jerusalem mun i-ro*, behold, we go up to Jerusalem (Mt. XX, 18), *h-ausa-i-li to-makwa ororo ajeago-ji man, ajia-n sa-tu ajia-hu na-makwa a-murreta-sia-no o-mun*, go ye into all the world, and preach the gospel to every creature (*-i-li* presumably is used, because

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[1]) B. says in his grammar: "The termination *te* mostly denotes motion towards the speaker, the latter (*li*) from the speaker". Motion towards the speaker is of course a *te* motion: motion away from the speaker is very often a *li* motion, but it may be a *te* motion as well.

the preceding *a* has a durative meaning: comp. *isa-i-li!* friend!, *ada-i-li*, sun).

An investigation has brought to light that the suffixes *te* and *li* are used absolutely independently of the grammatical gender of the persons concerned.

Other examples.

Adaie-li, b-isada-te u, Lord, save us (Mt. VIII, 25), *h-isada-li aboaci-no*, heal the sick (Mt. X, 8); *b-isika-te da-mun yaha John Baptist isi*, give me here John Baptist's head, *h-isika-te yaha da-muni-n*, bring them hither to me, *b-isika-li adagati-ci bu o-mun (bu-mun ?)*, give to him that asketh thee, *ma-iauna h-aucigi-sia ma-iauna h-isika-li ba n*, freely ye have received, freely give; *h-adagata-li, kena t-isiko fa ho-mun; h-auada-li, kena h-aucigi fa; ho-korota-li, kena to-torodo fa ho-bora*, ask, and it shall be given you; seek, and ye shall find; knock, and it shall be opened unto you; *ho-mairikota-li ie*, teaching (teach !) them (Mt. XXVIII, 20), *ho-mairikotwa-li kabuia o-loko-tu to-tokoro o-konomun*, consider the lilies of the field, *ore-hi o-rea h-ikitwa-li*, (abstain ye) from fornication, *bu-prophesidoa-te wa-mun, Christ bui, alika i a-fatada bu*, prophesy unto us, thou Christ, Who is he that smote thee ?; *h-akonnaba-te, h-aiita-te to-konomun*, hear, and understand (Mt. XV, 10), *toho kiana h-aiita-li*, be it known therefore unto you (Acts XXVIII, 28), *m-iki-ni h-a-li*, ye shall not eat, *m-ahalikibi-li hu*, rejoice not.

In the nature of the case, *li* only occurs with the Imperative and in the Present Tense of the Indicative; *te* on the other hand, occurs with all kinds of forms: *-ba-te* (§ 60 [b)]), *fa-te, faroka-te* (§ 144), *goba-te, ga-te, l-a-n ka-te, koma-te, ia-te, bena-te, bia-te, bo-te, -n-te* (this form occurs also in sentences with *o-doma)*, *a-te, a-ia-te*. Further: *andi-ci ki te bui ?* art thou he that should come ? *d-Adaie-n o-iyu andi-tu-te d-amun ?* [and whence is this to me], that the mother of my Lord should come to me ? *d-ikiduada bui Christ, Wacinaci Aiici, andi-ci ki te ororo ajeago mun*, I believe that thou art the Christ, the Son of God, which should come into the world, *Lihi angel te jiaro, n-a kiana ajia-n*, Then said they, It is his angel (Acts XII, 15), *Cornelius imigodo-sia-no-te wadili adagata Simon isikwa ibici*, the men which were sent from Cornelius had made enquiry for Simon's house.

S. *-l-te, -li-te*:

b-addika-l-te b-a, receive thy sight, *b-ahaka-li-te|de*, or *b-ahaka-l-te|de*, tell me, *b-adepussudoa-li-té*, gird thyself, *hu-üboa-li-té*, refrain (leave), *b-ikittakutta-li-te|i Paulus*, keep thou Paul;

Sm. *bü-jahaddâ-te*, or *bu-jahaddâ-l-te, hü-jahaddâ-te* or *hü-jahaddâ-l-te*, walk ! *w-anssé-li-te wa-monne-koa-wa*, let us love each other.

§ 96. *Re, i-re*, denotes "no motion".

a) *isa-re b-a ikita-n i*, take care of him (L. X, 35; *isa*, good, sound), *isa-re l-a adeki-n*, he saw [in a vision] evidently, *isa-re t-a Sa-tu Ialoko ajia-n*, well spake the Holy Ghost, *w-auciga siba a-tago-n-wa isa-re-n*, the

prison truly found we shut with all safety, *sa-re t-a Elisabeth o-mun ajia-n,* and (she) saluted Elisabeth, *toraha l-ajia-n bena na-mun. Galilee mun kwa-re l-a bania,* when he had said these words unto them, he abode still in Galilee, *to-moroa a-boredo re ki wa fa-i abar kaiiri o-kona,* howbeit we must be cast upon a certain island, *ajia-n. A-circumsise( )do re ki n-a fa ie,* saying, That it was needful to circumcise them, *ho-makwa hui m-ite-ci, kudi-ci k-onnaka-re-n bajia,* all ye that labour and are heavy laden, *ki-jia-mu-tu-re-n da-siki-n ho-mun o-doma,* for I have given you an example, *kidua-n i-re-n,* Yea (Acts III, 24; *kidua,* true), *kidua-h i-re-n,* yea (L. XIV, 26), *yuho-ro sabu Jesus onyi-sia goba, to-makwa to-konomun a-burito faroka, to-makwa i-re-n kaarta a-burita-sia bia ma-bora-n ma ororo ajeago, d-ikisi-ka. Kidua-in.,* And there are also many other things which Jesus did, the which, if they should be written every one, I suppose that even the world itself could not contain the books that should be written. Amen ;

b) *aba-re-n,* straightway, forthwith, anon ;

S. *abbā-ka-ré-n,* suddenly ;

oma-re-n as soon as, immediately ;

c) *ere-hi,* a snare.

§ 97. *-Rea, -ria,* from : *ea, ia,* § 132.

a) *o-rea, au-rea ;* with pronominal prefix *au-rea, au-ria.*

kena Wacinaci alomosa goba oriroko-ho o-rea kalime-hi, and God divided the light from the darkness, *Adaie-li Wacinaci kiana a-murreta goba loko onabo o-bolisi o-rea,* and the Lord God formed man of the dust of the ground, *kena n-akenakwa a-cirikida-n i bawhu-yuho o-rea,* and (they) rose up, and thrust him out of the city, *Wacinaci akenako-koto-sia a-odo-ci-no o-rea,* whom God hath raised from the dead, *alika naii biama-no au-rea-ci onyi goba l-ici k-ansi-sia ?* whether of them twain did the will of his father ? *to-dokodo fa l-aurea ... lihi koro o-rea to-dokodo fa,* it shall be forgiven him ... it shall not be forgiven him, *bu-wakaia a-dokodwa b-aurea,* thy sins be forgiven thee, *abaren l-esere ausa l-aurea,* and immediately the leprosy departed from him, *abar-dakabo-no n-aurea ka-koborokwa goba,* and five of them were wise, *ika angel akoiwa t-aurea,* and the angel departed from her, *alika-i koro anda ma da-mun, ma-siko-n-wa|tu faroka Da-ci o-rea,* no man can come unto me, except it were given unto him of my Father, *daii ajia-ga ororo o-mun d-akonnabo-sia l-auria,* I speak to the world those things I have heard of him :

b) *a-rea.*

1) *d-onnakia to-bolisi b-akosi o-loko area,* let me pull out the mote out of thine eye, *ho-fadakudi fa wakaukili ho-kuti-roko area,* shake off the dust under your feet, *kena wiru lo-fitikita ki goba ba ark o-loko area,* and again he sent forth the dove out of the ark, *tata-be-ci-o-kona lo-tokodo-kota na-bolliti-kwona-hu ajeago area, kena onabo-ci l-aiomunta,* he hath put down the mighty from their seats, and exalted them of low degree :

2) *yuho sabu-ci, w-asika yaha-rea, ma,* the more part advised to depart thence also, lit. much very-person, we-go here-from, said, *l-onnaki-n bia*

loko-no ajia-n kari-kona-tu da-kona rea, to take away my reproach among men, *kena ajia-hu k-akonnaki goba-te aiomun bonna rea*, and a voice came from heaven;

³) *o-kona-ria*, for the sake of.

a-sorokodo-tu yuho-li o-kona-ria, [the blood] which is shed for many, *kia o-kona-ria*, for which [hope's] sake [I am accused], *to-moroa alika-i jiali a-boridi fa lo-kokke-wa Daii o-kona-ria*, but whosoever will lose his life for my sake, *wakaia ororo o-muni n, onyikita-hu wakaia-hu o-kona-ria*, woe unto the world because of offences:

c) *wa-rea, wa-ria*; *wa*, distant, § 121.

¹) *Daii adeka goba Satan a-tikidi-n aiomuni warea*, I beheld Satan ... fall from heaven (comp. *kenbena, h-adeka.ajia-hu aiomuni o-rea ajia goba*, and lo a voice from heaven, saying), *isada-hu Jew-no warea-n o-doma*, for salvation is of the Jews (J. IV, 22), *John baptism warea, l-onnako-n-wa w-aurea o-bora*, beginning from the baptism of John, unto that same day that he was taken up from us, *kia ikisi warea*, and from that hour (J. XIX, 27), *tanahu warea*, from henceforth, *abar-timen hour warea*, now from the sixth hour [there was darkness], *na-iakatwa kiana Adam l-iretu mi-ci Adaie-li Wacinaci isibo warea*, and Adam and his wife hid themselves from the presence of the Lord God, *aba-warea-ci goba di*, I was a stranger, *Thessalonica kon-di Macedonia warea-ci lihi*, a Macedonian of Thessalonica (he), *aba mihu Alexandria warea-tu*, a ship of Alexandria, *abar hiaro Samaria waria-tu anda goba a-soadi-tu oniabu*, there cometh a woman of Samaria to draw water, *lihi-ki atenwa waria d-ajia-sia ho-mun jin ki*, (he is) even the same that I said unto you from the beginning, *ororo warea-ci-n ka hu, ororo k-ansi koma t-amuni-sia-no*; *to-moroa ororo waria-ci-n koro o-doma hu ... ororo m-ansi ma hu*, if ye were of the world, the world would love his own: but because ye are not of the world ... the world hateth you;

²) *yu warea w-ausi-n bena*, and when we had launched from thence (§ 123):

d) *ma-i-ria, a-ma-i-ria, m-i-rea*; *m*-a the inferior, *i-ria* from (?).

Lybia ororo kono-no Cyrene mairia, and in the parts of Libya, about Cyrene, *d-onnakiti fa kiana hu Babylon a-mairia sabu*, I will carry you away beyond Babylon, *kena bu-pesidi fa n to-loko mairia t-iabo mairia bajia pesi abu*, and (thou) shalt pitch it within and without with pitch, *abar-li l-iisa mairia, abar-li lo-baro mairia*, [they crucify] the one on his right hand, and the other on his left, *d-iisa mairia, da-baro mairia*, [to sit] on my right hand, and on my left, *b-osa da-iiabo mirea, Satan*, get thee behind me, Satan:

e) *o-kona mairia*, over against.

h-ausa ho-kona mairia-tu isikwa-hu mun i-ro, go into the village over against you, *Cilicia Pamphylia o-kona mairia-tu bara w-atima-n bena*, and when we had sailed over the sea of Cilicia and Pamphylia, *omuni-ga w-ausi-n Crete o-rea Salmone o-kona mairia*, we sailed under Crete, over against Salmone:

f) S. *akudoa l-a-ni-ka taha-maria jaha-maria na-ssiqua u-llukkumün*,

entering into every house, *lui kéwai a-ijahadda-kubá jaha-maria taha-maria*, who went about;

ε) Sm. *akkuaria*, der Breite nach gegenüber.

§ 98. *Lia* denotes something newly arisen.

ibikido-(n-wa), to grow, *ibikido-lia b-aha-ni ka*, when thou wast young, *ibikido-lia-ci*, a young man, *ibikido-lia-be-ci*, young men, *ibikido-lia-tu*, maid, *burigo sa ibikido-lia-tu*, a colt, the foal of an ass; *korilia-ci*, newly born, babe, infant; *imi-lia*, new;

Sm. *hemé-ru-llia-ttu*, a woman in childbed (*hemëu*, to bring forth a child); *pülli-lia*, shrubbery (*pülli*, to grow);

S. *ibikiddu-lliä-tti*, a young man, *abba-nu ibikiddu-llia-nnu*, the young men; *üüssadükittu-liä-ti*, (the man which had been healed); *a-ssukussa-lia-ñu*, the persons that had newly been baptized (also: *a-ssukussu-tiä-li*); *andi-liä-tti-kubá-li Italia-waria*, lately come from Italy;

v. C. *bikidó-la-toe Maria*, the virgin Mary.

§ 99. *-L-*, to become soft or fluid; easily removable.

a) *bele-ci aboa-ci*, a man sick of the palsy;

ebeli-, to lick, Sm. *ebelti-*, to soften, to melt, *ebêldi-*, to suck honey, *béltiri*, cassava-paste, a cassava-beverage, R. *beltiri*, do., *bele-tto*, anything soft or jelly-like;

b) *kolo*, to be corrupt (decomposed, Acts XIII, 35-37), *a-koldo-*, to dip a sop (J. XIII, 26, 27), Sm. *kullu*, vom Wasser aufgeweicht sein; faul sein, verfaulen, *a-kulludu-*, *a-kuldu-*, durchweichen;

bA) Sm. *kule*, G. *khole*, to be weak, Sm. *a-kullebettü-*, to divide, to cleave;

bB) G. *da-kuliyï*, my arm is muscular, *kuliši*, tangled or curled hair, Sm. *u-kúllissi*, a woman's knot of hair;

c) *aluiti-*, to anoint;

d) *t-isaradi fa i tule-n*, it will grind him to powder, Sm. *tüllüla*, fein sein, S. *(ü-)ka-ttulle-hü*, dust;

e) Sm. *a-ssillikidü-*, to melt, B. *a-silaki-*, to throw (dust into the air);

f) 1) *ala*, Sm. *hála*, footstool (Indian seat, bench);

2) Sagot *kouli-ala*, I. Th. *coori-alla*, Sm. *kulj-ara*, canoe, corial; probably: *ala*, movable thing, with the character or likeness of a tortoise, Sm. *hikkuli*. Perhaps connected herewith: Sm. *kureháre*, a certain tree, very suitable for making canoes;

3) G. *hála-lu*, R. *hará-ro*, spatula, stirrer, pot-spoon;

g) Sm. *mánnaka*, manicole-palm, Euterpe oleracea, *mannak-ola*, the wood when it has been split (for making hedges, walls, etc.): *oa-la*, a splinter;

h) G. *tala*, lower jaw;

i) G. *da-sále*, ancle, Sm. *adenna-ssalle*, elbow, *ahara-ssale*, shoulder-blade.

§ 100. *Ri*, fixed.

isa-ri b-a-li! farewell! (also *isa-kibi h-a-li!* fare ye well!);

d-ahaki-n bia da-ri-wa ie, [let me go] bid them farewell, *w-ahaki-n bena*

wa-muni-kwawa wa-ri-wa, and when we had taken our leave one of another, *l-ahaka-ga l-augioci l-iri-wa*, (he) took his leave of the brethren, *to-moroa l-ahaka l-iri-wa ie*, but (he) bade them farewell;

iri, a name; *imirita*, to reproach, to revile, to rail;

airi, tooth (A. M. § 182, 19); Sm. *ardi-*, to bite;

kaiiri, island (A. M. § 182, 71);

iribe, uncleanness, *iribe-ci ialoko*, unclean spirits, *a-ribeti-*, to pollute, to defile, to profane, *a-maribendi-*, to cleanse;

a-dirika, *a-diriko-(n-wa)*, to shave oneself; Dudley *a-rke-ano*, *a-rgue-cona*, scissors;

a-iyeheriti- ... to-bara, to sheer (its-hair) (*iyehe*, A. M. § 182, 10);

ika tu bu-iwariki-dikiti-ni n, and when thou hast opened his mouth (a fish, Mt. XVII, 27).

§ 101. a) *Ribo*, *rebo*, *eribo*, *o-rebo*, waterside, without motion.

1) *lo-bollita goba bara rebo mun*, (he) sat by the sea side, *na-makwa loko-no ajinama goba t-eribo mun*, the whole multitude stood on the shore, *biama mihu l-adeka kiraha ribo mun*, and (he) saw two ships standing by the lake, *Jesus kiana m-ite-ci a-iadi-n jia ma goba a-bolliti-n a-ciga-oniabu o-rebo-tu ajeago*, Jesus therefore, being wearied with his journey, sat thus on the well;

2) *kena l-iinata ki goba a-mairikota-n bara ribo kona*, and he began again to teach by the sea side, *Asia ororo eribo kona w-eweladoa ti-ka*, meaning (we wished) to sail by the coasts of Asia, *na-dokodwa kiana yu warea, a-welado-n-wa Crete eribo kona*, loosing thence, they sailed close by Crete;

3) *a-ribota*, to land;

b) *rifu*, waterside, with motion (?); only found in the following example: *ika tu Jesus akona-n Galilee bara rifu-ji*, and Jesus, walking by the sea of Galilee.

§ 102. *Ro*, *i-ro*, stopped.

a) *h-adeka, imita-robu-mi-ci di hui, h-abokwa-li ia; aboado-ro ho fa bajia*, behold, ye despisers and wonder, and perish;

b) *ama ibia ajinama kwa h-a adeki-n aiomun bonna-ro ?* why stand ye gazing up into heaven? *bui bajia, Capernaum, onnakido-tu aiomun bonna-n i-ro, a-tokodo( )koto fa hell o-mun i-ro*, and thou, Capernaum, which art exalted unto heaven, shalt be brought down to hell, *Jacob ausa goba Egypt mun i-ro kiana*, so Jacob went down into Egypt (comp. *kena adaia-hu bia l-isika i Egypt ororo mun*, and he made him governor over Egypt), *kokke-hu o-muni-ro-tu waboroko*, the ways of life, *b-itikida-te b-uaiya yaraha-rea onabo-muni-ro*, cast thyself down from hence, *abar-timen hour warea oriroko-ho goba to-makwa ororo ajeago-ji*, *bibici-timen hour o-muni-ro*, now from the sixth hour there was darkness over all the land unto the ninth hour, *biama-no loko-no amoda goba temple o-lokomun i-ro na-kwaiabo-n-wa bia, aba-li Pharisee, aba-li publican*, two men went up into the temple

to pray; the one a Pharisee, and the other a publican, *kena na-makwa loko-no ausa l-ibici-ro,* and all the multitude resorted unto him:

c) (comp. *tu,* § 55 b) 4)).

yumun i-ro tu Daii ausi-n, mamari-ga hui andi-n, whither I go, ye cannot come;

d) (comp. *amunte,* § 71 b) 5) III)).

Galilee warea yaha mute-ro, beginning from Galilee to this place (L. XXIII, 5), *yaha-mute-ro h-adeka-te! jiaro: taha-ro h-adeka! jiaro, na fa koro ajia-n,* neither shall they say, Lo here! or, lo there! (L. XVII, 21), *m-andi-n d-a-n bia-te yaha munti-ro a-soada ibici,* neither (that I) come hither to draw [water], *Rabbi, alika b-anda-te yaha munte-ro?* Rabbi, when camest thou hither?

S. *jaha-mute-ru,* hither [he that came], *kiani-benna na-llumussâ-pa juwaria, jaha-mute-ru na-ssikâ-n-ti d-āme,* and after that shall they come forth, and serve me in this place;

e) *toro; to,* motion coming to rest, *ro,* stopped, in the following:

1) *toro-tu ada,* a corrupt tree;

2) I) *hajiatai toho wiwa, da-cigi-n bia c-ikira-ji, t-itika* (excrements) *bajia da-siki-n bia to-tora-ji,* let it alone this year also, till I shall dig about it, and dung it;

II) *Jesus a-burrida-tu-n o-toro-mun lo-iyu ajinama,* now there stood by the cross of Jesus his mother, *a-mairikota-sia l-ansi-sia bajia ajinamu-n lo-toro-mun,* and the disciple standing by, whom he loved;

III) Sm. *ú-tturu,* the whole foot, handle;

3) *a-torodo-,* to lay down, to fall down (worshipping), *a-torodo-kwona-hu,* a bed.

§ 103. a) *O-loko,* in (not fixed): *l,* loose, *o* space, *ko* faculty, power, place.

Examples, see §§ 5 c), 12, 10;

b) *roko,* in (fixed): *r* not able to move, *o* space.

l-onnaka l-adina-rok-oa kiana ie, and he took them up in his arms, *lo-wariwari-a lo-kabo roko ka,* whose fan is in his hand, *aba-no a-fatada goba na-kabo roko abu i,* and others smote him with the palms of their hands, *ho-fadakudi fa wakaukili ho-kuti-roko area,* shake off the dust under your feet;

c) 1) *abo-loko,* on the top of: *abo* appearance in space, *loko,* to be in a free manner at a place.

kena hihi aboloko l-isika goba n, and (he) put it on a reed, *t-aboloko warea onabo-mun-i-ro,* [the veil was rent] from the top to the bottom, *kenbena temple isi aboloko t-isika i,* and (he) setteth him on a pinnacle of the temple:

2) the same principle appears in *aboloka-* (or *ga-*):

l-itikida goba l-aboloka muni-ro, and (he) falling headlong, *n-ausa l-abu aiomun-tu ororo abologato-n-wa mun ... na-boredi-n bia i l-aboloka muni-ro,* (they) led him unto the brow of the hill ... that they might cast him

down headlong, *abologato-n-wa bara rako-mun*, [the herd ran] down a steep place into the sea;

d) *abo-roko*, at the outside.

a-ta-kwona-hu karubo bajia aboroko-ji ho-maribendi-n o-doma, to-moroa to-loko ibe kwa ma k-itesia-sia abu k-ikiha-sia abu, for ye make clean the outside of the cup and of the platter, but within they are full of extortion and excess, *atenwa a-ta-kwona-hu o-loko-ji karubo o-loko-ji bu-maribenda banyia, t-aboroko-ji maribe-ni-n bia bajia*, cleanse first that which is within the cup and platter, that the outside of them may be clean also;

e) S. *aku* and *aku-lugku*, in (fire), B. *ako-loko*, in (*ikihi*, fire, *balisi*, ash, *ibiki*, wound, and perhaps other words). Presumably *ikihi* etc. indicate something tiny or slight, thin, or a principle (ending: *i*), and *ako* (see § 128), the principle of "entering into" has to be added before *-loko* can be applied.

kenbena ikihi akoloko mun to-boredwa, and (it, the tree, is) cast into the fire, *a-bolliti-n wara-uara-tu eke-hu abu balisi akoloko*, sitting in sackcloth and ashes (comp. *lihi a-baptize()da fa hu Sa-tu Ialoko abu, ikihi abu*, he shall baptize you with the Holy Ghost, and with fire), *l-ausa kiana l-ibici, akera-n l-ibiki, a-sonko-n oili, wine bajia t-akoloko-ji*, and (he) went to him, and bound up his wounds, pouring in oil and wine;

S. *Paulus a-hurrudukuttu-n benna ihime-wa, a-ssiki-n hikkihü aku badja|n, abba karri-tu wuri anda t-akulugku-waria Paulus ü-kkabbu u-kunna*, and when Paul had gathered a bundle of sticks, and laid them on the fire, there came a viper out of the heat, and fastened on his hand;

f) *ari-loko*, in (between).

hihi bajia na-sika goba lo-kabo ariloko-ji, and (they put) a reed in his right hand; Sm. *arilükku*, zwischen, *l-äbuna arilukku*, zwischen seinen Knochen; S. *n-akunna abba waburukku üssiqua arilukku-tu u-llukku-di*, (they) passed on through one street, *Sondaka arilukku*, [that it might be preached] the next sabbath;

g) *i(y)a-loko*, presumably means: *ia*, the free being, the essence (§ 132), *loko*, to be in a free manner at a place.

1) *a-dokota-sia bia lihi, ajia-sia iyaloko*, for a sign which shall be spoken against (no other example has been found with B.); S. *Gott ü-jalukku*, [to fight] against God, *Hebräer-nu ü-jalukku*, [a murmuring] against the Hebrews;

2) *a-ialokoto-*, to change;

3) *l-ialoko ialokodo bia*, [give] in exchange for his soul, S. *Judas ü-jalukkudu-wa*, (in the place of Judas), *lü-jalukkud-oa*, in his stead;

4) S. *a-ijalukkududü-*, to build again (Acts XV, 16);

h) *o-kobo-roko*, among; *ko*, the active, positive being (comp. *o-kona*, § 63), *bo*, without motion, in rest, (§ 62), *roko*, in (fixed); see also § 128 k).

kena ka-sikwa goba waii o-koboroko i, and (he) dwelt among us, *Peter*

bajia a-bollita na-koboroko, Peter (also) sat among them; see also example, § 1;

i) derivations from *o-loko*:

1) *a-lokodo-*, to partake in, to part, *a-lokodo-tu iehi*, cloven tongues, *ka-lokodo-tu*, [a room] prepared, *ma-lokodo-tu*, desolate, *isauka ... ma-lokodo fa*, kingdom ... is brought to desolation, *l-iri a-lokodo-n-wa o-doma*, for his name was spread abroad;

2) *l-isikwa a-malokododo-ia*, let his habitation be desolate, *a-malokododa-hu*, the desolation, *a-malokododa-tu o-bolli-tu*, the abomination of desolation passing;

3) *c-ibiloko*, its breadth, *k-ibiloko-tu*, wide, broad, *m-ibiloko-tu*, strait, narrow (a way, a gate), *Wacinaci ajia-n k-ibiloko sabu ka kiana*, and the word of God increased, *k-ibiloko-u-kili*, the firmament, *ibilokoto-*, *ibilogoto-*, to make broad, to spread, to straw;

4) Sm. *u-llukkude*, in the hand, *da-llukkude*, my staff.

§ 104. *Ra*, a definite place (in time-bound reality), generally at some distance from the speaker.

a) *ka-raia*, to appear, to be born; *t-iraia*, the appearance (of things), *ka-raia-kona*, [he increased] in stature, *lo-maraiadwa*, he vanished, S. *ü-raija*, outward aspect; also: a vision, a sight;

b) 1) I) *hara*, *ara*, to be spent, ended, accomplished;

II) *ma-hara*, quickly, with haste, *ma-hara kibi*, with all speed, immediately, *ma-hara b-a-te*, *ma-hara h-a-te*, go to (Gen. XI, 3, 4), *ma-hara h-a-te d-ibici*, *ho-makwa hui m-ite-ci*, come unto me, all ye that labour;

III) *haradi-*, to spend;

IV) *aradi-*, to make fully, to complete (a journey, a day, a repayment);

2) I) *herre-n loko-no o-doma*, for the press [of the multitude];

II) *a-herrati-n bajia bu*, and [they] press thee;

III) *ka-heraka*, to keep company, to be friends with, G. *ka-kŏrkŏya to kúta*, animal species, *ka-körku-ada*, kind, *ka-kŏrŏkŏ-ya|da ye*, they are kind (*k* instead of *h*, comp. § 88h));

IV) *heragi*, *heraki*, *eragi*, to be together, G. *hüreka|de*, I am constipated;

V) *a-herakidi-*, *a-herakida*, S. *a-hürkida*, to come together, to gather (together);

VI) *a-muirika*, Sm. *a-mühürka*, to be choked (under water);

VII) *akera*, *akere*, to bind, *akeri-*, to entangle; (*k* instead of *h*, comp. § 88 h));

VIII) Sm. *ereké*, aufräumen, *erekedi-* bewahren, B. *eregi*, *erigi*, to root up, to gather up (the tares in the field);

IX) *aranta*, to mix, S. *a-hürruküda-ti ü-ijuhu k-arrana-nı-bu Phariseer-nu*, *Sadduceer-nu u-mamünnikoawa*, the one part were Sadducees, and the other Pharisees;

c) *ra-bu*, *ra-bo*, *ra-ba*, in the following words, indicates the (opposite)

side; *ra*, yonder, *bu*, appearance: comp. *re-bo*, *ri-bo*, waterside, § 101, *oalabaw*, the other side, § 120 c) 3).

1) *(e, i)rabudiki*, *(i)rabodogo*, against, towards (on meeting).

na-makwa bawhu-yuho kono-no a-fitikida goba ausi-n Jesus erabudiki, and, behold, the whole city came out to meet Jesus, *auaduli wa-rabuddiki-n o-doma*, because the winds were (our) contrary, *abaren a-odo-ci-sikwa o-loko area abar-li yauhahu k-amun-ci anda l-irabudiki*, immediately there met him out of the tombs a man with an unclean spirit (Mk. V, 2), *lo-tokodo-n bena t-eribo mun, abar-li l-irabodogo-ci bawhu-yuho warea auciga i, wakili warea yauhahu k-amun-ci lihi*, and when he went forth to land, there met him out of the city a certain man, which had devils long time (L. VIII, 27), *ka-rabudika-tu bara n-aucigi-n bo*, and falling into a place where two seas met, *ka-rabudika-ga n ajia-n, wakaia wabu-n*, contradicting and blaspheming;

2) *t-arbara-n*, (its, a paddle's) broadside: Sm. *k-árraba*, Carapa guianensis, the timber of which is very suitable for making the washboards of canoes, etc.;

3) R. *sarapa*, anything doubled: three-pronged arrow, double-barreled gun;

cA) 1) G. *salábadi-*, to square wood;

G. *walába*, Eperua falcata, the wood of which is very cleavable and is used in town for roof-shingles;

G. *sálabalaba to-kónde*, a six-sided pencil;

oalabaw, the other side, § 120 c) 3);

2) G. *sapa-ŋ*, smooth (a table);

G. *sábadi-*, *sábasabadi-*, to trample flat grass or shrubs, to wash by beating with a piece of wood, *ada sábada da-kabo*, a piece of wood struck my hand;

sapakāna, a long wooden sword;

d) *k-aiima-ci-no bu-mun a-cigi-n b-arama-kon-di akausakiti-n*, that thine enemies shall cast a trench about thee, *a-odo-ci-sikwa arama-kona*, [Mary stood] at the sepulchre, R. *t-arama-kon-di*, the lateral edges of a fan, Sm. *n-akúnna húrruru áruma u-kun-di*, we (they?) sail along the coast, *kúljara áruma*, the side of the canoe;

e) *t-itagara*, (its) wall; *a-tagi-*, to cover, to close, to shut;

f) 1) *l-i-raha*, *t-o-raha*, *na-raha*, *y-a-raha* (§§ 44, 45) and *t-o-ra*.

kenbena ika tu tora-jia t-a-n ajia-n, and when she had thus said, *l-augici fa i tora-jia-n-ci onyi-n*, (he) shall find (him) so doing, *tora-jin koro publica-no onyi-ka?* do not even the publicans the same?

2) G. *toho yadowa dai-ni* (§ 78 e) 1)) *ra-da*, this knife belongs to me;

g) (*y-*, see §§ 45, 123).

yara, a hedge;

Sm. *jurada*, barbecue, rafter (A. M. § 182, 51);

bawhu-yura, a beam (house-tiebeam);

R. *to-yuranni*, wooden float;

yura ... ansi, to hasten, *a-iyurati- ... ansi*, to trouble; see § 80 b);
aiyurako-, aiyuraka, to draw, to hale, *oniabu kiana aiyura-kwa*, and the waters asswaged;

Sm. *jura-hü*, the longing;

h) *ibara*, to remain, to be left.

§ 105. *O-bora; bo* in rest, *ra* a definite place.

a) room, place.

1) *b-isika lihi o-bora*, give this man place, *ho-korata-li, kena to-torodo fa ho-bora*, knock, and it shall be opened unto you, *kena a-korati-ci o-bora to-toroda fa*, and to him that knocketh it shall be opened, *ka-bora kwa t-a bajia*, yet there is room, *ki-o-doma ma-bora goba ie*, insomuch that there was no room to receive them; S. *na-bulleda na-kkabbura u-ria baddia je*, and (they) expelled them out of their coasts;

2) *a-maboradi-*, to throng; Sm. *a-kabburratikitti-*, to make broad or wide;

b) a certain point of time (indicated by the pronominal prefix or object-word) in the future.

kena tanahu d-ahaka-ga ho-mun t-andi-n o-bora, now I tell you before it come, *kena tanahu d-ahaka bi ho-mun to-bora*, and now I have told you before it come to pass, *ororo m-ansi faroka hu, h-aiita m-ansi t-a-n goba di, m-ansi t-a-n o-bora hu*, if the world hate you, ye know that it hated me before it hated you, *kenbena, h-adeka, kasakabo man ho-ma di, ororo a-iibo-n-wa o-bora-n*, and, lo, I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world, *andi-ci da-iinabo a-sikoa da-bora-ci bia; da-bora-n goba o-doma i*, he that cometh after me is preferred before me: for he was before me, *to-moroa oaboddi-ci t-ebo-n-wa o-bora isado fa*, but he that endureth to the end shall be saved, *ika tu omuni-n c-iwi ikisi o-bora*, and when the time of the fruit drew near, *d-adaie-n k-ibena l-andi-n o-bora*, my lord delayeth his coming, *kabuea mun goba lo-bora-ji l-aiici*, now his elder son was in the field, *aba-li jiali koro da-simakiti-sia na-bora ikisidi fa da-koto-n*, none of those men which were bidden shall taste of my supper, *kena to-bora-tu a-fitikidi-n himi b-onnaka*, and take up the fish that first cometh up, *to-moroa ika tu na-bora-ci andi-n*, but when the first came (Mt. XX, 10), *to-moroa yuho-li na-bora-ci n-adiki-ci fa, kena n-adiki-ci na-bora-ci fa*, but many that are first shall be last; and the last shall be first;

c) *o-bora-mun*.

na-bora mun n-anda kiana, and (they) outwent them, *lihi-ki iibidikiti fa b-abonaha bui o-boramun*, which shall prepare thy way before thee, *bawhu-sibo sikapo o-boramun Daii*, I am the door of the sheep, *k-ansi goba ie t-ebo-n-wa o-boramun*, he loved them unto the end.

§ 106. *Ikira-ji, ikira-di*, round about.

yara l-isika goba c-ikira-ji, and hedged it round about, *c-ikira-ji-tu ororo*, the country round about, *Galilee ikira-ji-tu ororo*, the region round about Galilee, *n-ikira-di-ci*, (they) that dwelt round about them, *a-bolliti-ci*

l-ikira-di-ci, them which sat about him, *l-adeka l-ikira-di-ci ibici kiana*, and he looked round about.

§ 107. *Ra* is also used in order to indicate, that something which has the nature of a liquid, is here considered as "a definite place".

a) *-rako*, *-irako*, in (a fluid).

kena abaren l-amodi-n oini-rako warea, and straightway (he) coming up out of the water, *a-tobadi-n nete bara rako-mun*, casting a net into the sea, *bara irako-tu himi*, the fish of the sea (comp. *b-osa bara mun*, go thou to the sea), *Jordan irako*, [to baptize] in Jordan, *aciga irako-mun*, [to fall] into the ditch ;

b) (comp. *oini ... iki*, to rain).

1) *oniabu ma-kira goba*, the waters were dried up, *ororo ma-kira*, the face of the ground was dry ;

2) *ikira*, tears ;

3) *kiraha*, a pool, a lake (A. M. § 182, 69) ;

4) *ura*, juice (A. M. § 182, 2), see also § 125 b) ;

5) *egura*, root (of a plant or tree) ; *abona-gira-hu*, a herb, see § 125 b) ;

6) *bara*, sea (A. M. § 182, 70) ;

7) *o-barra*, hair, see § 64 a) 4) ;

c) connected with the preceding :

S. *Jesus k-ansi-ssia-nnu akujabara- koaré n-a Gott u-mün lu-kunnamun akujaba-ra*, prayer was made without ceasing of the church unto God for him, *abba-nu ka-ijahadda-ra-ké rubu-mu-tti Judu-ñu*, certain of the vagabond Jews.

§ 108. *Ra* in the following words can be explained as indicating "a definite place", but it may also be sound-imitation.

araga, to cut off, *aragakoto-*, to separate, to divide ;

aterakidi-, to rend ;

a-iharakidi-, *iharakidi-*, to tear, *a-iherakido-(n-wa)*, to break, intransitive (a net) ;

akurradi-, *akurrada*, to break ;

a-korati-, to knock, to buffet ;

akorakali, thunder ;

atarata-hu airi-sibo, gnashing of teeth ;

maraka, rattle (see also § 117 d) 2)).

§ 108A. By the combination of a free movement (*l* principle) and a restraining force (*d* principle), a couple of forces may arise which causes rotation. This accounts for the use of the *r* in words expressing a rotary movement.

a) see § 120 e) 1, 2) ;

b) 1) *aure-ci o-loa ikirikia*, perversed generation, *haure-ci-no*, those that were maimed ;

2) *l-a()aurida goba Galilee ororo mun i-ro*, he turned aside into the

parts of Galilee, Sm. *aordü-*, *aorda*, to spin, G. *to úri auǫoda*, the snake lies coiled up; *yáho áurodo-(η*, to roll up a ball of string;

[c]) *lo-uribisa*, he rolled, *a-uribi-sia*, rolled [the stone of the sepulchre], G. *to úri ka-lebetoa*, the snake lies coiled up;

[d]) *k-aru-bo*, a platter, Sm. *karrupairo*, snail-shell, G. *da-kérosa no*, I draw a circle, *a-kerosó-to*, a circle, *karusa*, feather headdress;

[e]) G. *ka-ranalana-tu a-yáti-n*, to draw flourishes;

[f]) oraro, S. *wuraru*, a cloud (comp. G. *úraroni*, saliva, Sm., R. *haru*, starch);

[g]) *hori*, S. *wuri*, snake (A. M. § 182, 41);

[h]) Sm. *a-ssürdü-*, to spin.

CHAPTER XIV

H

§ 109. The *h* is used in Arawak in order to indicate "gentle affirmation"; in some cases it means "to exhale"; in *ahe*, yes, both these meanings are included. In a few words the *h* has been found to alternate with *g* and *k* (§§ 88 h), 104 b) 2)).

ahe ! yea ! *ibi-ka bajia ie oaboddi-n ahe b-a-ni o-bora*, and now are they ready, looking for a promise, lit. ready-is also they waiting yes thine doing future-moment;

S. *ehé*, yes, *t-aha-muté rubu t-adiâ-n*, but she constantly affirmed (her words); Sm. *ehé*, yes, *ehé-ka|d-a*, I say yes, G. *ehé* (nasalized), yes (A. M. § 182, 132A);

Sm. *hüwa*, blow-gun;

ahaka, to tell, to command, to bring word, *ahaka* ... *bu-iri* (*l-iri*, etc.), to accuse thee (him, etc.), *misi-tu ahaka-hu*, the law (*iri*, name, *misi*, right);

ahaki- ... *da-ri-wa* (*l-iri-wa*, etc.), I (he, etc.) bid farewell;

ahakobu-, *ahakobo-*, to breathe, to rest, *ahakoba-hu*, breath, rest, refreshing;

l-ahako ƒa jiaro, when he should have swollen (or ... : Acts XXVIII, 6), *abar-li ahako-ci*, a certain man, ... which had the dropsy: S., Sm. *ahaku-(nn-ua)*, to swell;

Sm. *hanna-hanna-(n)*, dick sein, *da-llerukku ahanna-hanna*, my lips, *d-adikka ahanna-hanna*, my ear-lap, *hán-iju*, gnat, mosquito (= swelling-producing);

Sm. *wuini burreha-ttu*, sour, strong paiwari, *bâiwaru*, a fermented drink, prepared from cassava (creole *paiwari*, *tapana*); B. *a-boraada*, to leaven, *a-boraada-sia*, vinegar; Sm. *búrreha*, to be sour, *a-bûrahadü-*, to make sour;

a-haburi, *aburi*, to be ashamed;

(a)haduboci, perspiration, G. *hadufuči|ka|de*, I perspire; Sm. *adu*, parasol;

S. *ahannuba*, to be awake, to watch, B. *aanabo-*, *aanubo-*, to awake;

Sm. *a-ehehebuda*, *a-eheherudunna*, to yawn;

habe, S. *hebbe*, to be old (a person), *hebe c-iwi marisi*, the full corn in the ear, G. *hebé-ia č-iwi*, the fruit is ripe;

ahalikibi, *alikibi*, joy, to rejoice, *alikibe*, to be glad, *ahalikibito-(n-wa)*,

a()alikibito-(n-wa), to be blessed; perhaps related to this: G. *tholebé ka i*, he is industrious, *tholebe-či-mekébo(η*, a pushing worker;

S. *ma-hallê-ti*, (a person) that lacked, Sm. *ma-hallê*, not sufficient;

S. *ahadakuttu-*, B. *adagato-*, to require, to demand, to ask, to enquire for;

Sm. *ahabu*, backbone, Sm., S. *ahabula*, footstool, seat, B. *simara-habo*, bow (A. M. § 182, 54) (*simara*, arrow), *akera-n mihu t-ahabo area*, S. *tau abbu na-ttimetta meju ahabu u-kunna*, undergirding the ship;

t-isiri kiana hatatwa, S. *t-issiri hatta kebé hiddan*, the [ship's] forepart stuck fast, S. *muttuku adiaku na-hattadoa-ma*, lest they should fall into the quicksands;

aimaha, to curse, to revile (*aiima*, wrath).

§ 110. a) S. *hitti*, B. *ti*, *hiti*, to desire, to will, to hope, to seek, to be determined to.

S. *nai ké ikissida-hitti-ka|i Stephanus uiniku*, (they examine-wish him St. cleverness, Acts VI, 9), *bu-buruwattü-n-hitti-ssia k-amonaika-ti u-mün*, thine alms (thine help wish-*sia* poor-one unto, Acts X, 4);

B. 1) *liraha Jesus itena h-isika ti-ka wa-kona mun*, and (ye) intend to bring this man's (Jesus') blood upon us, *l-oaiya l-ikalimetwa ti-ka*, (he) seeketh his own glory, *lo-đokoda ti goba l-auroa kiana n aiakatwa o-loko*, (he) was minded to put her away privily, *alika-i jiali isada-ti ƒaroka lo-kokke-wa, lo-boridi ƒa n*, for whosoever will save his life shall lose it, *h-atenabo ƒaroka ie h-auciga ti-n n-aurea ba o-doma, ama kiana h-iauna wa ?* and if ye lend to them of whom ye hope to receive, what thank have ye ? *lo-iyu l-augioci ajinama goba maugili o-loko ajia-ti-n lo-mun*, his mother and his brethren stood without, desiring to speak with him;

kena alika-i jiali ifirotwa ti-ci lo-mun-wa, h-afudyi bia, lihi h-isanci ƒa, and whosoever will be chief among you, let him be your servant, lit. and who ever magnify-self wish-person him-at-self, your-chief to-be, he your-servant future, *kena m-anda-ti h-a Daii amun, kokke-hu h-amuni-n bia*, and ye will not come to me, that ye might have life, *ki-o-doma n-aboadwa ti goba*, and (they) were in jeopardy, *manswa ki l-a-ti goba aboko-n-wa ia*, and (he) began to be sore amazed;

2) *a-mairikota-sia-no o-ma ti goba barin i*, he assayed to join himself to the disciples;

3) *Satan k-amuni ti ga bu*, Satan hath desired to have you (thee);

4) *w-adagata ti sabu ka i, h-a-li lo-mun*, as though ye would enquire something more perfectly concerning him, lit. we-demand wish more is him, ye-do him-to, *ki-o-doma Jew-no a-forra ti sabu goba i*, therefore the Jews sought the more to kill him, *ki-o-doma na-bokota ti ki goba ba i*, therefore they sought again to take him;

5) *kena tanahu warea n-onyi-hiti-sia koro ikiado ƒa n-aurea*, and (from) now nothing will be restrained from them which they have imagined to do, *m-onyi-hiti-ci l-ansi-sia*, [the which] neither did according to his will;

6) *ma-ti*, or *m-a-ti*, not willing, in:

to-moroa mati l-a goba Jesus, howbeit Jesus suffered him not, *da-sika ma koro n, mati l-a tu-mun,* he would not reject her (Mk. VI, 26), *to-moroa mati l-a,* he consented not ;

7) *iitesia,* covetousness (§ 118 a) 2)) ;

8) *(ka-)cikibe,* theft (§ 118 a) 1)) ;

b) 1) Sm. *ahitti,* to be compliant, *m-ihitê,* to be tired ;

S. *l-ahitti-ka Wamallittakoanti u-mün lu-llua u-llukk-ua,* (he) believed, lit. he-*ahitti*-was God at his-heart in own, *juhu-lli m-ahitti-ka Adaija-hü u-mün na-llua u-llukk-ua,* and many believed in the Lord, *lu-llua baddia ibé üssa-tti ü-jahü abbu, m-ahitti-kuma-hü abbu ba,* and (he was) full of the Holy Ghost and of faith, G. *mithé|de,* or *dai mithe,* I am tired, *mithé-ka|dĭ hadī(ŋ,* I am very tired ; B. *ho-makwa hui m-ite-ci,* [come unto me] all ye that labour, *imitedi-,* G. *imitedi-, imithĕndi-,* to be tedious to someone ;

2) S. *hitte : lu-morrua Saulus hitté l-a kubá a-tattadu-nn-ua lu-kuburukkua-monn-ua,* but Saul increased the more in strength, *d-a-n u-dumma hitte-kebe-pa adia-n d-awa m-ammarru-nni-hüa,* [therefore] I do the more cheerfully answer for myself, *Jesus k-ansi-ssia-nnu u-ijuhu hitté rubu m-a-ni-ka,* and in those days, when the number of the disciples was multiplied, *kiahanna d-akujaba bu-mün, mimi-hitté* (*mimi,* cold) *b-a-n-ti akannabü-n d-adiâ-n,* wherefore I beseech thee to hear me patiently ;

3) Sm. *a-ttikida,* to persuade, to speak kindly to someone, G. *a-ttekeda,* to advise, *da-tikidikita-ka,* I sing (a medicine-man ; see § 206).

§ 111. The *h* with *a* or *o* occurs further at the beginning of words if the *a* or *o* sound is specially important, e.g.

a) *ama, alika, alo,* interrogative words (§ 139), S., Sm. *hamma, hallika, hallu,* Sc. *hamma,* v. C. *ama, halika, halo,* Pen. *hama,* R. *hama, halleku,* G. *hama, halika, halo ;*

b) *adaili,* sun, Wyatt *hadaley,* Dudley *hadalle,* Laet *adaly,* S., Sm. *haddalli,* Hi. *hadalley,* Sc. *haddali,* I. Th. *adaili,* Sagot *hadali,* v. C. *adalie,* G. *hadali ;*

c) *ada,* tree, Wyatt, S., Sm., Sc., Sagot, R. *adda,* v. C., G. *ada,* Laet *hada ;*

d) Sm. *halpeléru,* a pin (Spanish *alfiler*) ;

e) 1) *ororo,* earth, Wyatt *arara,* S., Sm. *hurruru,* Bernau *harare,* Hi. *ororoo,* v. C. *hororo,* G. *hololo :*

2) *o-horora,* land, farm, country, S. *u-hurrura ;*

f) *a-odo-,* to die, S., Sm. *a-hudu-,* v. C. *a-hoodo-, a-hoedoe-, oodo-.*

See further deictic or emphasizing *h* in §§ 44—47.

§ 112. a) *hihi,* reed (A. M. § 185, 127) ;

b) Sm. *ihi,* tail (A. M. § 182, 29), *úe-iri,* backbone (G. : lower part of the back), *ihiri,* an eel ;

c) 1) *ikihi,* S. *hikkihü,* fire (A. M. § 182, 65) ;

2) S. *ihime,* firewood, v. C. *dai k-ime,* I have fire ; perhaps this word is the name for the apparatus for making fire, comp. § 73 b) ;

c) perhaps connected with the preceding (cremation ?) :

S. *l-üja majauqua|tu|ppa kurru l-ihittiattina u-llukku*, that his soul was not left in hell, *l-ihittiättina w-amunni-ka koa dannuhu baddia*, and his sepulchre is with us unto this day, *akkárrta-hü-ssia baddia kia hitti u-llukkumün*, and laid in the sepulchre [that Abraham, etc., Acts VII, 16] ;

d) *ka-hile(n)*, to be quickly, *kahili kibi t-a kiana ausi-n*, running (a ship, Acts XXVII, 16), *to-makwa t-abokwa-boa mu-tu poroko adarida goba kahili kibe-n*, the whole herd of swine ran violently ;

e) Sm. *ihiti-*, to ground fine, *a-hüidi-*, to press, to press out, B. *ifiro-tu kimisa a-huido-tu bibiten t-akoina mun*, a great sheet knit at the four corners, *a-iidi-*, *a-iji-*, to gird, *a-iido-(n-wa)*, to gird oneself ;

f) G. *a-hilesa*, to split cane ;

g) Sm. *ue-hükkilli*, *we-hikkili*, silkgrass, Dudley *huculle*, a bow string.

CHAPTER XV

S

§ 113. The *s* is used in Arawak in order to indicate "showing form", "having a surface of its own, a scale or cuticle".

Si (phonetic spelling) has an inclination to alternate with *syi* (ph. sp.).

§ 114. *Sa* (A. M. § 182, 148A).

a) 1) *m-isa kwa t-a-n ka ororo a-koado-n-wa*, the earth was without form, lit. not-*isa* yet it-being earth round-being ;

2) *isa*, sound, in Acts III, 7, 16 ;

3) *isa-ka-ni-ma-n* and [Moses] was exceeding fair, *kia ki Isa-tu-wabu n-a-sia asa-n*, [the temple] which is called Beautiful, *misi-ci a-odo-ci-sikwa sa-ke h-a-n ho-murreti-n o-doma*, because ye ... garnish the sepulchres of the righteous ;

4) *isa*, good (the *i* is omitted in *sa-ci, sa-tu*) ; the word "holy" in the bible texts is also translated by *isa ;*

5) *isadi-*, to lay up (treasures), to save, to restore, to heal, to make whole, to garnish ;

6) I) *karina-sa*, an (hen's) egg, *karina a-herakidi-n t-isa-wa t-adina abomun jin*, as a hen doth gather her brood under her wings, *baka-sa*, a calf, *kabaritu-sa*, a kid ;

II) *isa*, child (offspring), *ka-sa*, to be with child, to conceive, to beget, *ma-sa*, to have no child, to be barren ;

b) *a-sa*, to call (to give a name) ;

c) *saka*, to wither, to be withered (a tree, a herb), lit. *ka*, making its appearance in a positive manner in time-reality, with the character of *sa*, showing form, scale or bark (in contrast with growing, living, soft things) ;

d) *a-saradi-*, to bruise, to grind ;

e) *bese-ki-n-ci-n o-doma i*, because he was of little stature, R. *base-ke-n-to hiaro*, short girl, Sm. *bêssekinni*, to be small, *bassa-ba-n-tu*, a little one (persons).

§ 115. *Se, si*, flesh (A. M. § 182, 4).

ese-re, ise-re, sores, leprosy ;

isi, Sm. *hissi, hüssi*, G. *hiši*, to stink, Sm. *ka-ssi*, to smell of fish ; *h* exhalation, *issi* flesh ? (A. M. § 182, 149A) ;

Q. *oassini-hü*, the physical heart ;

S. *issin*, penis ;

S. *isehü*, Sm. *issehi*, a worm ;

Perhaps also belonging to this category : *seme*, sweet, delicate, *sipe*, G. *šife*, bitter.

§ 116. *Si.*

a) surface.

1) *isibo*, in face of (without motion), *isiba*, a face.

l-isiba muni-ro lo-toroda goba lo-kuti isibo-mun, a-dankido-n-wa lo-mun, (he) fell down on his face at his feet, giving them thanks, *n-aiakatwa kiana Adam l-iretu mi-ci Adaie-li Wacinaci isibo warea*, and Adam and his wife hid themselves from the presence of the Lord God, *to-loa-sibo abu ka-koborokwa-ni n*, [Mary kept all these things, and] pondered them in her heart, *bawhu-sibo*, S. *baha-ssubu-lle*, door, gate, B. *l-adura-sibo*, his side (*adura*, rib), *airi-sibo*, (fore) teeth :

2) *isifu*, in face of (with motion).

I) *oniabu isifu-ji Wacinaci Ialoko ausa goba*, and the Spirit of God moved upon the face of the waters, *t-ibibida goba l-eke isifu-ji*, and touched the hem of his garment :

II) *a-sifuda*, to turn away, again, about, to repent ; *a-sifudo-(n-wa)*, to be interpreted, translated ;

III) *isifo-do*, door, gate ;

3) *siba*, stone, rock (A. M. § 182, 75) :

4) *isiroko*, flesh (A. M. § 182, 4) ;

b) 1) *isi*, seed (of a plant or a tree) (A. M. § 182, 119) :

o-bolisi, dust (of the ground), chaff (*bolli*, to pass forth), *balisi*, ash (A. M. § 185, 66) :

marisi, wheat (really : maize) (A. M. § 182, 122) ;

ako-si, eye, probably eye-ball (A. M. § 182, 15) :

2) *isi*, head (A. M. § 182, 14) ;

3) *t-isidi-tu*, the (its) roof, *da-sikwa-sidi-tu*, my (house-) roof :

4) *isikwa*, a house, *ka-sikwa*, to dwell, to make one's abode, *ark isikwa-ci-n*, the covering of the ark, *b-elitada bu-kaspare-n t-isikwa o-lokomun*, put up again thy sword into his place, *Golgotha ... isii abona isikwa*, G. ... the place of a skull, *isikwa-hu*, village :

5) *lo-kabo isi*, the tip of his finger, *temple isi*, a pinnacle of the temple, *a-modi-n sycamine ada-isi*, and climbed up into a sycomore tree, S. *hurruru issi*, mountain (top) :

6) I) *isiri*, nose, also : the forepart of a ship (A. M. § 182, 16) ;

II) *ka-siri-siri a-u-kili waboroko*, the rough ways ;

III) *t-isiribida koro*, neither do they spin, *kaarta l-isiribida*, he closed the book :

IV) *ka-siri-ma-n*, [a measure] running over ;

7) I) *m-isi*, to be straight, right ; also : to be righteous, just, lawful, *misi-tu ahaka-hu*, the law, *misi-tu l-ahaka-n*, his commandment ;

II) *imisidi-*, to stretch forth (his hand), S. *imisidi-*, to expound, to declare, B. *imisido-(n-wa)*, to be made straight, to be justified ; *imiseldá-sia*, the pavement (J. XIX, 13) (G. : masonry) ;

c) a point.

1) *simara*, arrow ;

[2]) Sm. *sâmmali*, cassava grater (A. M. § 182, 50) ;

[3]) I) G. *siparali*, arrow with bamboo lanceolate head ; *para*, to kill ;

II) I. Th. *siparara*, R. *shiparari*, arrow with iron lanceolate head ;

III) *siparari*, iron [1]) ;

IV) Dudley *casparo*, S. *kassiparra*, B. *kaspara*, a sword [2]); *ka-sipara* or Spanish *espada* ?

V) Comp. Karib languages* *šipari*, sting-ray ;

[4]) Sm. *súdi*, blow-gun arrow ;

[5]) Q. *mussi*, R. *mossi*, a club ("and have sometimes on one side of the mussi a projection in the form of a little hatchet") ;

[d]) something sharp, sometimes unpleasant.

[1]) *a-siki-*, to put, to give ; G. *a-siki-*, to put before one (for instance food), and *a-kŏlŏk(ŏ?)-*, to reach (for instance an object), are used when we use "to give". According to A. P. Penard (verbal communication to the author), something similar occurs in Kaliña, and is rooted in the Indian belief that only what is required for one's personal necessities may be regarded as property. What his field, or the chase produces in excess of his needs, does not belong to him ; he is bound to give it away to those persons who are in need of it. He is also bound to lend a hand for any work, if necessary ;

[2]) I) *a-simaki-*, to call, *a-simaka*, to cry ;

II) S. *a-ssimadü-*, to call ;

[3]) Sm. *issimuddu*, electric eel ;

[4]) *yauhahu* (= bush-spirit, demon) *simaira*, a common expression denoting severe pain (B. 5e, 19) ;

[5]) Sm. *sila*, to ache ;

[6]) *simika*, to be filled or moved with envy, to be jealous ;

[7]) Sm. *simittâ*, to laugh, *amutta*, to disapprove of, to despise, B. *imita*, to despise, to mock, to laugh, *imitada*, to laugh ;

[8]) *su-mule*, to be drunk, *su-muli-kile*, drunkenness, *ma-muli-kille*, temperance ;

[9]) S. *oâ-kurru seribokkilliu*, a tempestuous wind ; *oâ-*, exceeding, *kurru*, think, *se*, sharp, *ribo*, waterside, *(o)kkilli*, natural phenomenon, § 130 [a]), *iu*, spirit ? ; B. *isogo-tu koro serabokilio*, no small tempest, *ifiro-tu goba serabokilio bara o-loko*, there arose a great tempest in the sea ;

[10]) Sm. *sè*, dictio enclitica, emphaseos causa adhibita, masc. gen. This

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[1]) This explanation looks more plausible than the derivation from Wapisiana *tiipir*, a certain hard kind of wood, and *ari*, hard, rough, coarse (Nordenskiöld 50 b, 86). The Arawak nation has had much intercourse with the Spaniards, and the new metal might have been introduced to the other tribes of Guiana by the intermediary of the Arawaks. This would explain how it is, that the same word is in general use among the Indian tribes of Guiana.

[2]) Also this word is used by many tribes in Guiana ; Island Karib *echoubara*, coutelas, has perhaps been brought over by way of Kaliña (Galibi) : *épée*, *cachipara*, *ousipara*, *soubara*.

sé is used very often, and attached to many words, so that hardly four to six words are pronounced, without this suffix *sé* being added in some way, for instance, *t-a dai-ssé*, I say, the matter is so, *kaka-ssé*, nothing at all, it is not there ; S. *wa-ppa kurru sé*, (we refuse, we shall do not *sé*), *Romakundi lirraha dai-se*, for this man is a Roman (I-*se*), *Judu kewai dai dai-se*, I am verily a man which am a Jew, *bele-ti-kuba-li lirraha sé !* (it is the man that was lame !), *Judu-nnu kei-se*, (they were real Jews), *Judu kewai dai kei-se*, I am a man which am a Jew. See also § 179 ;

11) *ikisi*, a moment, etc., § 48 j).

§ 117. *S-*, perhaps with the meaning of "a definite place".

a) *lo-bollita a-komodwa-in ikihi akosa* (comp. § 128 *ako*, entering into), he sat ... and warmed himself at the fire, *waboroko akosa-ci naii*, and these are they by the way side, *aba a-tikida goba waboroko-sa*, and some fell by the way side ;

b) Sm. *a-ijakassa*, to kick with the feet, B. *iagasa*, to kick [against the pricks] ;

c) *na-iikisa na-kabo rok-oa n*, (they) rubbing them [the ears of corn] in their hands ; comp. S. *a-ika-ru mehli iwi*, the wheat (Acts XXVII, 8 : *mehli*, bread, *iwi*, fruit) ;

d) 1) Sm. *alomossa*, to move something from one place to another, S. *allumussa*, B. *alomosa* ; comp. *alomun*, § 139 b) 2) ;

2) Sm. *allikiissi-*, schütteln, Sm. *a-rrakassü-*, B. *eragasi-*, to shake (trees, etc., transitive), Sm. *a-rrukussâ*, B. *arakosa*, *aragasa*, to be shaken, B. *a-korogasa o-kona*, to tremble, *lo-korogosa kiana o-kona*, and he trembling, G. *lo-korokosá-kona*, he trembles ;

2A) Sm. *arrussuttu-*, to build up, R. *arosutá-hu*, falca (canoe with washboards), G. *kuliála aróso*, or *thó-roso*, the washboards ;

3) *a-korороso-*, to pull down, to fall down ;

4) *ikihi-tu kaspara adidisi-n bajia a-sifudabo-tu to-makwa-ji*, and a flaming sword which turned every way ; *adedisa-ro*, an earthquake ;

e) *a-safodi-*, to trample, to tread (under feet) ;

f) *wa-siga-te*, *wa-sika-te*, let us go ;

g) *a-sakada ... o-ma*, to meet ; *aba-ro ibikidolia-tu hiaro a-sakada-ga wa-ma*, a certain damsel ... met us.

§ 118. *Sia*.

a) indicating a human peculiarity : a trait of character, or such like.

1) *naha wadili abu yaha h-anda-te ma-cikibesia-n-ci temple o-rea amateli, ma-wakaia-ci ajia-n ifiro-tu ho-kwaiabo-sia o-mun o-konomun naha*, for ye have brought hither these men, which are neither robbers of churches, nor yet blasphemers of your goddess, *na-cikibesia goba i adunka w-a-n ka*, (they) stole him away while we slept (*-ciki*, comp. *a-cigi-*, to dig, *aucigi-*, to find, to receive ; *be* plurality ; *ka-cikibe*, *ka-cikibe-hi*, thefts, *m-onyi-n b-a ka-cikibe*, thou shalt not steal, *ka-cikibe-ci*, thieves) (A. M., § 182, 149) ;

2) *m-iitesia-n b-a bu-ioci isikwa*, thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's

house, *k-iitesia-sia*, extortion, *Pharisee-no bajia, k-iitesia-ci*, and the Pharisees also, who were covetous (*hiti*, to desire, § 110);

[3]) *n-aiikasia goba meli n-onnaki-n bia*, they had forgotten to take bread, *m-aiikasia w-a-n bia*, lest we forget, *aba-ro jiaro koro k-aiikasia-sia Wacinaci isibomun*, and not one of them is forgotten before God (*aiika*, to disappear, etc., § 133);

[4]) *tabisia*, to be drowsy, etc. (§ 169 a) 4) II));

[5]) *amisia*, to hunger, to be an hungred;

[6]) Sm. *panassia(-en)*, to have hunger for something, especially for meat (§ 69 d));

[7]) *alokosia*, to thirst, to be thirsty (perhaps connected herewith: *a-forra-tu|me-loko-ho na-ti faroka*, (G. *a-faro-to|ma-lokoho na-thüh faroka*), if they drink any deadly thing);

[8]) *audasia*, to be with fever; G. *a-udasia|de* or *dai odasia*, I have fever — meaning: I am caught by death *(a-odo-)*;

[9]) Sm. *jawahüssia(-en)*, to be beset with the *jawahü* (chimera, devil);

[10]) *a-sia-arin*, a fisher, *d-a-sia fa*, I go a fishing, *bo-tokodo kota bu-neti-n-wa bu-sia-n bia*, let down your nets for a draught;

[11]) *n-onnaki-n c-isia o-doma*, and (they) comforted her, *n-onnaki-n n-isia o-doma na-ciligenci o-konomun*, to (they) comfort them concerning their brother, *onnaki-n l-iisia-wa*, he sighed (Mk. VII, 34), *manswa kiana l-onnaki-n l-iisia-wa l-ialoko abu*, and he sighed deeply in his spirit, S. *üwüssiati-*, to make lamentation;

[12]) S. *dissia hinna kurru|je Roma-kunna-na*, it is not the manner of the Romans, *dissia-hü h-amün diarru u-kunnamün*, [if it be a question] of your law, *Herodes a-ssika üssa-ttu Koning dissia-ru äke lu-kunna*, Herod, arrayed in royal apparel, *heidi-nu dissia-ttu*, (the customs of the Gentiles), *ma-dissia-ttu*, special [miracles];

[13]) *synagogue o-loko-ci na-makwa adekisia-ga i*, and the eyes of all them that were in the synagogue were fastened on him;

b) forming verbal nouns with the meaning of "the thing that has been realised", § 22.

§ 119. *So*.

a) *s* form, *o* in rest, not developed, (something that has) remained small?

[1]) *isogo*, to be small, *isoko-ro*, a few [words], *abakoro iso kibi t-a jiaro ka wa-mun hui o-mun bajia*, lest there be not enough for us and you;

[2]) *a-soko-, a-sogo-*, to hew down, to strike (with an ax or sword);

[3]) S. *a-ssudu-*, to flay, B. *yohau ho-sodo kota barin*, which (ye) strain at a gnat, Pen. *huli suduha-du*, the skin shed by a snake, G. *uri sódona-(n*, this skin is from a snake, *isåǫo*, lobster, *sále*, small lobster, *saǫáǫá*, small crab, Karib languages **išuru*, lobster, crab, Island Karib *achoularo*, shedding its hide (a serpent or a crab);

b) *s* form, *o* fluid, humid (§ 125)?

1) *a-sogoso-*, to wash ;

2) S. *a-ssunnuku-*, to pour out, B. *a-sonko-(n-wa)*, to be running out, poured out ;

3) *a-soroto-*, to kiss, Sm. *a-ssûrtû-*, *to suck*, to kiss, Pen. *sorota-ro*, *ā-sutaloko*, vampyr ;

3A) G. *a-sólosolodo-n*, polished (a new knife) ;

4) *a-sorobodi-*, to sweep (a house) ;

5) *a-sorokodo-*, to be shed (blood), *ifiro-tu totola a-sorokodo-kwona-hu*, the fountains of the great deep, *oniabu a-sorokodo-tu*, a well of water, G. *wuniábu sórokodo-n*, a fall or rapid ;

6) Sm. *surre*, diarrhoea, G. *da-súreda*, I have diarrhoea, Sm. *súbuli*, a sore, ulcer, *súkku*, Indian small-pox, *bi-ssurúru*, a certain wood, the shavings of which are laid upon the pocks.

CHAPTER XVI

VOWELS, DIPHTHONGS; COLOURS

§ 120. *Oa* or *wa*, stationary, separate among the events or things that partake in the passing of time; *o*, *u* or *w*, motionless, a, time-reality.

a) not making headway, lasting.

1) *kwa*, S. *koa* (parallel to *ka*), with auxiliary verb *a*: *kwon*, S. *koan*, infinitive or present participle.

alomun kwa b-a ? where art thou ? (Gen. III, 9), *alon kwa|l-a ?* where is he ? (J. IX, 12), *b-isika bu-kab-oa t-ajeago, kena kokke kwa tu fa*, lay thy hand upon her, and she [being only dead in appearance] shall live (yet) (comp. *kokke ka i !* he is alive ! *alika-i jiali eke-ci toho meli kokke fa i ma-iibo-n-wa-tu bia*, if any man eat of this bread, he shall live for ever), *ama kwon kowa-ka d-amun ?* what lack I yet ? *aba-ro kwon kowa-ka b-amun*, yet lackest thou one thing, *abar-li abar-li kwon n-a goba a-fitikidi-n*, (they) went out one by one, *b-aiici kokke kwa|ma*, thy son liveth (J. IV, 51), *kokke kwon o-doma di, hui bajia kokke kwa|ma fa*, because I live, ye shall live also, *to-moroa Mary bolla kwa|ma goba bawhu o-loko*, [Martha went and met Jesus :] but Mary sat still in the house, *kena abar-li publican, Levi ci iri l-adeka bolla-kwon onnaki-ci bia custom plata*, and (he) saw a publican, named Levi, sitting at the receipt of custom, *Saul areroko o-rea a-fitikida kwa t-a amaronta-tu ajia-hu*, and Saul, yet breathing out threatenings, *Wacinaci a-borati-n o-doma di, tanahu ka-n kwa d-a*, having therefore obtained help of God, I continue unto this day, *l-akarato-sia o-loko yaha wa-ma tanahu kwon*, and his sepulchre is with us unto this day, *ika ki Sa-tu laloko ma-siko-n-wa kwa|ma : Jesus ma-kalimeto-n-wa kwa|ma-n o-doma*, for the Holy Ghost was not yet given ; because that Jesus was not yet glorified, *m-andi-n kwa t-a d-ikisi*, mine hour is not yet come, *m-andi-n kwon-ci Jesus bawhu-yuho o-lokomun, yumun-tu kwon ki Martha aucigi-n i*, now Jesus was not yet come into the town, but was in that place where Martha met him, *wakaia ka-sa-ci hiaro-no omuni n, wakaia a-tekita kwa-ma-ci na-sa wa omuni n, kia kasakabo o-loko*, and woe unto them that are with child, and to them that give suck in those days !

2) 1) *-kwo(n)na*, *-kwona-hu*, S. *koana* (parallel to *-kona*).

ika tu tata-ci o-kona ka-forraa-kwona-ci ikita-n ifiro-tu l-isikwa, l-onyikau maiaukwa ma, when a strong man armed keepeth his palace, his goods are in peace, *l-onnaka to-makwa lo-forraa-kwonna m-amoto-n-wa l-a-sia abu l-aurea*, he taketh from him all his armour, *a-siki-n ie na-torodo-kwona-hu ajeago n-onnaki-kwona ie ajeago bajia*, and laid them on beds and

couches, *yumuni ki ajia-sia fa ba toho hiaro onyi-sia o-konomun, ka-koborokwa-koto-kwona-hu bia to-konomun*, there shall also this, that this woman hath done, be told for a memorial of her, *ikisidi-kwona-hu*, a bushel, *Daii onnaki kwona-hu*, my yoke, *aborage-kwona-hu*, a scourge ;

S. *Gott adaija-hü-koana*, the kingdom of God, *n-adaijana-ssia-koana*, the kingdom (Acts I, 6), *h-aditti-koana-wa*, by signs (Acts II, 22), *üüssada-koana 'lukku*, salvation (of man), *ahadakutta-koana bahü*, the council (questioning-house), *n-ebettira-koana-wa*, the covenant (their friend-*koana*-own) ;

²) m. *-kwon-ci*, S. *-koan-ti*, f. *-kwon-tu*, S. *-koan-tu*, plur. *-kwono-no-ci*, S. *-koana-nu-tti* (parallel to *-kon-*, *-kono-no-ci*).

ika ki lo-mairikoto-sia-no anda goba Jesus l-oaiya kwon-ci amun, ajia-ibici, then came the disciples to Jesus apart, and said, *to-loko amakoro b-imikebo fa, bui, b-aiici, b-otu, b-ikita-kwon-ci, b-ikita-kwon-tu*, in it thou shalt not do any work, thou, nor thy son, nor thy daughter, thy manservant, nor thy maidservant, *naha loko-no aiomun-ci-wabu Wacinaci ikita-kwono-no-ci*, these men are the servants of the most high God ;

S. *kia ahaikada-koana-ttu kassakkabbu-hü*, (in that day of consolation), *ka-tattadü-koana-ttu bahü*, [they put them in] hold (fortified house) ;

³) Parallel to the forms of §§ 32, 33 :

ho-koborokwa l-ajia-n o-konomun ho-mun, Galilee mun kwa l-a-n ka, remember how he spake unto you when he was yet in Galilee, *adeka kwa n-a-n ka aiomun bonna-ro, ausa l-a-n ka, biama-no wadili arira-ci-eke ajinama na-mun*, and while they looked stedfastly toward heaven as he went up, behold, two men stood by them in white apparel, *toraha ki d-ajia goba ho-mun, ho-ma kwa d-a-n ka*, these things have I spoken unto you, being yet present with you, *toho ajia-hu d-ajia goba ho-mun, ho-ma kwa d-a-ni ka goba, to-makwa iibido-n-wa bia*, these are the words which I spake unto you, while I was yet with you, that all things must be fulfilled (etc., L. XXIV, 44), *ki-jia kwa l-a-n ka ajia-n*, while he thus spake ;

⁴) *kwawa*, S. *koawa*, reciprocal, among each other.

m-amaro-ni hu, hui iyuho-ci abo-kwawa, fear not, little flock, *Daii k-ansi-n goba hu jin, hui bajia k-ansi-n bia ho-muni-kwawa*, as I have loved you, that ye also love one another, *n-ajia goba na-muni-kwawa*, (they) spake among themselves, *n-ausia kiana ajia-n na-kona-muni kwawa*, let them implead one another, *lo-mairikoto-sia-no adeka goba n-ibici-kwawa*, the disciples looked one on another ;

S. *abbalüwai dia ré n-a kuba n-abbu-koawa*, they were all with one accord in one place, *n-adiä-ka n-abbu-koawa*, they conferred among themselves, *na-maqua a-ssika-ti l-äme a-ñebettoa-kubá baddia n-aure-koawa*, and all, even as many as obeyed him, were dispersed :

⁵) *-makwa*, altogether, all, every.

bo-makwa bui ka-raia goba wakaia-hu o-loko, thou wast altogether born in sins, *lo-makwa ma-ribe-n ka i : hui bajia ma-ribe-n ka, to-moroa ho-makwa koro*, (he) is clean every whit : and ye are clean, but not all,

to-makwa yara o-loko-tu ada iwi b-iki fa m-amoto-n-wa o-loko, of every tree of the garden thou mayest freely eat, *naii a-fitikida kiana ajia-n to-makwa-ji*, and they went forth, and preached every where, *kia o-konomun ki waii wa-makwa ahaka-ga*, whereof we all are witnesses, *ki-o-doma na-makwa na-simaka ki goba ba*, then cried they all again, *na-makwa kidua-hu o-rea-ci akonnaba d-ajia-n*, every one that is of the truth heareth my voice, *na-makwa botobaci hiaro-no ajinama goba akausa-n i*, and all the widows stood by him ;

b) *to-moroa*, but, nevertheless ; *to-* its, *m* reluctant, *o* permanent, *r* motion being impeded, *oa* not making headway, or : in itself ; S. *-morrua* with different pronominal prefixes :

S. *da-morrua a-haiarudutti-pa|je b-adikkiti-ké u-mün, dai dá-waja a-ijaonti-n|da|ppa*, and the nation to whom they shall be in bondage will I judge, *bu-morrua ma-ssika-n b-a-li n-äme*, but do not thou yield unto them, *lu-morrua Petrus adiâ-ka lu-mün hiddia-mañ*, then Peter said (to him), *tu-morrua Prophet Joel wakilli adia-ssia-kubá-ru u-llukku-di rubu t-a tu-maqua-kebé, hi-ddia hé l-a kubá* : but this is that which was spoken by the prophet Joel, *wa-morrua wa-tulludu-n-benna|n, hallika-i kurru tu-llukkumünni-ka|n*, but when we had opened, we found no man within, *hu-morrua hu-mallikuttâ-n u-kunna|je abbu attabâ-ka Jerusalem u-mân*, and, behold, (but) ye have filled Jerusalem with your doctrine, *na-morrua m-ánniki-n rubu n-a na-monnua|n*, but they understood not ;

c) separate.

1) *t-oala*, the (its) crumbs, *mihu oalla*, broken pieces of the ship ;

2) *oala*, cheek ;

3) *oalabaw*, the other side.

to-moroa alika-i jiali a-fatada faroka b-iisa mairia b-oala-kona, t-oalabaw abu b-isifuda lo-mun, but whosoever shall smite thee on thy right cheek, turn to him the other also, *kenbena ika tu l-andi-n t-oalabaw mun, Gergeseno o-horora mun*, and when he was come to the other side into the country of the Gergesenes, *Jordan oalabaw warea*, [people followed] from beyond Jordan, *Jordan oalabaw mairia*, [the land] beyond Jordan ;

4) *oakudwa* (Indicative m., Present t.) in : *t-eda botoli oakudwa*, the (leather) bottles break, *siba bajia oakudwa goba*, and the rocks rent ;

5) *na-tekida-bo-n bia Paul na-wa-ji-kwa-jia*, [fearing lest] Paul should have been pulled in pieces of them ;

d) *boa*, abnormal appearance.

1) R. *adi-bua-hu*, omen, token, auguries, G. *adiboá*, an omen (for instance in a dream, or when after hunting, a piece of game that was already dead and stiff, suddenly moves), *d-ádiba-ka*, I receive a sign (§ 173) :

1A) R. *shi-boa-dda-hu*, child born with a caul (*isi*, head) ;

2) R. *d-aiite-boa-chi*, (my) stepson (*d-aii-ci*, my son), etc. ;

3) *maute-boa*, the day after to-morrow (*mauci*, morning) ;

4) *aboa*, being ill, foul ; G. sickly (ill = *kari*) ;

[5]) *aboa-ka*, perchance, haply, S. *aboā-ka*: *aboā-kuma* (potential mood);

[e]) curved (see also § 108A).

[1]) *to-makwa aroadi-be-tu ororo ajeago-ji*, every thing (animal) that creepeth upon the earth, *aroadi-tu amateli*, creeping things;

[2]) *arua*, *harua*, jaguar (comp. also *airi*, tooth);

[3]) *yurua*, a thorn;

[4]) *lo-koa*, a (his) horn;

[5]) *kwama*, *kwawma*, hat, crown (A. M. § 182, 57);

[6]) *a-koado-n-wa*, being round (see ex. § 114 [a)] [1)]), S. *abba akoada-ru wijua*, a whole year;

[7]) *a-kwaiabo-*, to beseech, to pray, *a-kwaiabo-(n-wa)*, to worship, to do a prayer;

[8]) S. *da-ija a-kkoahüddoa bu-kunnamün*, my tongue was glad (thee-concerning), *ma-kuahü-ttu aboā-ttu*, vanities, *ma-kuahü-rubu-mu-ttu*, vain things;

[9]) van Berkel *maquary*, whip used in the whip ceremony (also: torch), Sm. *makóali*, a whip, S. *a-makoalitedi-*, to whip (Karib languages: Cumanagota *macuare*, Kaliña *macoáli*);

[10]) *doada*, a pot;

[f]) contracted, contracting, etc.

[1]) *loko asoa-re-ci kabo*, a man which had his hand withered;

[2]) *a-soadi-*, to draw (water or wine from the pots);

[3]) Q. *oassini-hü*, the heart;

[4]) *wakorra bajia i*, and (he) pineth away;

[5]) *ororo waa goba*, was the earth dried, *waa-tu ororo*, the dry land, Sm. *wâija*, B. *waiè*, potters clay, Sm. *wajeli*, to fade, R. *waiyari*, Sm. *wâijali*, knapsack, plaited from palm leaves;

[6]) *waka-u-kili*, the dust [from the road] (*u-kili*, § 130 [a)]);

[g]) in itself.

[1)] [I]) *o-loa*, heart, mind, bossom, Q. *u-llua-hü*, Leben, Seele, Herz, G. *ka-loā-ma-ka-ŋ uni-rako bu-dĭdĭ-ŋ?* darest thou leap into the water?

[II]) G. *oroa*, to study for, or to perform the functions of, a medicine-man (§ 205);

[2]) *-oaiya*, *-uaiya*.

kena n-ekita goba i l-oaiya l-eke abu, and (they) put his own (his) raiment on him, *w-akonnaba n-ajia-n w-oaiya w-ajia-n*, we do hear them speak in (our own) our tongues, *w-oaiya w-akonnabo-n o-doma i*, for we have heard him ourselves, *b-itikida-te b-uaiya onabo-muni-ro*, cast thyself down;

b-isadwa b-uaiya, save thyself, *aba-no l-isada goba*: *l-oaiya mamari-ga l-isado-n-wa*, he saved others; himself he cannot save, *alika-i jiali ifiroto faroka l-oaiya lo-munwa*, *lihi isogoto fa*, and whosoever shall exalt himself shall be abased, *alika-i bia b-uaiya b-isikoa?* whom makest thou thyself?

isauka jiaro a-toroda-tu t-oaiya ma-lokodo|fa, every kingdom divided against itself is brought to desolation, *kenbena l-isika goba n l-oaiya l-a-n imilia-tu a-odo-ci-sikwa o-lokomun*, and (he) laid it in his own new tomb, *lo-mairikoto-sia-no anda goba l-amun na-uaiya robu-in*, the disciples came unto him privately, *kenbena l-anda n-abu aiomun-tu ororo ajeago mun n-oaiya kwa n-a-n bia*, and (he) bringeth them up into an high mountain apart, *kenbena h-iibo fa di da-uaiya robu-in ; to-moroa da-uaiya robu-in koro, Awa da-ma-ni o-doma*, and (ye) shall leave me alone : and yet I am not alone, because the Father is with me ;

3) *a-wa*

toho h-onnaka, ho-lokoda h-awa n, take this, and divide it among yourselves, *m-aiita-ni h-a-ia h-awa*, through (your) ignorance, *ika tu Peter aiita-ni l-awa, l-ajia-ga*, and when Peter was come to himself, he said, *n-onyikau n-amuni-sia na-iyugara goba, a-lokodo-n na-makwa n-awa n*, and (they) sold their possessions and goods and parted them to all men, *ika tu l-aiita-n l-awa*, and when he came to himself ;

4) *h-aiit-oa*, (ye) take heed, beware (§ 4 : *h-aiit-a*, (ye) know), G. *d-aith-úa*, I am careful, *bahõh ibit-oa*, a house is burning, *to 'niabu abuk-oa*, the water is boiling, (*d-aboka resi*, I boil rice) ;

5) *d-imigod-wa*, I am sent (§ 4 : *d-imigoda*, I send) ;

6) I) *o-n-wa* infinitives or present participles (§ 27) :

II) *b-ansi fa bu-ioci b-uaiya b-ansi-n-wa jin*, thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself, *w-aherakida w-onyi-wa*, we took up our carriages (Acts XXI, 15) :

III) *kia ho-muni fa h-iki-ni wa*, to you it shall be for meat (food) (comp. *Wacinaci aiita barin kasakabo ka-loko-tu h-iki-ni n, h-akosi a-torodo-n-wa fa*, for God doth know that in the day ye eat thereof, then your eyes shall be opened), *ki-o-doma da-kwaiaba hu amateli h-onnaki-n bia h-eki-ni wa*, wherefore I pray you to take some meat (comp. *kena lo-kurradabo-n bena n, l-iinata goba iki-ni n*, and when he had broken it, he began to eat, Acts XXVII, 34, 35) ;

IV) *kia o-doma wadili a-iibo fa l-ici wa, lo-iyu wa, kena l-andakoto fa l-ire-tu o-ma*, therefore shall a man leave his father and his mother, and shall cleave unto his wife (comp. *ika tu Jesus adeki-n lo-iyu kiana*, when Jesus therefore saw his mother, J. XIX, 26), *b-isimaka imikebo-ci-no, kena b-isika na-mun na-iauna-wa*, call the labourers, and give them their hire (comp. *kenbena misi-tu jiaro h-iauna h-aucigi fa*, and whatsoever is right, that shall ye receive), *b-akilaka ibiro-bu-kab-oa, kena b-adeka d-akabo ; b-akilaka bu-kab-oa.aciada-n d-adurasibo o-lokomun*, reach hither thy finger, and behold my hands ; and reach hither thy hand, and thrust it into my side, *h-onnakida h-akosi wa*, lift up your eyes (J. IV, 35) (comp. *n-akosi n-ataga bajia ; m-adeki-n n-a-n bia n-akosi abu*, and their eyes have they closed ; lest they should see with their eyes), *b-onnaka bu-kaarta-n wa*, take thy bill (L. XVI, 6) (comp. *ma-ridi-n h-a Moses kaarta-n o-loko*, have ye not read in the book of Moses) ;

v) *-mun-wa, -mon-wa, -mon-owa.*

d-ikisi-ka da-mun-wa isa-ni bia daii bajia a-buriti-n bu-mun, it seemed good to me also ... to write unto thee, lit. my-opinion-is me-at-*wa* good to-be I also writing thee-to, *d-aunaki fa da-mun-wa hu,* I will ... receive you unto myself, *kena alika-i jiali isogoto faroka l-oaiya lo-mun-wa, lihi ifiroto fa,* and he that humbleth himself shall be exalted, *naii a-bokotwa goba to-monowa(-)tu aboa-hu abu,* that (pl.) were taken with divers diseases, *ororo a-fitikitia kokki-tu to-monwa-n,* let the earth bring forth the living creature after his kind, *to-moroa Paul na-sika lo-munwa-n bia ka-sikwa-n i,* but Paul was suffered to dwell by himself, *wakili na-makwa akirikia-no na-monwa goba akona-n, m-ikiadi-n l-a goba ie,* who in times past suffered all nations to walk in their own ways, lit. times-past they-all nations they-at-own past walking, not-preventing he-did them ;

VI) S. *u-ma-monnu-rua :*

na-onnaki-n-ti hebe-tti na-ttinutti Jacob lu-mamonnurua, and called his father Jacob to him, lit. they-taking old-one their-father J. him-to, *da-ija bo-onnaka-li-te bu-mamonnurua|n,* receive my spirit (thee-to it) ;

VII) *bui ahaka-ga b-uaiya bu-konomun wa,* thou bearest record of thyself, *t-isika kiana c-ireci omuni n to-ma wa,* and (she) gave also unto her husband with her, *l-aucigi-n bena n, l-adanaina ajeago wa l-isika n, alikibi abu,* and when he hath found it, he layeth it on his shoulders, rejoicing, ... *aunaka n-ibici wa,* [the Jews] took unto them [certain fellows], *l-aici fa a-mairikota-hu o-konomun, Wacinaci o-rea faroka jiaro n, da-uaiya da-doma wa d-ajia faroka jiaro n. Ajia-ci jiali l-oaiya lo-doma wa, l-oaiya l-ikalimetwa ti-ka,* he shall know of the doctrine, whether it be of God, or whether I speak of myself. He that speaketh of himself seeketh his own glory, *Awa bu-kalimeta-te di b-uaiya b-ab-ua,* Father, glorify thou me with thine own self, *toho ki ajia-hu h-isika ho-kuyuko o-lok-oa, loko-no akabo-roko mun l-isikito-n-wa fa loko Aiici o-doma,* let these sayings sink down into your ears ; for the Son of man shall be delivered into the hands of men, *l-ahaka fa lihi angel-no o-mun bu-konomun, kenbena na-kabo rok-oa n-onnaki fa bu,* he shall give his angels charge concerning thee : and in their hands they shall bear thee up (Mt. IV, 6), *yuho-li kibi loko-no l-ausa()kita goba l-iinab-oa,* and (he) drew away much people after him (Acts V, 37), *l-onnaka l-adina o-kona wa i,* and when he had taken him in his arms, *a-bolliti-ci a-koto-n lo-ma ajia-ga na-koborokwa-ji-wa,* and they that sat at meat with him began to say within themselves ;

VIII) Instead of *au-rea, au-roa :*

kenbena b-akosi onyikiti faroka wakaia bu-mun, bo-ragasa n, bo-boreda b-auroa n, and if thine eye offend thee, pluck it out, and cast it from thee ;

IX) Instead of *(o-)bora, (o-)boroa :*

ma-iikita-n b-a-li trumpet bu-boroa, do not sound a trumpet before thee :

X) Parallel to *-ro, roa :*

to-moroa ma-tata-roa na-kona, and they could not (L. IX, 40 ; *tata*

o-kona, § 90 b)), *amaro roa goba loko-no o-bora ie*, for they feared the people ;

XI) S. Twice *ua* :

h-akudukutta hu-kkujukku lukk-ua-monn-ua d-adia-ssia-pa, hearken to my words, lit. ye open your-ears in-*ua*-at-*ua* my-spoken-thing-future ;

XII) (*abu*, appearance, § 65 ; *aboku*, a part, a portion, *aboke*, to have part in, *k-aboki*, to receive inheritance, *abokwa-wa* § 120 a) 4), S. *abbukü-*, to receive) :

l-ahaka-ga na-mun kiana, Ho-bolliti( )kita ie n-abokwa-bi-ti-n imoro-tu karau ajeago, and he commanded them to make all sit down by companies upon the green grass :

ikiduadi-ci kiana eragi goba n-abokwa-bo-n na-makwa, and all that believed were together, *yuho-ro poroko a-kota goba t-abokwa-bo-n*, there was ... a great herd of swine feeding ;

Judas aunaki-ci n-abokwa-boa-mu-ci loko-no, Judas then, having received a band of men, *t-ausa goba t-abokwa-boa mu-tu poroko o-lokomun*, they went into the herd of swine ;

S. *gi-dia l-a Wamallitakoanti k-anse-boa-kubá je heidi-nu ku*, then hath God also to the Gentiles granted [repentance unto life] ;

7) *o-koborokwa*, remembrance (or : consciousness, see Roth II. 19 a Sect. 81) ; *kobo* = *goba*, past (*o* instead of *a*, see § 5, *koma*), *rok(o)*, in (fixed), *wa*, self. Examples, see § 18 ; *-n* form : *o-koborokwon*. See also § 128 k).

§ 121. *Wa-*, distant, exceeding, etc. : comp. §§ 120 c, d) separate, abnormal : also : *w-*, vast, far away.

a) Sm. *oá*, to be long (time) ;

wakili, long ago, rather a long time ago ;

wakorrau, now (from this moment on), only now, *wakorrau kibi*, of late, now (*koro*, negation, § 142) ;

oaboddi-, to abide, to wait, to tarry ;

waboka, already, now (just now) ;

wabujin, quickly, with haste, *ma-wabuji goba w-ausi-n*, when we had sailed (gone) slowly, *wabuji-ci-te andi-n*, and they came with haste ;

wahajia, hereafter, by and by (L. XVII, 7) ;

wahadu-tu eke-hu, an old garment, *wahadu-tu t-eda botoli*, old (leather) bottles, *wahadu-be-tu*, old things ;

wara-uara-tu eke-hu, sackcloth ;

b) *wa-rea*, from, § 97 c) ;

to-waji, its length, *kore-tu waji-tu eke-hu*, a scarlet robe, *waji-tu kasakabo b-amuni-n bia*, that thy days may be long, *kia kasakabo lo-mawajida*, he hath shortened the days (*a-mawajido fa*, shall be shortened), *l-iido-sia abu o-waji abu*, [the towel] wherewith he was girded;

kenbena waiikile l-ausa goba, and (he) went into a far country ;

waboroko, a way, a road ;

c) 1) *auadi-*, S. *a-wahüddu-*, to go about; *auadi- ... ibici*, to seek. *h-auada d-ibici*, ye seek me;

2) S. *t-awa-du [-mu-ttu]*, [and] wild beasts:

3) R. *yawarri*, opossum;

4) *auadi-*, S. *a-wadi-*, to beckon;

5) *auadu-li*, wind (A. M. § 182, 67):

6) *wariwari*, fan;

7) *arauadi-*, to wipe;

8) Sm. *adawandu-(nn-ua)*, to be suspended in the air (a falcon).

9) G. *hime u-wádawáda*, the fins of a fish;

10) Sm. *jáhu*, cotton (A. M. § 182, 121):

d) 1) *wabu*, very, exceedingly; honorific.

aba tata-tu-wabu auaduli, a tempestuous wind, *isa-tu-wabu eke-hu*, the best robe, *Aiomun-ci-wabu*, the Highest, *adaie-li-wabu*, a king, *adaie-n-wabu*, reigning (as a king), *ororo aji goba oniabu ifirotwa sabu wabu-n*, and the waters prevailed exceedingly upon the earth, *kia kasakabo o-loko ama-hu-wabu l-eke goba*, and in those days he did eat nothing, *isa-ci-wabu adaia-hu Felix*, the most excellent governor Felix;

S. *l-aditti-wābu Jesus*, his Son Jesus, *kakü-tti-wābu Wamallitakoanti*, the living God, *Roma-kunna-na wābu*, Romans (Acts XVI, 38), *lukku-hu adia-n kurra turraha, Gott adiâ-n-wabu tuhu né*, it is the voice of a god, and not of a man;

G. *ikihi-khoda wabo*, genuine firewood, *loko-no wabo*, true Indians;

2) S. *oā-kurru seribokkilliu*, a tempestuous wind;

e) *wai*.

1) *isa-ni-wai*, well!: with the verb a: to be consenting: S. *ussa-nü-wai*, it is good: with the verb *a*: to praise;

2) *taha-wai*, afar off;

3) *ke-wai*, emphasizing word, § 48 b);

4) S. m. *abba-l-uwai*, f. *abba-r-uwai*, with one accord; one, a;

5) S. *hara-wai hi-ddia-mu-ttu adia-hü lü-lesida-bu ikka-ké*, the place of the scripture which he read was this, Sm. *hár-uai*, da ist es, da hasst du es (*haru*, § 139 c));

f) S. *hitté rubu t-a ka-uahünnâ-n*, and multiplied (Acts XII, 24), *ka-uaküña-n tu-maqua abba ādi-n ba*, and prevailed (Acts XIX, 20), *ika a-ssikā-ti ujuhu hitté n-a a-uahüntu-nn-ua*, and believers were the more added [to the Lord].

§ 122. *U*, the great, the vast, the motionless.

a) *u-ho*, to be a quantity, § 151 a);

b) *-hu*, streaming, or breathing out into space: forms verbal nouns, § 24:

c) *hu-la*, etc.: *l* loose, a time-reality, consequently: a deep hole.

1) Sm. *u-hulássi, tuhulai*, a hole, *bára u-ttula*, die Tiefe der See, B. *akosa oolai*, the eye of a needle, *t-oolai*, a (its) hole, den, cave, gulf, *t-ooli*, the rent, *tola-tu ororo*, depth of earth, *aciga-oniabu tola bajia*, and the well is deep, *to-tola*, the deep, *tola-ci acigi-n*, and digged deep;

²) *a-holadi-*, to break (a hole into the roof) ;

³) Sm. *tuttulla*, the lung ;

d) *hu-ru*, etc. ; *r* motion being impeded.

¹) I) S. *hurruru*, B. *ororo*, earth, world ;

II) S. *u-hurrura*, B. *o-horora*, land, farm, country ;

III) Sm. *húrruru*, land, a mountain, B. *to-horoman o-mun*, and to the hills [they shall say ; L. XXIII, 30] ; G. *hulurá*, swellings of a musquito sting ;

IV) *o-horomurrida-tu oniabu*, the raging of the water, *bara o-horomurrida-n*, waves, *bara manswa fa a-horomurrida-n k-akonnaki-n bajia*, the sea and the waves roaring ;

V) *ororo-li*, Sm. *rúru-li*, clay, mud, G. *roro*, mud, or anything that is flowing sluggishly, *róro-li*, *mó-ro-li*, mud, *ka-ró-tu tu-kûto-ŋ érę*, a thick soup ;

VI) Sm. *húrrutu*, pumpkin, gourd ;

²) S. *a-hurrudā*, to come together (comp. § 104 b) 2)) ;

³) I) S. *hurussü*, B. *orosi*, to be filled (with food) ;

II) *a-orosidi-*, to fill, to suffice ;

e) *hu-du*.

¹) S. *a-hudu-*, B. *a-odo-*, to die (A. M. § 182, 138) ;

²) Sm. *hudù*, to be bent, to be bowed, *a-hudu-(nn-ua)*, to stoop, to bow down, B. *a-hododo-*, to bow (the head, the face), *a-hododo-(n-wa)*, to bow, to stoop down, to be hanging.

§ 123. *Yu, iu*, a definite place ; *y, i*, here, *u*, space, motionless.

a) *yumun*, § 71 b) 4) ;

b) *yu-warea*, § 97 ;

c) ¹) *na-iuka* (or *na-iyuka*) ... *siba abu*, they stoned, *mihu a-iyuka onabo o-kona mun*, (they) ran the ship aground ;

²) *lihi-ki a-iyukontwa-ci lo-loa o-konomun*, which also leaned on his breast ;

³) *a-iyugari-*, to sell (trans.), *a-iyugara* (intrans.) ;

d) *yura*, *a-yurati-*, § 104 g) ;

e) S. *a-ijuwedu-(nn-ua)* ... *(u-mün)*, to adhere (to), to consort (with);

f) Sm. *a-ijuehê*, *hújuehe*, to be lazy, *ma-júehê*, not to be lazy, *úejehi*, a louse, *aijoa w-andi-n*, we come late, *aijoa l-akunna*, he has gone late, B. *oie-ci*, one who is slothful, G. *hoyuwé*, lazy, Sm. *hau*, a sloth.

§ 124. *Yu, iu*, a) united to its base by a thin link — the great, space, b) to enter into space (?).

a) ¹) Sm. *a-ijuhudu-*, B. *a-iiodo-*, to hang (trans.); Sm. *a-ijuhudukuttu-*, B. *a-iiodokoto-*, id. causative, S. *wuri juhu-a-koa|t-a-ni-ka lü-kkabbu u-kunna*, the venomous beast (snake) hang(ing) on his hand ; G. *yodoā-loko da-kuna-ka*, I walk [over a beam and] balance myself [in going] ;

²) a big leaf (?): Sm. *juli*, tobacco, *júlika*, Montrichardia arborescens, *û-jule*, cabbage (A. M. § 182, 129) ;

b) Sm. *hemēu*, B. *imeodo-*, to bring forth (children); *m*, see § 74; (A. M. § 182, 134C):

iyu, mother, *ire-yu*, the state of wife, § 164 1) 2);

adibeyo, belly, womb, § 86 f) 1);

Sm. *hán-iyu*, gnat, mosquito, *ha-iju*, ant, = swelling-producing (A. M. § 182, 107A):

R. *yuro*, Sm. *júru*, cassava squeezer;

a-iubosi-, to sieve;

a-bokoto-n lo-iuri, and took him by the throat; Pen. *ka-yor-ehe*, consumption, Sm. *ittuli*, Pen. *ituri*, *itori*, *duli*, *dśuli*, howling monkey (= strong throat ?) (A. M. § 182, 77):

S. *a-ijumudā*, to prophesy;

Sm. *idiju*, breast, *idiu-ssi*, paps, B. *idju*, paps, *a-te-ci-ju*, sucklings;

to-moroa yuyu-o-kili a-fitikida ororo o-koboroko area a-iyuyuto-n to-makwa ororo ajeago-ji, but there went up a mist from the earth, and watered the whole face of the ground.

§ 125. *Ui*, liquid, (to produce) fruit, (to produce) heat; comp. also § 124 b) and § 153, *ibi*, small (produced by dividing).

a) S. *wuini*, *wuin*, water, B. *oini* ... *iki*, rain, *oni-ka-in*, river, *oini-rako*, in the water, *oni-abu*, water as a substance, (A. M. § 182, 68):

Sm. *uima*, *aema*, *éma*, mouth of a river (A. M. § 182, 17):

G. *ŏka*, Sm. *aka*, to take a bath;

b) Sm. *óewedi-*, *óēdi-*, to vomit;

o-koi, spittle, G. *da-kúi*, (my) spittle, outside the mouth;

Sm. *úeku*, resin;

G. *dakχŏ*, (my) semen, *t-ŏ́kō*, pus;

Sm. *limúne-éra*, limon juice, *idiúra*, milk, R. *nana ura*, pine-juice, *oludi-ura*, cashew juice; § 107 b) 4) (A. M. § 182, 2);

G. *úra-ro-ni*, saliva (inside the mouth) [or *uraro*, cloud, *oni*, water ?];

G. *kulira*, B. *to-korira*, bile (comp. also § 99 bB);

egura, root (A. M. § 182, 110 ?):

a-luiti-, to anoint;

c) 1) *iwi*, fruit of a plant or a tree (A. M. § 182, 118);

a-uiyi, Sm. *a-oji-*, *a-uji*, to gather (fruit), B. *olive o-banna t-oi-sia*, an olive branch plucked of, G. *d-oyu fā|n*, I shall pluck it (a fruit; *da-tĭkĭdĭ fa to-bána*, I shall pluck a leaf), Sm. *a-ohünti-*, *to plant*, Sm. *iwi-ssi*, testicle, *iwé-ra*, penis, *k-iwēju-n*, R. *wayu-co*, woman's apron (a similar word is in use with most Karib tribes in Guiana);

Sm. *bikki-bikki*, geschwind aufwachsen, stark werden (von Kindern), B. *ibikido-(n-wa)*, to grow, (seeds) to spring up, *ibikidolia* to be young;

1A) Sm. *ibissi*, a slip (plant);

B., G. *ebeso-(n-wa)*, Sm. *a-ebessu-(nn-ua)*, to metamorphose oneself (for instance a dog into a woman, § 224, D. a caterpillar into a butterfly, Sm. an egg into a chicken, a flower into a fruit; Sm. to bloom; S., Sm. *ebessu-(nn-ua)*, to appear, to appear in a dream;

[z]) *Sa-tu Ialoko eweribeda goba i*, and being fervent in the spirit, *t-iwerebe*, the heat (of the fire ; Acts XXVIII, 3), Sm. *wérebē*, to be warm ; comp. B. *tere*, heat, *tere-tu*, the (day's) heat (e, § 2) ;

[d]) *wiwa*, star, also used for "year" (A. M. § 182, 63). This word may also mean : *w*, far away, *i*, tiny, *w*, far away, *a*, time-reality, or it may picture the sparkling of the stars ;

[e]) *wiru*, a turtledove (A. M. § 182, 93).

§ 126. [a]) *a-li*, *a-ri*, light (A. M. § 182, 132E), in the following.

ari-ra, Sm. *hálli-ra*, G. *halira*, white ;

Sm. *auléa-ra*, chalk ;

k-ali-me, light, glory, to be bright, to shine (§ 134 [f]) ;

Sm. *k-alé-kku*, the white stones (or pebbles) of the medicine-man ; v. C. *ch-àle-kójehá* (§ 167), the spirit of white granite ;

Sm. *hikkihi e-hel-udu-n*, flame ; fire light-origin-possessive suffix ? ;

Comp. *a*, time-reality, *li*, freely flowing forth, *ahalikibi*, joy (*aha*, breathing out, *kibi*, very), *bili-bili-ro*, the lightning (*bi*, quick appearance), *adaili*, the sun (lordly light ?), G. *halitsi*, sweet potatoe (R. 19 a Sect. 108, "According to Carib tradition their Spirits of the Bush have a marked aversion to sweet potatoes") ;

[b]) *o-ri*, *u-li*, *ari*, dark (comp. *iri-be*, uncleanness, § 100), in the following.

ori-roko-ho, S. *wulli-ruku-hu*, darkness ;

ori-ga-hu, S. *wuli-ka-hu*, night ;

a-orirokoto-, to darken, to obscure ;

S. *wuli-ssebēju*, break of day, Sm. *wulissebē-u-killi*, evening or morning twilight ;

Sm. *wúlida*, to be dull, stupid ;

k-ari-me, G. *kh-are-me*, to be black (A. M. § 182, 133) ;

Comp. *o*, *u*, not moving, space, *ri*, fixed, and also §§ 122 [d]), 108A [f]).

§ 127. *Onno*, *hunnu*, *hunna*, murmuring, uneasy, unquiet, in the following.

[a]) *a-onnoda*, S. *a-huñahuñadū-*, Sm. *a-hunnuhunnuda*, to murmur ;

[b]) Sm. *húnnu-húnnu-li*, a big fly (G. : bumble-bee) ;

[c]) *m-onda-u*, a calm, *na-mundadwa kiana*, but they held their peace ;

[d]) *nokonne*, *nokonni*, sorrow, repenting, *a-nokon(ne)di-*, to cause sorrow, *la-nokonnedoa-n o-doma*, (he) being grieved, *a-nokonnedo-(n-wa)*, to lament, *nokonne goba kiana Jesus*, and Jesus, moved with compassion, *nokonne-ga kiana i*, and (he) had compassion, *nokonne-ga yuholi loko-no o-konomun di*, I have compassion on the multitude, *n-a()alikibitoa nokonne-ci aba-no o-konomun*, *nokonne-hi fa ba na-konomun o-doma*, blessed are the merciful : for they shall obtain mercy, *nokonne da-kona-n bu*, have mercy on me (thou), *lo-koborokwon lo-nokonne-wa lo-konomun o-doma*, in remembrance of his mercy, G. *nŏkamó-ya|da|i*, he is in misery ;

[e]) Sm. *kúnnuku*, the forest (A. M. § 182, 76).

§ 128. *Ako, aku,* the principle of: entering into; a time-reality, *k* making its appearance in an active manner (into) *u*, space.

a) S. *aku, aku-lugku*, in (fire), see § 103 e);

aA) Sm. *háku*, mortar (A. M. § 182, 50 B);

b) *akodo-*, to sew, to plaite, to weave; *makondo*, to be naked (comp. S., Sm. *a-kündü-*, to shine, to radiate light):

c) *akodo-(n-wa)*, to enter, to go (into), *akodoona-li*, a haven (A. M. § 185, 72);

d) Sm. *akutta, aküttü*, to prick, to open the artery; *aküttüka*, the long points of thorns, B. *k-okkituka-tu*, thistles, G. *tŏ-kŏtŏka*, a straight thorn, *ka-kŏtŏká-tu*, Melocactus;

e) *akoba*, field, ground;

f) Sm. *akkuba*, the core of a tree;

g) *akuyu-ko, -kuyu-ko*, the ear (-hole);

h) Sm. *úkkuju*, navel (A. M. § 182, 22);

i) *akoio-n(n-wa)*, to return (into);

j) Sm. *kújama*, a fish trap;

k) comp. *o-loko, roko*, in, *o-koboroko*, among, § 103 a, b, h).

§ 129. *Ku*, the principle of: power to move.

a) 1) *akudi-*, to drive out, to persecute;

2) *kodibiyu*, a bird (A. M. § 182, 91);

3) R. *kudu-kudu-bari-lya*, a certain ant, used as a hunting-charm (Il. 19 a Sect. 236);

aA) G.*a-khoto-*, to collect (fire-wood), *o-kodoto-*, to keep up a fire, *ikihi o-kódo*, B. *ikihi-kudu*, fire-wood;

b) 1) *o-kuti*, foot (A. M. § 182, 28);

2) *kuta*, animal, game (A. M. § 182, 76 B; comp. also *a-koto-*, to eat);

c) 1) *ikori-ci o-kuti jiaro bui, ikori-ci kabo jiaro bui*, halt (thou) or maimed (thou), *ikori-ci-no akona*, the lame walk, *ikori-hia*, (being) halt; S. *hikkúli* (A. M. § 182, 140B);

2) Sm. *hikkuli*, bush- tortoise (A. M. § 182, 96);

3) G. *kuli(hi)*, rat, Sm. *pu-kulé-ru*, agouti (A. M. § 182, 83, 84);

d) 1) *o-koro*, Sm. *u-kkuru, u-kkulu*, knee; Sm. *ue-kkülle-kabbu*, arm-pit, *ú-kkuru lúkku*, hollow of the knee, S. *lu-kullabu-lukku, tu-kullu-bu-lukku*, [a sheet knit at the four] corners, G. *tu-kuλabó-loko*, angle;

2) Sm. *ú-kkura*, G. *o-kūra*, hammock was explained as "a resting place" [but also: *da-kóra η* or *da-koró-ša*, it (hammock, clothes, food) belongs to me]; comp. further *akera*, to bind, § 104 b) 2) VII);

e) *kudi*, to be heavy (A. M. § 182, 141); *kudu-sabu-tu amateli*, the weightier matters;

f) *komogi*, to move, to be troubled (water, J. V, 3, 7);

Sm. *kumúr-kû, a-kumurdu-(nn-ua)*, to fart, G. *kúmur-ka|de*, I am flatulent;

Sm. *kummuttiri*, white ant-hill (emitting foam at certain seasons) (A. M. § 182, 108) ;

maba o-komodi, an honeycomb ;

Sm. *ú-kumuju*, dust, the dirt from something ;

Sm. *a-kkummudü-*, to dry in the sun, B. *a-komodwa*, to warm oneself (near the fire) ;

Sm. *u-kummu-lukku-hu*, the shine, the lustre, Pen. *komoloko*, light.

§ 130. *Au*, space with the character of time-reality (alternate use of *au* and *o* in: *au-rea*, *o-rea*, from, § 97 [a]), *wauaiya*, *woaiya*, ourselves, § 120 [g]) [2]), *h-ausa-ili*, go (ye), *b-osa-ili*, go (thee), perhaps also *aunaki-* to receive, *onnaki-* to take, to remove).

a) 1) *(a)-u-ka*, *(a)-u-ga*, to occur in space ; 2) *(a)-u-kili*, *(a)-o-kili* (§ 175 [e)]), occurrence in space ; 3) *-u*, occurrence in space.

1) *isa-u-ga fa-te*, it will be fair weather, *monda-u ka kiana n*, and there was a calm ;

2) *t-iibo fa koro t-isi-ika*, *c-iwi-ika bajia* ; *mimili*, *tere bajia* ; *isa-u-kili*, *aboa-u-kili bajia* ; *kasakabo*, *kasakoda bajia*, seedtime and harvest, and cold and heat, and summer and winter, and day and night shall not cease (*isa*, beautiful, good, *aboa*, foul), *tanahu aboa-u-kili fa*, it will be foul weather to day, *kena ifiro-tu monda-u-kili goba*, and there was a great calm (*m-onda*, § 127 [c)]), *ma-loko-n a-u-kili*, the wilderness (*ma-loko-n*, being empty), *ka-siri-siri a-u-kili waboroko*, the rough ways (*ka-siri-siri*, with rough points or pebbles), *n-akonnaba Adaie-li Wacinaci ajia-n*, *akona l-a-n ka yara o-loko-ji mimi-a-u-kili-di*, they heard the voice of the Lord God walking in the garden in the cool of the day (*mimi*, to be cold), *b-augioci ajinama ma-u-gili o-loko*, thy brethren stand without, *to-boredo-n-wa bia ma-u-gili o-lokomun*, to be cast out [and trodden under foot], Sm. *wulissebë-u-killi*, twilight, *ma-u-killi*, the sky, the starry sky ;

3) *serabo-kili-o*, S. *se-ribo-kkilli-u*, a tempest (§ 116 [d) 9)]), S. *wuli-sse-bej-u*, break of day (§ 126 [b)]) ;

b) 1) S. *a-usu-*, to begin, to start, to depart, S. *ikka a-ussü-nn-üwa-i ba*, be it known therefore unto you (Acts XXVIII, 28), B. *ausi-*, to go ; presumably *u* space, *s* formed, consequently "to form a void" ;

2) *ausiro*.

ausiro n-a ma ausi-n, they need not depart, *to-makwa ausiro-n-tu ajia-hu*, every idle word, *l-auciga goba aba-no ajinama-kwon-ci ausirobu-in*, and (he) found others standing idle, *m-onnaki-n b-a Adaie-li Wacinaci bu-mun iri ausirobu-in*, thou shalt not take the name of the Lord thy God in vain, *toro ausirobu-in-tu*, these vanities ;

c) *auti-*, to suffer, to permit, *m-auti-*, to forbid ;

d) *aucigi-*, to find, to receive ;

e) *m-au-ci*, early morning, see § 161 [b)] ;

onyikau, *o-nyikau*, goods, *sa-tu onyikau*, treasure ;

karau, grass, Sm. grass, savanah ;

kauri, a basket ;

akausa, to compass;
isauka, a kingdom (comp. *isa-u-ga*, beautiful weather, § 130 a) 1));
bawhu, house, *bawhu-yuho*, city (A. M. § 182, 116).

§ 131. *Iau*: *i-a* let loose, *u* space.

a) 1) *a-iaudi- ... a* (§ 169 a) 2)), to be beside oneself, to be mad; *bu-iauda-a*, thou art beside thyself, *manswa kibi d-a goba a-iaudi-ni-a na-kona mun*, and (I) being exceedingly mad against them, *lihi a-iaudi-ci-a*, he is beside himself, *a-maiaudo-(n-wa)*, to hold one's peace, to keep patience, *a-maiaudwa-hu*, [wars and] commotions;

2) *ma-iau-kwa (-kwon)*, being in peace, quiet, silent;

b) *iauna*, *iauna*, value, price, reward, *a-iaunti-*, to buy, to pay.

§ 132. *Ia* is used to express: *i* the preceding, appearing in a free manner (a principle or the momentary), *a* continues for some time.

-ia, Hortative-Optative, § 5, table, forms n⁰. 10;
-hia, *-ia*, existing condition, § 23;
word with the ending *i*, +*a*, separable possession, likeness, §§ 82, 82A;
bia, it will be, be it, § 39;
oini ... iki, rain, § 48 h), *mauci*, early morning, § 161 b) + *a*, Indicative mood, Present tense;
-sia, the thing that has been realised, § 22;
-sia, a human quality or peculiarity, etc., § 118 a);
kia, relative pronoun, § 49 a);
lia, newly originated, § 98;
rea, *ria*, from, § 97;
nianna, season, § 161 j), *bania*, lasting some time, § 60 e), *o-tobonia*, dream, § 174 c);
h(ia), something airy or etherical, § 169;
boia, smell, savour, § 169 c), *raia*, appearance, § 104 a), *adaia*, to be a ruler, § 89, *abui(a or e)*, to feed, § 65, *a-kwaiabo-*, to beseech, to pray, § 120 e) 7), *a-iadi-*, to move, to travel, S. *a-ijahaddü-*, to walk, to go, *a-iako*, to pierce;
comp. also *-i fa*, *-i ba* etc., § 5.

§ 133. *(H)ai*, *ai*, established security, peace (?).

a) *aici-*, to know, *d-aiita*, I know, S. *aditti-*, to know;

b) 1) *m-aiika-ci-no*, the deaf, *m-ajia-n-tu*, *m-aiika-tu yauhahu bui*, thou dumb and deaf spirit;

2) *aiikasia*, to have forgotten;

3) S. *haika hidda na-kuburukku*, they held their peace;

4) *ahaikata fa na-koboroko* (§§ 103 b), 120 g) 7)) *o-doma*, for they shall be comforted, *Ahaikata-ci ho-koboroko*, the (your) Comforter;

5) *aiakati-*, to hide, *aiakato-(n-wa)*, to be hidden;

6) *aiika*, to marry, *d-aiika-ga bu-ma*, I thee wed;

7) *aiikah*, *aiika*, death, to die;

c) *k-aiima-hu*, the wrath, *lihi koro k-aiima fa*, he shall not strive, *ama ibia akirikia-no k-aiima-ga*, why did the heathen rage? *k-aiima sabu goba*

kiana ie, and they were the more fierce, *k-aiima-ci-no wa-mun*, our enemies, *m-aiima-ci*, (a)meek(person), *m-aiima-hu ho-mun*, peace be unto you, *kena m-aiima-li ho-muni-kwawa hu*, and have peace one with another;

aiimaha, to curse; *kena d-aiimatoo-koto fa ho-muni-kwawa bui hiaro o-ma, bu-sa t-isa aiimatoo fa na-muni-kwawa bajia*, and I will put enmity between thee and the woman, and between thy seed and her seed. *aiimawto-*, to offend, *aiimawto-(n-wa)*, to be offended, to be wroth (*aiimaw* = *aiima-hu* ?), *aiimawto()koto*, to set at variance;

d) *aiikita*, to pipe, to sound (a trumpet), to handle (harp and organ), comp. *ikita* to serve;

e) G. *tẹ-kaikai*, whirlpool.

§ 134. *Ka*, energetic action, sometimes relentless.

a) 1) *kari*, to suffer, to be vexed, *kari-hi*, disease, anguish, *kari-tu hori*, viper, *manswa-ci kari-bi-ci-n lihi a-kwaiaboa manswa sabu-in*, and being in an agony he prayed more earnestly (A. M. § 182, 132B);

2) *a-kariti-*, to torment, *na-loa a-karitwa*, they were cut to the heart;

3) *karikona ... ajia-n* reproaching words, *karikona b-ajia-n*, thou reproachest;

4) G. *háči karoa-ka*, the pepper is strong;

5) Sm. *a-kkakardi-*, to bite (a snake):

b) *a-katadi*, to stumble, to dash (his feet against a stone), to be offended;

c) *akarati-*, *akarate*, *akarata*, to bury (a corpse) (A. M. § 182, 135);

cA) G. *kakali-či*, a man with curly hair:

d) 1) *t-ikaba*, his saltness, *a-kabato-(n-wa)*, to be salted (*pawmu*, salt, perhaps Karib, Sm. *ue-ssalá-ru*, salted meat or fish, Spanish or creole);

2) *maba*, honey (A. M. § 182, 105);

e) 1) *a-kabo*, hand (Sm.: especially the front part, the fingers) (A. M. § 182, 27);

2) Sm. *a-kakatta*, to mix with the hand;

3) G. *a-káọadi-*, to stir up;

f) 1) *kaci*, A. M. § 182, 62 **kači*, **kairi*, moon: *ka* force, *či*, *iri*, fluid (tides, menstruation, etc.) (?);

2) *kalime*, light, glory, to be bright, to shine, § 126 a), A. M. § 182, 61 **kamu*, sun; *ka*, force, *mu* origin of life, vegetative faculty ? (comp. § 135 d) 2));

3) Sm. *kámma*, A. M. § 182, 88 **kama*, tapir; (Pen. 17a, II, 57, III, 119, symbol of temptation, carnal lusts);

4) Sm. *kamúdu*, the big water-boa;

g) *wakaia*, evil, to be evil; § 188;

h) Sm. *káikuti*, alligator; *ka* (biting) force, *ikuti*, halt, § 129 c) ? (A. M. § 182, 98).

§ 135. Colours.

[G. A paper with squares of different colours was placed before the

Arawaks. They (and also Waraus and a Kaliña), had great difficulty in giving the names of the colours, especially that for blue. "The rainbow has many different colours", they translated by *to yáwale abáloko diako ka-yá-n-da*, lit. this rainbow different upon with-image.]

a) *a-li*, light, white, see § 126:

b) *o-ri*, dark, *karime*, black, see § 126:

c) Sm. *úellihi*, to be black, G. *uūlihi*, to be brown, Q. *illihiti*, R. *iri-to a-ta-hu*, a black beverage;

d) 1) I) *kore*, to be red;

II) *kore-tu marisi*, the harvest (*marisi*, maize, wheat), *to-kore-ka*, in the time of harvest;

III) *oraro jiamutu kore-li*, vapour (cloud-like) of smoke, *flax a-koredo-tu*, smoking flax, S. *kulle-helli*, smoke;

IV) B. uses *korrokori*, in translating "gold", but probably this word means a gold alloy, or the nose ornaments and pendants made of the same. G. *kálukuli*, brass, *kálukúli kulē-ro*, copper (*kule*, red), *puláta* (Spanish) or *góutu* (creole), gold, *puláta alidā-ru*, silver (*alida*, white), Sm. *kárrukulli*, brass, *karrukulli üssa-uábu*, S. *karrukulli üssa-be-ru*, gold (*üssa-uabu*, *üssa-be-ru*, precious). Comp. also: Cumanagoto *carcuriri*, oro baxo, *chuparari*, oro, *cappara*, hierro (§ 116 c) 3)), Warau *corucuri*, brass, *borata šimu*, gold (*borata*, Spanish plata, *zimo*, red), *burata hoko*, silver (*hoko*, white).

The Island Karibs had nose ornaments and pendants made of a gold alloy, which they called *caracoli* or *calloucouli*: "c'est le butin le plus rare le plus prisé, qu'ils remportent de courses qu'ils font tous les ans, dans les terres des Arrouägues, leurs ennemis" (de Rochefort, 55, Livre II, Ch. 9).

See further for this gold alloy, Rivet, 70, and comp. Kechua *cori*, gold, Kampa (A. M. language) *quirei*, gold, silver.

V) Sm. *kureme*, bête rouge, Acarus Batatas;

VI) Sm. *korabúli*, brown;

VII) Sm. *kárraū-ru*, Bignonia chica, from which a red paint is prepared (A. M. § 182, 119A):

VIII) Sm. *kárriman*, black pitch prepared from the gum of Symphonia globulifera L. f., Karib languages *paramani*, *mani*;

2) I) *imoro-tu abona-gira-hu*, green herb, *imoro-tu karau*, the green grass, G. *imóro-to*, green;

II) *ika ki t-adinabo moromorotwa*, when his (the fig tree's) branch is yet tender; Sm. *múrmuru*, *murmuru-make*, *morumoru-make*, to be unripe, G. *imoro-koa|tha č-iwi*, the fruit is unripe;

e) *bonaro-tu*, purple; the origin of this word has not been ascertained;

f) Sm. *súbule*, to be green, see § 119 b) 7):

g) Sm. *háehae*, *héhē*, to be pale, G. *hehé*, to be yellow (A. M. § 182, 134); Sm. *aehae*, *ehehi*, urine.

h) G. *ka-tuli*, to be gray (with-dust, § 99 d)).

§ 135A. G. *kabuin tu-kuλabóloko*, triangle (§ 129 d)), *bīši t.*, square, *badeχábu t.*, pentagon, *bátimaŋ t.*, hexagon ;

G. *abuλedá-tu*, cross (§ 69 d)) ;

G. *balalá*, ball, sphere, Sm. *bálla*, lead, shot, ball (Spanish ?), *bállalā*, to be round, G. *bála*, lead, *tu-buelalădon-an*, circle ;

G. *a-kerosó-to*, circle (§ 108A d)) ;

G. *tu-kudibia-sadonan*, ellipse, lit. its-bird-egg-form ;

G. *tekáikaido-nan*, spiral (§ 133 e)).

CHAPTER XVII

CLASSES OF UTTERANCES; NUMERALS

§ 136. Command, prohibition, incitement, request, answer to a question, and exclamation, are composed in the same way as a statement. Probably there is some difference in intonation, and moreover, when one expresses a command, a prohibition or an incitement, use is frequently made of the particles *-li* and *-te*, which indicate the character of the movement, and at the same time show that the speaker means motion.

Every spoken utterance only completes what the hearer already knows, or what he can conclude by the gestures and actions of the speaker and others. Therefore we can easily comprehend that especially these sorts of utterances are often very short.

See examples in § 12, and also the following :

a) *b-adeka di, Adaie-li*, behold, I am here, Lord, lit. thou -see me, Lord, *h-onnaka n, h-eke n, toho d-ifiro-hu*, take, eat : this is my body, *b-osa !* go thy way ! *h-akenakwa-te, yaha-rea w-ausa-i-li*, arise, let us go hence, *da fa-i, ma-ribe-n bu*, I will : be thou clean, *m-amaro-ni bu*, not afraid, *m-amaro-ni hu*, fear not ye, be not affrighted, *m-amaro-ni kiana hu na-bora*, fear them not therefore, *m-amaro-n bu, Paul*, fear not, Paul, *m-amaro-n bu, Sion o-tu*, fear not, daughter of Sion :

b) *David Aiici*, The son of David (Mt. XXII, 42), *m-ansi d-a*, I will not, *d-ausa, Adaie-li*, I go, sir (Mt. XXI, 29, 30), *John Baptist isi*, the head of John the Baptist (Mk. VI, 24) ;

c) *Adaie-li, David Aiici bui*, O Lord, thou son of David ! *yauhahu bui !* thou unclean spirit ! *murriga-ci hui !* ye hypocrites ! *murriga-ci bui !* thou hypocrite ! *isa n, sa-ci, kidua-ci da-sanci bui*, well done, thou good and faithful servant, *Claudius Lysias, isa-ci-wabu adaia-hu Felix o-mun, imigoda toho ajia-hu ; Alikibi bu, ma-in*, Claudius Lysias unto the most excellent governor Felix sendeth greeting (sends this word ; Joy thee, *ma-in*, § 35), *alikibi bu !* hail ! (L. I, 28) :

d) *ahe*, yes (§ 109) ; *aba-koro*, no (*aba*, one, a, *koro*, negation) ; *Ahe, Adaie-li, n-a goba ajia-n lo-mun*, they said unto him, Yea, Lord, *Abakoro : l-a oonaba-n*, and he answered, No, *to-moroa: Ahe, ahe : Abakoro, abakoro ; h-a-li ajia-n*, but let your communication be, Yea, yea ; Nay, nay, *to-moroa abakoro l-a goba ajia-n na-makwa na-makanna*, but he denied before them all, *abakoro, l-a ki ka ba*, and he denied it again, G. *abákóro*, not a single one (*mani*, no ! § 32 c)) ;

e) 1) (from B. 's grammar :) "The interjections are chiefly uncouth

sounds indicative of surprise, alarm, &c., many of which it would be difficult to express by letters. Some have a definite meaning, as *kimii* and *asikii*, the former expressing surprise with a degree of sorrow or alarm; the latter denoting excessive disgust. But the majority are such as require the expression of the voice, and vary their meaning according to its intonation." (*kimii*, see under [3]), *asikii*, G. *sikĭ !* comp. *isi*, to stink, § 115);

[2]) Sm. *poi !* word of astonishment, *poi ! d-a (b-a, l-a)*, I (thou, he) wonder, *poi ! d-ibi*, I have wondered to-day, *poi ! da-pa*, I will wonder, etc.: S. *h-addika-te amuttā-rubu-mu-tti|de, pahia — h-ā-li*, behold, ye despisers, and wonder, *pahia ! — ma na-kunnamūñ*, they marvelled (them-concerning: Acts IV, 13), etc., G. *fá !* is said, when someone uses a bad word (see § 184);

[3]) I) Sm. *emė*, word of surprise, astonishingly ! S. *l-ani-ka baddia ipirru-tu manswa-ttu — Eméme diamuttu — lukku-nnu u-mūkaña, n-aditti-koana-wa*, (he) did great wonders and miracles among the people, lit. he-did-when also great thing very thing — *ememe* like — men before they-know-instrument-own (see § 184);

II) Sm. *aėme*, the smell of a thing, *kâ-maije*, vanilla, *k-úma-ru*, Dipteryx odorata, G. *th-éma*, it (a bush-hog) stinks, *n-éme*, they (a crowd) smell malodorously, *k-eméya-to dūọi*, the negroes smell m.;

[4]) *ah !*, ah (Mk. XV, 29);

[5]) Sm. *akka*, ach ! *akka|ka tuhu ! akka|ka-e !*, G. *akō*, word of surprise (A. M. § 182, 132B);

[6]) Q.: "In their meetings, their greetings and that which they have to say, is expressed in a singing tone, and is answered by the person to whom it is addressed, in the same singing, or rather plaintive tone, with a repetition of the last words with addition of *wa*, *ehekada* and *gideada*, as substantiation."

See moreover the words mentioned in § 179.

§ 137. Explanation:

Abona-ci sa-tu t-isi, loko Aiici: Kabuea, ororo: sa-tu t-isi, isauka sanoci: to-moroa tare, wakaia-ci sanoci: K-aiima-ci abona-ci n, yauhahu: to-kore ka, ororo a-iiboa: onnaki-ci-no, angel-no, He that soweth the good seed is the Son of man: The field is the world: the good seed are the children of the kingdom: but the tares are the children of the wicked one: The enemy that sowed them is the devil: the harvest is the end of the world: and the reapers are the angels.

Other juxtaposition:

Daii, Da-ci, abar-li waii, I and my Father are one.

§ 138. Questions do not differ in the sequence of words from other sentences. Probably ambiguity is prevented by different intonation.

Daii ! it is I, *Daii ?* is it I ? *Christ bui*, thou art the Christ, *Christ bui ?* art thou the Christ ? *d-ikiduada bui Christ, Wacinaci Aiici*, I believe that thou art the Christ, the Son of God, *b-ikiduada Wacinaci Aiici ?* dost thou

believe on the Son of God ? *m-aici-n d-a i*, I know him not, *bui a-mairikota-ci Israel, kena m-aici-n b-a toraha ?* art thou a master of Israel, and knowest not these things ?

With *ma*, expressing doubt (§ 5, forms 5) :

yauhahu a-toroda ma m-akosi-ci akosi-hi kiana ? can a devil open the eyes of the blind ?

With a negative form (perhaps in imitation of the English construction):

Joseph koro aiici lihi ? is not this Joseph's son ? *aba-ro t-aurea-tu atedi faroka, l-iiba koro bibici-loko bibici-timen kutibana t-ajeago ... ?* and (if) one of them be gone astray, doth he not leave the ninety and nine ... ? *ma-ridi-n h-a David onyi-sia o-konomun*, have ye not read, what David did ? (Mt. XII, 3), *m-adeki-n h-a toraha to-makwa ?* see ye not all these things ? (Mt. XXIV, 2), *Daii koro akabo a-murreti-sia goba toraha to-makwa ?* hath not my hand made all these things ?

§ 139. In the preceding sentences, the uncertainty is so well indicated, that the listener has only to answer "yes" or "no". When this is impossible or impractical, the uncertainty is indicated by a word denoting its class (interrogative word). The same words are used in non-interrogative sentences (in imitation of the English construction ?).

a) *Ama* denotes a person who "is", a thing that "is" ; *m* uncertain, unpretending, a time-reality.

1) I) *ama bu-iri ? ... Legion da-iiri*, what is thy name ? ... my name is Legion, *ama n-a loko-no a-sa-n di, Daii loko Aiici ? ... John Baptist, n-a aba-no a-sa-n bu ; ... To-moroa ama h-a hui a-sa-n di ?* whom do men say that I the Son of man am ? ... Some say that thou art John the Baptist ... But whom say ye that I am ? *ama toho l-ajia-ga ?* what is this that he saith ? *ama isa loko o-mun ?* for what is a man profited ? (Mt. XVI, 26), *ama ajia-hu abu b-onyi-ka toho ?* by what authority doest thou these things ? *ama w-onyi-ka waii ?* what do we ? (J. XI, 47), *ama jia kibi l-a lihi ?* what manner of man is this ? *ama ibia kiana, Elias andi-n bia-te to-bora*, why then say the scribes, that Elias must first come ? *ama o-doma ? ama wakaia-hu l-onyi goba ?* why ? what evil hath he done ? (Mk. XV, 14), *ama tu* (§ 55 b) 4)) *kidua-hu ?* what is truth ? *ama-hu h-a k-ikisi-n ?* how think ye ? S. *hamma-hü-bia*, why ;

II) *ama l-a goba koro oonaba-ni-n*, [when he was accused] he answered nothing, *daii koro aiita ama b-a-n ajia-n*, I know not what thou sayest, *isiroko isa koro ama ibia*, the flesh profiteth nothing, *ama-hu l-a-n jiaro Adam a-sa-n to-makwa kokki-tu, kia ki t-iri*, and whatsoever Adam called every living creature, that was the name thereof ;

2) *amisia-ci l-ibekita sa-be-tu ama-te-li abu ; kena yuho-ro k-amun-ci l-akoiokota ama-koro abu*, he hath filled the hungry with good things ; and the rich he hath sent empty away ;

b) *alo* denotes circumstances ; *l*, loose, able to move, *o* space.

1) *alo-n*, where ?

I) *alon-ci bui ?* where dwellest thou ? *alon-ga|i ka-raia-ci Jew-no*

Adaie-n-wabu ? where is he that is born King of the Jews ? *alon-ga b-ici ?* where is thy Father ? *hiaro, alon-ga naii ahaka-ci bu-iri ?* woman, where are those thine accusers ? *alon kwa n-a bibici-time-no ?* but where are the nine ? (L. XVII, 17) :

II) *auaduli a-fuda alon jiaro t-ansi-n, kena t-akonnakita-n b-akonnaba barin, to-moroa m-aici-n b-a alo area t-andi-n-te, alo mun i-ro t-ausi-n,* the wind bloweth where it listeth, and thou hearest the sound thereof, but canst not tell whence it cometh, and whither it goeth ;

2) *alo-mun,* where ?

I) *alo mun ka i ?* where is he ? (J. VII, 11), *alomun-ga bawhu adeki-ci bu o-bora-tu ?* where is the guestchamber ? *alomun ka h-ikiduadi-n ?* where is your faith ? *ama kiana bawhu ho-murreti fa da-mun ? l-a Adaie-li ajia-n, alomun-ga da-bora yumun-tu bia d-ahakobu-in ?* what house will ye build me ? saith the Lord : or what is the place of my rest ? *alomun kwa b-a ?* where art thou ? (Gen. III, 9), *alo mun Christ ka-raie-n bia ? l-a goba adagato-n ie,* he demanded of them where the Christ should be born. *Adaie-li, alo mun i-ro b-osa-bo ?* Lord, whither goest thou ?

II) *alomun jiaro ajia-sia fa sa-tu ajia-hu toho,* wheresoever this gospel shall be preached [this shall be told], *m-aici-n w-a alo mun i-ro b-osi-n,* we know not whither thou goest ;

3) *alo-man,* when ? how long ? how many ?

I) *aloman ho-ma fa di ? aloman d-onnaki fa hu ?* how long shall I be with you ? how long shall I suffer you ? *aloman tu hour o-loko sa-sabu bona i ?* (in which hour did he begin to amend ? (J. VI, 52 : *tu,* see § 55 b) 4)), *aloman tu meli h-amuni-ga ?* how many loaves have ye ?

II) *aloman ororo ajeago ka di, ororo o-mun kalime Daii,* as long as I am in the world, I am the light of the world, *kena aloman tu kauri h-onnaki-n goba ?* [do ye not remember the seven loaves of the four thousand], and how many baskets ye took up ?

4) *alo-area,* whence ?

I) *alo area kiana tare t-amuni-ga ?* from whence then hath it tares ? *alo area liraha auciga ka-ieniko-hu toho ?* whence hath this man this wisdom ? *alo-area-tu kibi da-mun toho ?* and whence is this to me ? (L. I, 43) ;

II) *d-aici-n alo area d-andi-n goba-te o-doma, alo mun i-ro d-ausi-n fa ba,* for I know whence I came, and wither I go, *m-aiici-n l-a goba alo area-ni n,* and (he) knew not whence [the wine] was ;

c) *aro,* parallel to *alo* (*l,* loose, *r,* fixed), with emphasizing particle *hai, wai* (§ 121 e)).

II) *b-adeka, arohai bu-pound-in,* behold, here is thy pound, S. *haruwai Parthia-kunna-na, Medus-kunna-na,* etc., (there were) Parthians, and Medes, etc., *haruwai kirraha jaha-bu hidda,* see, here is water, G. *kharo(ho),* now ;

d) *halli-di,* in the following :

S. *lui kéwai a-ssiki-ssia na-mün ikissi-hü, patta-hü n-a kakü-n-ti, halli-di n-a ka-ssikoa-ni bia ba u-kunnamün,* (Acts XVII, 26, last part, lit. himself given-thing them-to time how-long they-do living-person, where they-do with-house-to-be also concerning), Sm. *halli-di wa-künnu-pa,* wie wollen wir gehen [*kuljara u-lluku hurrurá-di küssa,* im Corjar oder zu Land ?]

[e]) *alika,* denotes events: *li,* freely streaming forth, *ka,* if, when (§ 29 [a])).

[1]) *alika, alika-a,* when ?

[I]) *alika tu bia toraha ?* when shall these things be ? (*tu,* see § 55 [b)] [4)]), *alikaa l-anda fa-te ba ?* when shall he come back ? *alika w-adeka goba amisia-n bu ?* when saw we thee an hungred ?

[2]) with auxiliary verb *a,* how ?

[I]) *alika b-a ajia-n, Ho-maierodo fa ?* how sayest thou, Ye shall be made free ? *alika wa fa naraha ?* what shall we do to these men ? *alika h-a ma ikiduadi-n Daii ajia-n ?* how shall ye believe my words ? *alika t-a b-akosi a-torodo-n-wa ?* how were thine eyes opened ? *alika lo fa-te naha kabuea-ari-no o-mun ?* what will he do unto those husbandmen ?

[II]) *ho-mairikotwa-li kabuia o-loko-tu to-tokoro o-konomun ; alika t-a-n ibikido-n-wa,* consider the lilies of the field, how they grow, *alika koro t-adekoa goba torajiamutu Israel o-loko,* it was never so seen in Israel ;

[3]) with *mo-tu, mu-tu,* what manner of ? (comp. §§ 70 [a)] [2)], 88 [f)]).

[I]) *alika mo-tu ajia-hu l-ajia-ga toho ?* what manner of saying is this that he said ;

[II]) *m-aici-n h-a alika mu-tu ialoko h-amuni-n,* ye know not what manner of spirit ye are of :

[4]) with the end-point pronouns *-i, -n, ie.*

[I]) *alika-i bui ?* who art thou ? *alika-i loko hui o-rea-ci ?* or what man is there of you ? *alika i a-fatada bu ?* who is he that smote thee ? *alika-i abu h-isanoci a-boreda n ?* by whom do your children cast them (the devils) out ? *alika-n da-iiyu ? alika-ie d-augioci ?* who is my mother ? and who are my brethren ?

[5]) with *-i* and negation-word *koro,* indicating doubt.

[I]) *alika-i koro aboadikita bu ?* hath no man condemned thee ?

[II]) *alika-i koro anda ma da-mun,* no man can come to me.

§ 140. [a]) *Jiali,* (who, what) like, with motion ; *jia* (§ 88) with *li,* freely streaming forth.

ki-o-doma alika-i jiali akonnabo-ci toho d-ajia-sia, therefore whosoever heareth these sayings of mine, *m-amuni n-a goba alika-i jiali k-amunaiga-ci,* neither was there any among them that lacked, *kena m-ajia-n h-a-li aba-li jiali o-mun waboroko o-loko-ji,* and salute no man by the way, *kena a-siki-ci jiali,* and whosoever shall ye give ;

[b]) *jiari,* (who, what) like, without motion.

h-ikiduadi-sia jiari ki tu fa-i ho-mun, according to your faith be it unto you, *misi-tu-ahaka-hu o-loko-ji jiari ki n-a-n bia i,* [when the parents brought in the child Jesus], to do for him after the custom of the law, *loko-no waii*

hui jiari-ki-n-ci waii ba, we also are men of like passions with you. Other examples in § 41.

[c]) *jiaro*, (who, what) like, stopped.

[1]) I) *kabuin hour jiaro adiki l-iretu akodwa*, and it was about the space of three hours after, when his wife ... came in, *d-ausa fa bu- inabo alomun jiaro b-osi-n*, I will follow thee whithersoever thou goest, *alika jiaro k-aiima-ci ki ma-siki-n ma-n bia bu ikisida-arin o-mun*, lest at any time the adversary deliver thee to the judge, *alika-n jiaro bawhu-yuho o-lokomun h-akodo-n-wa*, and into whatsoever city ye enter; *alika-n jiaro aiita-sia ada c-iwi abu*, for every tree is known by his own fruit, *ki-o-doma amateli jiaro h-ansi-sia loko-no onyi-n bia ho-mun, tora-jin ki h-onyi fa na-mun*, therefore all things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them, *hui ikiside-sia jiaro ki abu, hui ikisido fa ba*, for with what judgment ye judge, ye shall be judged ;

II) *aba-no wadili, bibici-hundred jiaro-no*, a number of men, about four hundred ;

[2]) used for translating "or", after each of the coordinated terms.

kena alika-i jiali a-iibi-ci l-isikwa jiaro, l-augioci jiaro ... lo-horora jiaro, da-iiri o-konaria, and every one that hath forsaken houses, or brethren ... or lands, for my name's sake, *abar-li m-ansi lo fa, l-ibiamti-ci l-ansi fa, jiaro ; abar-li l-ikita fa, l-ibiamti-ci l-imita fa, jiaro*, for either he will hate the one, and love the other ; or else he will hold to the one, and despise the other.

§ 141. [a]) *Arin(i)*, exercising a profession, a trade, a craft ; *a* time-reality, *ri* fixed, *n* vagueness in regard to time.

ma-siki-n b-a oniabu da-kuti arini wa, thou gavest me no water for my feet, *kia ki arini o-doma i, na-ma goba kiana i, imikebo-n, tenti a-murreta-ari-no o-doma ie*, and because he was of the same craft, he abode with them, and wrought : for by their occupation they were tentmakers, *ada-arin*, carpenter, *plata-arin*, silversmith, *imikebo-arin*, workman, *t-eda-isada-arin*, tanner, *ikisida-arin*, judge, *sikapo ikita-arin*, shepherd, *bonaro-tu a-iyugara-arin*, seller of purple (woman), *kabuea-ari-no*, husbandmen, *asia-ari-no*, fishers, *a-bokota-ari-nno na-bokoto-n bia i*, officers to take him, *ajia-arin*, orator ;

S. *purpura a-ijukarrâ-hü âlin-kurru*, a seller of purple, *lihi baddia kimissa akkudâ-hü âlini-n*, lit. he also canvas-sewing, *platta âlin*, silversmith, *ahaka-hü alini-nu*, the scribes, *Judu-nnu kerki ipilli-be-tti ikitta-hü âli-n*, the chief ruler of the synagogue, *na-ssika juhu-rru abujoa-hü w-adikk-oa wa-mün, wa-burugku alini-wa*, they laded us with such things as were necessary ;

[b]) S., Q. *alin-ua*, superior (?) comp. *a(ha)li-kibi*, joy.

S. *ika ka-ijawa-ti-kill a-dallida n-ibiti, t-adaijahükitti-n-benna n-alinua*, and the man in whom the evil spirit was leaped on them, and overcame them, *meju u-lukkuaria t-alinua*, the tackling of the ship, Q. *hamma-kurru aboa-tu tatta-ni bia w-allin-ua*, let nothing evil overwhelm us (lead us not into temptation), *k-adanni-(n) alin-ua*, to overcome.

§ 142. *Koro*, negation: *ko* affirms, knits up the event, the person or thing in question, *ro* stops.

M(a)- negatives a form which denotes a state or condition (§§ 10, 18, 28 d)) and may be compared to English "un-", or "without". *Koro* negatives a clause. The place of *koro* is chosen in accordance with the necessity of emphasizing the negation.

a) *Christ koro daii*, I am not the Christ (J. I, 20), *daii koro*, I am not (J. I, 21), *daii koro aiita lihi loko*, I know not the man, *ma-sweardoa-n h-a-li abaren: Aiomun koro abu bu-sweardoa fa*, etc., swear not at all; neither by heaven, etc., *Sabbath a-murretwa goba loko o-mun, loko koro a-murretwa sabbath o-mun*, the sabbath was made for man, and not man for the sabbath, *h-adaiana-sia koro a-iaunta tribute plata?* doth not your master pay tribute? *Solomon, to-makwa l-ikalime-hi abu, ekitwa goba koro isa-n abar toraha jin*, even Solomon in all his glory was not arrayed like one of these, *c-imikebo ka koro, t-isiribida koro*, they toil not, neither do they spin, *ajia-hu k-amun-ci jia l-a-n goba a-mairikota-n o-doma ie, a-buriti-ci-no jia l-a goba koro*, for he taught them as one that had authority, and not as the scribes, *kidua-n, d-ajia-ga ho-mun, Torajiamutu ifiro-tu ikiduada-hi m-aucigi-n d-a goba: abakoro, Israel akirikia o-loko koro d-auciga n*, verily I say unto you, I have not found so great faith, no, not in Israel, *to-moroa ma-dokodo-n ho faroka loko-no wakaia-hu, H-icinaci koro a-dokodo fa ho-wakaia h-aurea*, but if ye forgive not men their trespasses, neither will your Father forgive your trespasses; see also § 138;

b) *a-korodi-*, to break a branch from a tree.

§ 143. *Kowa*, S., G. *kawa*, to be absent: *k(a)*, affirmed, *(o)wa*, distant, a void.

loko-no o-loa kowa fa, amaro-n o-doma ie, men's hearts failing them for fear (L. XXI, 26), *aba-ro kowa-ka bu-mun*, one thing thou lackest, *plata, korrokori mu-tu kowa-ka da-mun*, silver and gold have I none, *kena m-ansi t-a to-io-no ahikata-n to-koboroko, kowa-n o-doma ie*, and (she) would not be comforted, because they [the massacred infants] are not, *m-aiima-hu aiici yumuni faroka, hui m-aiima-hu yumuni fa ba: to-moroa kowa faroka i, t-anda fa h-amun ba*, and if the son of peace be there, your peace shall rest upon it: if not, it shall turn to you again, *kena l-oabodda l-isikiti-n bia i na-mun, kowa n-a-n ka loko-no*, and (he) sought opportunity to betray him unto them in the absence of the multitude.

§ 144. *Faroka*, indicating the hypothetical, is used in the same way as *fa* (§ 5); *fa* points to the future, *ro* stops the flow of thought, *ka*, if, when (§ 29 a)).

Christ faroka i, [let him save himself], if he be Christ, *Adaie-li, bui faroka*, Lord, if it be thou, *b-ikiduada faroka, Wacinaci kalime-hi b-adeki fa: d-a koro ajia-n bu-mun?* said I not unto thee, that, if thou wouldest believe, thou shouldest see the glory of God? *k-iwi faroka n, isa fa n; m-a-ni tu faroka, t-adiki bu-sogo fa n*, and if it bear fruit, well: and if not, then after that thou shalt cut it down, *tata-o-kona koro b-amuni koma da-*

konomun, aiomuni o-rea ma-siko-n-wa tu faroka bu-mun, thou couldest have no power at all against me, except it were given thee from above, *abar-dakabo robu-in meli w-amuni-ga, biama himi bajia, m-ausi-n wa faroka a-iaunti-n a-kota-he naha na-makwa o-mun,* we have no more but five loaves and two fishes; except we should go and buy meat for all this people, *kenbena alika-i jiali amateli ma faroka ho-mun,* and if any man say ought unto you, [ye shall say, etc.], *kena alika-i jiali Raca ma faroka ajia-n l-augici o-mun,* and whosoever shall say to his brother, Raca [shall be in danger], *alika-i jiali, Christ lihi, ma faroka,* if any man did confess that he was Christ, *Awa, tu faroka ma, toho a-ta-kwona-hu a-bollia d-aurea !* O my Father, if it be possible, let this cup pass from me.

§ 145. *Bari,* to be "really", indeed; *ba* an existing state or thing, *ri* fixed.

a) *bari-ga wakaia-ni hu, h-aiita alika h-a-n bia a-siki-n sa-be-tu h-isanoci o-mun, aloman sabu kiana H-icinaci aiomun kon-di a-siki fa sa-be-tu amateli adagati-ci-no i o-mun ?* if ye then, being evil, know how to give good gifts unto your children, how much more shall your Father which is in heaven give good things to them that ask him ? *d-ajia-ga ho-mun, Bari-ga m-akenakwa-ti l-a-n a-siki-n lo-muni n lo-ioci-n o-doma i,* I say unto you, Though he will not rise and give him, because he is his friend (L. XI, 8), *bari-ga ama koro wakaia-hu d-onyi-n loko-no o-mun, bari-ga waii icinoci o-loko-ji d-ikita-n,* though I have committed nothing against the people, or customs of our fathers, *to-moroa bari goba lu-tukuda-n ie,* but the more he charged them, *bari fa na-makwa n-akatadi-n,* although all be offended, *bari koma da-odo-ni bu-ma, mamari fa abakoro d-a-n ajia-n bu-konomun,* if I should die with thee, I will not deny thee in any wise ;

b) *W-adaiana-sia, Adaie-li, h-a ia a-sa-n di ; isa h-ajia-n : ki jia d-a-n bari-n o-doma,* ye call me Master and Lord : and ye say well ; for so I am, *yara o-loko-tu ada iwi w-eke ma bari-n,* we may eat of the fruit of the trees of the garden (Gen. III, 2), *na-makwa adagati-ci auciga bari-ni n,* for every one that asketh receiveth, *ahe bari-n,* yea rather (L. XI, 28), *b-aici-n ka goba ma, bui bari-n,* if thou hadst known, even thou ; *bari-sia,* see last example B. in § 147.

§ 146. *Mari-ga sa-n,* it is uncertain (?).

mari-ga sa-n na-munikwawa ie, (they) had disputation, *manswa kibi n-a-n bena ajia-n, mari-ga sa-n na-muni-kwawa ie,* and when there had been much disputing, *naha loko-no o-loa k-ikihi-n o-doma, mari-ga sa-n na-kuyuko akonnabo-n bajia,* for the heart of this people is waxed gross, and their ears are dull of hearing.

§ 147. *Mamari,* to be impossible : see § 74 d).

mamari-ga m-ajia-n w-a-n w-adeki-sia w-akonnabo-sia mu-tu o-konomun, for we cannot but speak the things which we have seen and heard (non possumus), *mamari-ga h-ikita-n Wacinaci Mammon bajia biama-n,* ye cannot serve God and mammon, *tora-jin mamari-ga h-ikita-n da-ma abar hour robu-in ?* what, could ye not watch with me one hour ?

l-iimawto-n-wa o-doma, mamari-ga l-akodwa ti-n, and he was angry, and would not go in, *b-adeka, m-ajia-n-ci fa bu, mamari fa b-ajia-n, toho ibi-ni o-bora,* and, behold, thou shalt be dumb, and not able to speak, until the day that these things shall be performed, *mamari goba kabaritu-'sa jiaro b-isiki-n da-mun,* and yet thou never gavest me a kid, *lihi-ki Wacinaci akenako()kota a-dokodo-n a-oda-hu kari-hi o-rea i, mamari-ni ma kia a-oda-hu a-bokota kwon o-doma i,* whom God hath raised up, having loosed the pains of death : because it was not possible that he should be holden of it, *kia imikebo-hu mamari-sia ma h-ikiduadi-n, bari-sia ma ahaka-hu o-konomun ho-mun,* a work which ye shall in no wise believe, though a man declare it unto you (comp. in this sentence *mamari-sia* and *bari-sia*) :

S. *ma-mmalli-nni-benna hürkü-nni|je n-abbukoawa tu-duma, aimahâ-hitti|n-a-ni-ka ba,* and when there had been much disputing.

§ 148. *M-ans-wa,* to be exceedingly : presumably *m,* without, *ans(i),* inner peace, *wa* in itself.

a) with *ki* and *tu* (§ 55 b)) :

kena manswa-ki n-a goba nokonni-n, and they were exceeding sorry, *manswa-ki t-a onnakennakidi-n u, kia maucia na-makudida kiana mihu,* and we being exceedingly tossed with a tempest, the next day they lightened the ship, *ika ki, Da-iialoko manswa-ki ma nokonni-n a-oda-hu bia, yaha h-oabodda, h-ikita da-ma, l-a ajia-n na-mun,* then saith he unto them, My soul is exceeding sorrowful, even unto death : tarry ye here, and watch with me, *ika ki manswa ki t-a-ni fa k-amunaiga-hu o-doma,* for then shall be great tribulation, *hiaro manswa tu b-ikiduadi-n,* o woman, great is thy faith ;

b) *manswa kibi* (§ 58 c)), *manswa sabu* (§ 149) :

mamari-ga isa-n l-akonnabo-ni n, manswa kibi t-a-n akonnakita-hu o-doma, and when he could not know the certainty for the tumult, *manswa sabu ki n-a a-simaka-n,* and they cried out the more exceedingly ;

c) *h-ausa-i-li, manswa h-a-li auadi-n koriliaci ibici,* go and search diligently for the young child ;

d) *ika tu wiwa n-adeki-n, manswa goba alikibi-n ie ifiro-tu alikibi abu,* when they saw the star, they rejoiced with exceeding great joy, *manswa goba n-aiimawto-n-wa kiana,* they were sore displeased, *toho o-wakaia, yuho-ro bari-n, a-dokodwa t-aurea, manswa-n t-ansi-n o-doma di,* her sins, which are many, are forgiven ; for she loved much (me ?), *a-odo-ci-sikwa o-loko area a-fitikidi-ci manswa-ci k-aiima-n,* [two men] coming out of the tombs, exceeding fierce, *a-nokondwa-hu, a-iiya-hu, manswa-tu k-amunaiga-n ajia-hu,* lamentation, and weeping, and great mourning.

§ 149. *Sabu,* to be very : *s* intensifying, *abu* appearance (?).

a) *l-ekiti sabu koma koro kiana hu ?* shall he not much more clothe you ? *to-moroa na-simaka sabu goba,* but they cried out the more, *alika-i k-ansi sabu fa i ? ... yuho-sabu-sia l-isiki-n o-mun, d-ikisi-ka,* which of them will love him most ? ... I suppose that he, to whom he forgave most, *to-moroa w-ikiada-li ajia-hu, m-ausa sabu-n t-a-n bia loko-no o-koboroko-*

ji, but (let us prevent the speaking) that it spread no further among the people, *lihi ajia-sabu-in o-doma*, because he was the chief speaker, *ki-o-doma m-amoto-n-wa d-a sabu ka a-onaba-n da-konomun wa b-isibomun*, (therefore) I do the more cheerfully answer for myself, *na-maiaudwa sabu ka kiana*, they kept the more silence, *t-ifirotwa sabu goba kiana oniabu*, and the waters increased, *alika-i jiali k-amun-ci n o-mun t-isikoa sabu fa*, for whosoever hath, to him shall be given, *a-iyuhotwa sabu-in kasakabo man*, and increased (increasing) in number daily, *Sa-tu Ialoko k-ansi-n o-loko-ji waii bajia k-ansi-ka, toho isa-tu aji* (§ 87) *sabu-tu onnaka-ro-hu ma-siki-n w-a-n bia ho-kona*, for it seemed good to the Holy Ghost, and to us, to lay upon you no greater burden than these necessary things, *biam-dakabo kasakabo aji sabu na-ma-n bena i*, and when he had tarried among them more than ten days, *toho ki k-amunaiga-tu botobatu a-boreda na-makwa n-aji sabu to-lokomun*, this poor widow hath cast in more than they all, *alika-n ma-tata sabu ka ajia-hu*, for whether is easier, to say, etc., *wahadu-tu isa-sabu ka*, the old [wine] is better, *aloman sabu kiana H-icinaci aiomun kon-di a-siki fa sa-be-tu amateli adagati-ci-no i o-mun ?* how much more shall your Father which is in heaven give good things to them that ask him ?

b) in contrapositions : the superior with *sabu*, the inferior with *aji :*

l-isanci ifi-li sabu ka koro l-adaie-n aji : imigoda-sia ifi-li sabu ka imigodo-ci i aji, the servant is not greater than his lord ; neither he that is sent greater than he that sent him, *kena, h-adeka ifi-li-sabu-ci Jonas aji yaha-n*, and, behold, a greater than Jonas is here, *sa-sabu-ci koro hui kia aji ?* are ye not much better than they ? *kena toraha aji ifi-ro sabu-tu l-onyi fa*, and greater works than these shall he do, *loko aji sabu koma w-akonnabo-n Wacinaci*, we ought to obey God rather than men, *ororo aji goba oniabu ifirotwa sabu-in*, and the waters prevailed, and were increased greatly upon the earth, *ororo aji goba oniabu ifirotwa sabu wabu-n* (§ 121 d)), and the waters prevailed exceedingly upon the earth, *n-aunaka kiana na-ma wa i, a-mairikota-n i Wacinaci ajia-n o-loko-ji sa-sabu kibe-n*, they took him unto them, and expounded unto him the way of God more perfectly.

§ 150. *Robu* adds to a word the principle of "only" : *ro* stops, *bu* appearance.

a) *m-amaro-n bu, ikiduadi robu b-a*, be not afraid, only believe, *to-moroa t-egura kowa-ka lo-loa o-loko, m-ibena robu l-a oaboddi-n*, yet hath no root in himself, but dureth for a while, *H-ausa yaha rea ; ma-odo-n t-a-n ilontu o-doma, to-moroa adunko robu t-a, l-a ajia-n na-mun*, he said unto them, Give place : for the maid is not dead, but sleepeth, *to-moroa a-bokoto robu n-a goba lo-kabo andi-n Damascus mun l-abu*, but they laid him by the hand, and brought him into Damascus, *a-baptizedo robu n-a goba Adaie-li Jesus iri abu*, only they were baptized in the name of the Lord Jesus, *lo-baptizedo-n-wa bena, Philip o-ma-robu l-a goba*, and when he was baptized, he continued with Philip, *a-odo-ci-no o-rea akenakwa-hu*

o-konomun n-akonnabo-n bena, imita robu n-a aba-no to-konomun, and when they heard of the resurrection of the dead, some mocked, *aba aba robu n-a goba a-simaka-n yuho-li o-koboroko,* and some cried one thing, some another, among the multitude;

b) *naha robu-in koro o-konomun da-kwaiaboa,* neither pray I for these alone, *to-moroa lihi robu-in ki a-tokodo-ci aiomuni o-rea,* [no man hath ascended] but he that came down from heaven, *kena l-ahaka-ga na-mun, M-onnaki-n h-a-li amateli waboroko o-loko-ji bia, to-moroa aba-ro ada robu-in,* and commanded them that they should take nothing for their journey, save a staff only, *aba-no wadili bu-ibo fa na-makwa, lihi robu-ini o-ma b-ikitwa fa,* (wilt thou) forsaking all other (man), keep thee only unto him, *aba-no Jew-no a-iadi-robu-in-ci, semici-ci,* certain of the vagabond Jews, exorcists;

c) S. *m-aditti-nni rubu|n-a hallika-kebé t-a-ni-bia-pa,* they doubted of them whereunto this would grow, lit. not-knowing *rubu* they-did, etc. *má-ijaonti-n-rubu|b-á-li na-mün tuhu na-ma-ssika-ni-hü,* lay not this sin to their charge, lit. not-rewarding-*rubu* thou-do them-to this their-not-obeying;

d) *robuginai* in the following examples: perhaps *robu,* only, *gina,* there is (comp. *kena,* § 51, *i,* end-point pronoun III m.).

alika-i koro sa-ci, to-moroa abar-li robuginai Wacinaci, there is none good but one, that is, God, *abar-li robuginai Wacinaci; kena aba-li kowa-ka, to-moroa lihi robu-in,* for there is one God: and there is none other but he.

§ 151. a) *Uho,* to be a quantity (§ 122). Only example:

biam hundred penny plata meli uho ka koro na-mun, two hundred pennyworth of bread is not sufficient for them;

b) *yuho,* to be a quantity (§ 123).

1) *yuhoo-ka l-itikidi-n ikihi akoloko mun,* ofttimes he falleth into the fire, *yuho goba d-aboadi-n ie,* and I punished them oft, *yuho goba n-atimiti-n bari-n i,* [because that] he had been often bound, *ki-o-doma yuho sabu goba l-isimaki-n i,* wherefore he sent for him the oftener, *yuho-ho to-bokoto-n o-doma i,* for oftentimes it had caught him; S. *juhu-hu-kû-n,* oft;

2) *kore-tu marisi yuho ka bari-n, to-moroa ma-iyuho ka imikebo-ci-no,* the harvest truly is plenteous, but the labourers are few, *Legion da-iiri: yuho-ni waii o-doma,* my name is Legion: for we are many, *bari-ga yuho-ni-n tora-jin,* for all there were so many, [yet was not the net broke], *lihi-ki k-iwi-ka yuho-in,* the same bringeth forth much fruit, *Adaie-li, ma-iyuho-ci isadwa?* Lord, are there few that be saved? *lo-dokotwa kokke-hia naii-ki o-mun lo-forrakito-n-wa bena ma-murrida-ni abu lo-dokotwa yuho-ho-n,* to whom also he shewed himself alive after his passion by many infallible proofs, *mamari-n n-andi-n omuni-n l-amun, yuho kibi n-a-n o-doma,* and when they could not come nigh unto him for the press;

3) S. *na-ijuhu,* the multitude, the more part (of men), *Jesus k-ansi-*

ssia-nu u-ijuhu, the number of the disciples, *naha Stadt-kunna-na u-ijuhu*, the multitude of the city ;

4) m. *yuho-li*, f. (non-human) *yuho-ro*, many.

yuho-li akodwa to-loko-ji, many there be which go in thereat (*ma-iyuhoci auciga n*, few there be that find it, Mt. VII, 13, 14), *yuho-li loko-no*, the multitudes, *yuho-li Corinth kono-no*, many of the Corinthians, *yuho-li hiaro-no*, many women, *kena yuho-li sabu ikiduadi-ci anda goba Adaie-li amun, yuho-li kibi wadili hiaro-no bajia*, and believers were the more added to the Lord, multitudes both of men and women, *yuho-ro poroko*, (many) swine, *yuho-ro ajia-hu*, many words, *yuho-ro isogo-tu koro amateli*, many wonders (many small not thing), *yuho-ro wiwa adiki*, after many years, *kidua goba bu yuho-ro koro abu, da-siki fa bu b-ikita-n bia yuho-ro*, thou hast been faithful over a few things, I will make thee ruler over many things, *yuho-ro sabu Jesus onyi-sia goba*, and there are also many other things which Jesus did.

§ 152. *Aba-r*, a, one (§ 60 d)) (A. M. § 182, 131), m. *abar-li*, f. *aba-ro*.

a) 1) *h-adeka, abar virgin ka-sa fa*, behold, a virgin shall be with child, *tanahu warea abar bawhu o-loko fa abar-dakabo-no ma-heragi-ci na-munikwawa*, for from henceforth there shall be five in one house divided, *ika tu l-ajia-n to-konomun imikebo-ci-no o-mun abar penny plata abar kasakabo iauna bia*, and when he had agreed with the labourers for a penny a day, *ika ki abar siba aba siba ajeago ibara fa koro*, there shall not be left one stone upon another ;

2) *to-moroa aba-re-n-ci isa-n l-adaiana-sia jia ma fa*, but every one that is perfect shall be as his master ;

b) 1) *kenbena, h-adeka, abar-li anda goba*, and, behold, one came, *abar-li loko Wacinaci imigodo-sia goba*, there was a man sent from God, *abar-li priest goba*, there was ... a certain priest, *biama-no kabuea o-loko fa, abar-li onnako fa, abar-li ibara fa*, two men shall be in the field ; the one shall be taken, and the other left, *ajia-n lo-mun abar-li abar-li-n, Daii ?* and to say unto him one by one, Is it I ?

2) *aba-li anda kiana ba*, and another came (L. XIX, 20) ; see also example in § 102 b) ;

c) 1) *biama-no a-saradi fa molo abu, aba-ro onnako fa, aba-ro ibara fa*, two women shall be grinding together ; the one shall be taken, and the other shall be left ; *aba-ro ibibida di*, somebody has touched me, *kena aba-ro Anna, prophet hiaro*, and there was one Anna, a prophetess, *aba-ro l-adura l-onnaka kiana*, and he took one of his ribs ;

2) *yuho-li loko-no ikiduadi-ci k-amun-ci abaro o-loa, abaro ialoko bajia*, and the multitude of them that believed were of one heart and of one soul, *naii abaro-n bia waii abaro-n jin*, that they may be one, even as we are one, *m-abaro-ka kiana l-isibo*, and his (Cain's) countenance fell, *ama o-doma bu-imawtoa ? a-mabarodo-n b-isib-oa ?* why art thou wroth ? and why is thy countenance fallen ?

d) *John Baptist, n-a aba-no a-sa-n bu : Elias, n-a aba-no : Jeremias*

jiaro, abar-li prophet-no o-rea-ci jiaro, n-a aba-no, some say that thou art John the Baptist: some, Elias; and others, Jeremias, or one of the phophets.

§ 153. *Biama*, (followed by a word denoting a non-rational being or thing), two, *biama-no*, two rational beings (A. M. § 182, 132). Probably this word refers to the process of dividing something into two parts or portions; *bi*, small, slight (i.e. small in comparison with the undivided thing), *ama*, something. Comp. *ibi-li*, a small person, *ibi-ro*, a small thing, *ibena*, piece, *ibiki-*, to cut, *bihero(-hu)*, adultery, *beseki-n(i)*, to be of little stature, Sm. *ibi-ju*, twins.

a) 1) *n-imigoda l-ibici biama-no wadili*, they sent unto him two men, *k-amun-ci biama eke-hu a-siki fa m-eke-ci o-mun aba-ro*, he that hath two coats, let him impart to him that hath none, *aba-li o-mun biama*, [he gave] to another two [talents]:

2) G. *to hiāro biama-ϱī ka-sá-ya*, or *to hiāro ĕméuda-ya biama-ϱī-be*, this woman has given birth to twins;

b) to be two:

biama-ga c-isado-n-wa kiana, and both are preserved, *biama goba kiana makondo-n ie*, and they were both naked, *n-anda na-mun, n-ebekita biama-n mihu*, and they came, and filled both the ships, *biama biama-in to-makwa isiroko-ho o-rea-tu*, two and two of all flesh [went into the ark], *biama biama-h l-imigodo-n ie*, and (he) sent them two and two, *l-ajia ki ka ba lo-mun biama-hi*, he saith to him again the second time;

c) the following forms might be considered as belonging to an action-word *biam(a)-t-*:

n-ibiamte-sia-no, their partners, *Simon ibiamte-sia-no*, partners with Simon, *l-ibiamti-ci*, the second [brother], *ci-biamti-tu*, the second [month, day], *ibiamtido-n-wa*, [the voice spake] again the second time.

§ 154. *Kabuin(i)*, three (non-rational beings or things), *kabui-no*, three rational beings; probably *kabu-in*, hand-being, i.e. a handful.

a) *kabuin bawnaboho*, three tabernacles, *biama-no jiaro kabui-no jiaro ahaka-ci areroko abu*, two or three witnesses:

b) *l-ajia ki ka ba lo-mun kabuini*, he saith unto him the third time, *kabuini ka t-a-n da-mun*, and this [voice from heaven] was done three times (to me), *kabuini fa abakoro b-a-n ajia-n da-konomun*, thou shalt deny me thrice, *t-ekabuin-tu*, the third [day]:

c) *na-kabuinti-ci*, a (their) third [servant], *t-ekabuinti-tu*, the third [day].

§ 155. *Bibici*, four (non-rational beings or things), *bibici-no*, four rational beings; probably reduplication of *bi*, two (part), *ci* touched (§ 90)?

bibici auaduli, the four winds, *bibici-no l-isanoci*, four (his) daughters, *da-sika lo-mun ba bibici-hi*, I restore him fourfold, *ci-bibici-tu*, the fourth [river, day];

bibite-n bia t-isiroko, [the river] became into four heads, *ahuido-tu*

bibite-n t-akoina mun, knit at the four corners, *bibite-tu-o-kuti,* four-footed beasts.

§ 156. The numerals for 1, 2, 3 and 4 are not the names for special fingers or toes, though of course, in pronouncing those numerals, the Arawak may count on his fingers also. The higher numerals, however, bear witness of counting on fingers and toes :

5, *abar-dakabo,* one-my-hand ; 10, *biam-dakabo,* two-my-hand ; 6 *abar-timen,* 7 *biama-timen,* 8 *kabuin-timen,* 9 *bibici-timen* : *t-imen* = its-submissive or such-like, § 73, consequently 7 = one (at) the submissive (hand), one at the other hand (?) :

11, *abar-kutibanna,* 12 *biam-kutibanna,* 14 *bibici-kutibanna* : *o-kuti,* foot, *banna,* at the surface of :

15, *abar-mairia-kuti-hi,* one-other side- foot-in general :

20, *abar-loko,* one man, i.e. all the fingers and toes together ; 40, *biam-loko* ; 60, *kabuin-loko* ; 80, *bibici-loko* ;

100, *abar hundred* (English) ; 2000, *biam thousand* ; etc.

When rational beings are meant, *-no* (after an *n* : *-o*) is suffixed.

The plural suffix is omitted, perhaps because it is mentioned already in *wadili-no,* in : *naii a-koto-ci abardakabo thousand wadili-no jiaro goba, hiaro-no bajia, ire-no bajia,* and they that had eaten were about five thousand men, beside women and children.

The ordinal numbers from 5 onwards, are formed by substituting *dakabo-li* for *dakabo, time-li* for *timen* (*li,* § 175). Sometimes, however, the form which is used for the cardinal number, is also used for the ordinal, e.g. :

kenbena lo-fitikida goba kabuin hour jiaro, and he went out about the third hour, *abar-timen kaci o-loko Wacinaci imigoda goba angel Gabriel,* and in the sixth month the angel Gabriel was sent from God.

Numbers indicating more than 20, not being a full 20, 100 or 1000 :

Mahalaleel kokke kwa ma goba kabuin-loko wiwa (year) *ajeago* (upon) *abar-dakabo,* and Mahalaleel lived sixty and five years, *abar-hundred wiwa ajeago kabuin loko kia* (that) *ajeago* (upon) *biama,* 162 years, *kia mihu o-loko goba waii wa-makwa biam-hundred ajeago kabuin-loko kia ajeago abar-timen kutibana kokki-ci,* and we were all in the ship two hundred threescore and sixteen souls.

Sm. 11, *abba-kutti-hi-bénna, abba-kutti-hi-bénna-nu.* The complete form is : *biama-n-te-kábbe abba-kutti-hi-bénna tu-paküttâ-n* or *t-adi-wa-ku* : the fingers of both hands and one toe of the feet besides (which they all point out). Sm. *a-pakúttü-,* to pass ; *t-adi-wa-ku* : its-more than-in itself-power.

S. *kabbuin lugku biama-dakkabbu tu-pakúttâ-n* (B. *kabuin-loko-no ajeago biam-dakabo-no*), 70 ; S. *kabbuin lukku abba-maria-kutti-hi-benna-tti tu-pakúttâ-n* (B. *kabuin-loko ajeago abar-mairia-kuti-hi*), 75 :

v. C. *abba loekoe-noe-bena to-ppakita-n tó-joho,* 100, lit. one man-plural-after its-surpassing its-quantity.

§ 156A. G. *d-akósi-be* (§ 59 a) 2)), *biam-âkâši*, (my) two eyes (*d-akosi*, one eye); *aba karta oála* (§ 120 c) 1)), one sheet of paper, *aba karta ébena* (§ 59 c) 3)), half a sheet of paper;

aba komiki wuniabu, one bowl of water (*komiki*, creole word), *anekidi-tu* (§ 79 d)) *uniábu komiki-lo ki*, a bowl half filled with water;

biáma-thu kabuin-ki|da ba-dakábu ka, $2 + 3 = 5$;

bián-ki kabuin|da ba-timaŋ-ka|de, $2 \times 3 = 6$;

te̥-biči ibena (§ 59 c) 3)) *bian-ká|de*, $\frac{1}{2} \times 4 = 2$;

tu̥-kabuin ebéna-ki|da aba-thó l-ab-oa|ká|de, $\frac{1}{2} \times 3 = 1\frac{1}{2}$.

§ 157. a) Chronology, see § 27.

b) Age:

biam-kutibana wiwa l-ibikido-n-wa (his-growing) *bena*, and when he was twelve years old, *lihi Jesus abar-loko ajeago biam-dakabo wiwa jiáro ibikido-ci*, and Jesus himself began to be about thirty years of age, *biam-kutibana wiwa ibikido-tu-n o-doma n*, for she was of the age of twelve years;

biama wiwa ka-raia-ci (being born-*ci*), *n-afuji-sabu-ci bajia*, [children] from two years old and under;

Sm. *biama|kátti|ka|i lu-puttükidi-nni-bena* (his-going-forth-after), he is two months old, *danuhu biama wiju|ka|n tu-puttükidi-nni-benna*, she is now two years old;

c) *o-bora*, being first, *adiki*, being last, see §§ 105 b), 86 c).

§ 158. a) *Noma* indicates a group, a company.

t-isifodo noma mun n-oabodda goba, and they watched the gates, *to-makwa ma-ribe-n-tu bibite-tu-o-kuti b-onnaki fa bu-mun wa biam-timen noma-in, wadili hiaro mu-tu*, of every clean beast thou shalt take to thee by sevens, the male and its female, *biama noma eke-hu m-onnaki-n h-a-li*, neither (ye) have two coats apiece, *ho-bollita( )kita ie biam-loko ajeago biam-dakabo noma-in n-abokwa-wa*, make them sit down by fifties in a company, *biam-timen kasakabo o-loko biama-hi noma da(-)ma-koto-ni-n*, *aba-ro noma da-sika biam-dakabo o-rea to-makwa d-amuni-sia o-rea*, I fast twice in the week, I give tithes of all that I possess;

b) *nino* indicates a group, a company.

kena Herod ibira-ga lo-kona, lo-soldaro-nino bajia, imita-n i, and Herod with his men of war set him at nought, and mocked him (comp. *soldaro-no bajia imita goba i*, and the soldiers also mocked him), *biama-no o-mun k-aiima fa kabui-nino, kena kabui-nino o-mun k-aiima fa biama-no*, three against two (shall strive), and two against three (shall strive); S. *nai biamattiba-nninu n-adinamukitta Apostel-nu issibumün*, whom (those seven) they set before the apostles, *na-parra baddia je a-ijumudaha-li-ninu*, and they have slain them which shewed (prophesied, Acts VII. 52); Sm. *li-háiaeru-ninu*, his slaves;

c) *ama-te-li*, something, *ama-koro*, nothing, see § 139 a) 2).

§ 159. a) *Ate-n-wa*, S. *atenennua-ttu*, the beginning; *a*, time-reality, *te*, limited motion, *n*, continuing, *wa* self (?).

to-moroa atenwa warea tora-jia t-a goba koro, but from the beginning it was not so, *atenwa-wabu Ajia-hu goba*, in the beginning was the Word: *atenwa-ci*, *atenwa-tu*, the first;

b) S. *m-attibia-ttu* or *m-attebia-ttu kassakkabbu-hü*, a few days, *m-attebia-tti wadili-nu kurru baddia*, and of men, not a few;

c) *mata*, presumably = *ma*, entirely, § 70 a), *t-a*, it is.

biam-loko wiwa abar-timen t-ajeago ma-ta toho temple a-murreto-n-wa, forty and six years was this temple in building, *kasakabo ma t-a ma koro*, not always [shall my spirit strive with man];

d) *omata*, enough.

lo-mairikoto-sia omata bari-n l-adaiana-sia jia lo faroka, it is enough for the disciple that he be as his master, *kena bibici bia na-sika goba n, na-makwa soldaro-no omata-ni bia*, and (they) made four parts, to every soldier a part, *omata-i* (§ 41), *l-a kiana na-mun*, [behold, there are two swords]. And he said unto them, It is enough, *kasakabo omata t-oaiya to-wakaia*, sufficient unto the day is the evil thereof;

e) S. *kañ mappa l-addiki-n*, he saw no man; Sm. *mappa*, nicht können;

f) *fata*, Sm. *patta*, how many?

fata-no Wacinaci? how many Gods are there? Sm. *patta kuljara b-amünni-ka?* how much coorials hast thou? *pátta b-ānsi-ka?* how much wouldst thou like to have? *pátta-nu kalipi-na?* how many Caribs? *pátta-nnu lukū-nnu?* how many Arawaks? *pátta-hü-kuba b-adunuki-n waburukku-lukku?* how long, how many nights hast thou been on the way?

§ 160. a) The three dimensions in:

kabuin hundred cubit ikisidi-kwona-hu fa to-waji (§ 121 b)): *biam-loko ajeago biam-dakabo cubit fa c-ibiloko* (§ 103 1) 3)): *abar-loko ajeago biam-dakabo cubit fa aiomuni-ni* (§ 71 b) 6)) *n*, the length [of the ark] shall be three hundred cubits, the breath of it fifty cubits, and the height of it thirty cubits;

b) The four directions of the horizon:

n-anda fa-te adaili-a-fitikidi-n warea, adaili-a-kodo-n-wa warea, anaki warea, t-oalabaw o-kona-rea bajia, and they shall come from the east, and from the west, and from the north, and from the south.

East = sun coming out, west = sun entering, south = middle (§ 79 d)), north = the other side (the Arawak text mentions south before north, comp. *n-afudu-wabu anaki warea-tu*, the queen of the south, *ika tu auaduli a-fudi-n ma-tata-n anaki warea*, and when the south wind blew softly, *auaduli a-fuda anaki-warea*, the south wind blew).

South west and north west taken together in "west":

kia akodoonali Crete mun, adaili akodo-n-wa o-kona mairia-tu, which is an haven of Crete, and lieth toward the south west and north west.

In another way:

S. *ju-waria eweledu-nn-ua w-a-ni-ka tü-llebu-maria, w-anda Rhegium mün hidda, abba kianibenna awadulli a(-)ussa wa-llebu-waria*, and from thence we fetched a compass, and came to Rhegium: and after one day

the south wind blew, lit. thence-from sailing we-did-when its-waterside-inferior-from, we-come Rhegium at thus, other there-upon wind go our-waterside-from ;

Sm. *háddalli abumün*, the East, sunrise, *hadalli ab-uaria w-anda-te*, we come from the East, *hádalli u-tturu*, West (*hadalli*, sun, *abu*, appearance, *u-tturu*, foot.

c) Right : *iisa mairia*, good, beautiful side ; left : *-ba-ro mairia*, other side ; examples, § 97 d) ;

d) *aiomun-sabu-tu isikwa*, the highest room, lit high-very-thing shelter, *onabu-sabu-tu isikwa*, the lowest room.

§ 161. a) *aranaha-i*, the dayspring (L. I, 78), *ika tu goba-te aranaha-in*, as it began to dawn ; S. *harrunaha m-a-ni-ka*, or *harrunaha t-a-ni-ka*, and when it was day, *arrunnahadü-n|benna|i*, [awaking out of his sleep, Acts XVI, 27] ; Sm. *harúnnaha*, the light, the shine, *hádalli harúnnaha*, the sunlight, *harúnnaha-hü-ka bü-mün*, art thou in good spirits, merry ? Comp. *aro-ha(i)*, it is there, § 139 c), *na* plurality, continuity ; also white, etc. (A. M. § 182, 132E) ;

b) *kena mauci-a* (§ 132), and the morning were (Gen. I, 8), *mauci abu n-a goba andi-n a-odo-ci sikwa mun*, very early in the morning they came unto the sepulchre, *lihi-ki a-fitikida goba mauci abu-in*, which went out early in the morning. *M(a)-*, without, *a-u* visible space, *-ci* asserting oneself ;

c) 1) *ka-saka-bo*, day ; *ka-*, with, *saka* to wither, *bo* quiet appearance ;

2) *ka-sako-da*, night ; *sak-o*, withering stopped, *da* stands (?) :

ika tu ka-sako-n ie, and as soon as it was day (they ; L. XXII, 66), *ka-sako-ni bena ie*, now as soon as it was day (they ; Acts XII, 18), *mauci-abu-in, ka-sakoo o-bora l-akenakwa, a-fitikidi-n*, and in the morning, rising up a great while before day, he went out ;

3) *k-ibena goba l-ajia-n, a-kasakoto-n*, and talked a long while, even till break of day ;

d) *wa-mun adaili*, S. *haddali wa-mün*, at midday, noon ; *adaili*, sun, *wa-mun*, our-place ;

e) S. *haddalli a-llammada t-a-ni-ka*, three o'clock in the afternoon ; Sm. *a-llammada-n*, to sway, *háddalli a-llagmmada-ka*, they say of the sun from 12 to 3 o'clock in the afternoon ;

f) *kena bakilama, kena maucia*, and the evening and the morning were (Gen. I, 8), *ika ki bakilama*, so when even was come, *yaha kwa ba-i wa-ma, bakilama omuni-n o-doma, kasakabo bajia hara bo*, abide with us : for it is toward evening, and the day is far spent. Probably *bakilama* depicts the long shadows cast by the slanting rays of the sun, comp. *akilaka*, to reach, to stretch forth ;

g) *kasakoda anaka-in*, at midnight, § 79 d) ;

h) *wa-mun- adaili a-kota-he jiaro, bakilama a-kota-he jiaro*, a dinner or a supper ;

[i]) [1]) Sm. *kátti u-kúrrubu*, full moon ("round" ? § 108A d)) ;

[2]) Sm. *katti ú-bule*, new moon (comp. B. *a-bolli*, to pass) ;

[j]) Sm. *emessi-niánna*, the short rainy season (when *eméssi*, the big ants, fly) ;

Sm. *wijua-niänna*, the long rainy season (*wijua*, the Pleiades) ;

Sm. *joan-dä-l-te*, the long dry season (*jóana*, iguana) ;

Sm. *mali-dä-l-te*, the beginning of the dry season (*mali*, a certain star or constellation).

CHAPTER XVIII

MAN

§ 162. Relationship is expressed in the following manner:

augi means "being a younger brother to a man", or "a younger sister to a woman"; perhaps *au*, thing in space, *gi* active or emphasized, consequently *augi*, being in the same room, house or village with someone.

a) one man's brother, *-augi-ci* (Sm. *-huki-ti*); *l-augi-ci Abel*, his (Cain's) brother Abel;

b) one woman's sister, *-augi-tu* (Sm. *-huki-ttu*); *d-augi-tu*, my (Martha's) sister;

c) several men's brother, *-augi-na-n-ci* (Sm. *-huki-n-ti*); *w-augi-na-n-ci*, (our) brother (Acts XXI, 20);

d) several women's sister, (Sm. *-huki-n-tu*);

e) one man's several brothers, *-augi-o-ci*: *naraha d-augi-o-ci*, these my brethren;

f) one woman's several sisters, (no example);

g) several men's several brothers *-augi-o-ci* (Sm. *-huki-n-ti*); *w-augi-o-ci*, our brethren;

h) several women's several sisters, (Sm. *-huki-n-tti*);

i) to be brother, *k-augi*: *ika tu Jesus akona-n Galilee bara rifu-ji, l-adeka goba biama-no k-augi-i-ci*, and Jesus, walking by the sea of Galilee saw two brethren, *k-augi-k-augi-mi-ci* (§ 71 a) 2)) *hui*, sirs, ye are brethren, *k-augi-k-augi-mi-ci o-koboroko*, among the brethren (J. XXI, 23).

Notes:

a) *-ci* is omitted with *ici*, father;

b) *-tu* is omitted with *iyu*, mother, *o-tu*, daughter, *ireyu*, wife;

c) regular ending *-na-ci* (§ 79 b) 1)): the *a* is often omitted, and the vowel preceding the *n* is often modified, in the same manner as in the *-n* forms of § 81;

d), e), f), g) regular ending *-no-ci* (§ 79 b) 2)).

§ 163. a) masculine *i*, feminine *u*.

ici, father, G. also: father's brother;

iyu, mother, G. also: father's sister;

aii-ci, S. *adi-tti*, son (§ 2) (A. M. § 182, 35), G. also: cousin;

o-tu (the root is *tu* or *to*: *da-tu, to-tu, Aaron o-to-no-ci*, the daughters of Aaron, *ho-to-no-ci*, your daughters), daughter (A. M. § 182, 36), G. also: cousin;

Sm. *iti-ti*, a woman's son in law, *itti-ju*, a woman's daughter-in-law, B. *t-itiu*, her d.-i.-l.;

b) *-boa, -bua*, abnormal (§ 120 d)).

R. *da-te-bua-chi, da-iye-bua-to, d-aiite-boa-chi, da-tte-boá-to,* (man's or woman's) stepfather, stepmother or father's or mother's sister, stepson, stepdaughter, Sm. *itte-bóa-ti*, stepfather, father's brother, *ue-ja-bóa-tu*, stepmother, mother's sister, *uetta-bóa-tu*, stepdaughter, *ka-ttebóati-n*, to be the brother of someone's father, or the stepfather, G. *da-ya-boá-tu*, aunt (uncle's wife or mother's sister), *d-aiči-boa-či*, stepson ;

c) *-uri(bi)*, turned (? § 108A c)).

1) Sm. *uribi-ti*, G. *da-uribi-či*, brother-in-law, Sm. *uribi-a-tu*, sister-in-law ;

2) Sm. *urihitti-ti*, G. *da-uoiti-či*, a man's son-in-law ;

d) 1) *-ki*, the person or thing in question (? § 48).

augi-ci, a man's younger brother, *augi-tu*, a woman's younger sister (§ 162) ;

o-bugi-ci, a man's older brother ; *bu*, appearance, *ki*, this ! consequently the big or strong one ? comp. Sm. *ú-bukü*, thigh, loin

2) *-liki* ; *li*, lively (?).

l-iliki-n, his cattle, Sm. *illiki-n*, living property ;

Sm. *wellikin-ti*, R. *da-lliken-chi*, grandson, Sm. *üllikin-tu*, R. *da-lliken-to*, granddaughter ; Sm. : the word is generally used to indicate a distant relative ;

aciligi-ci, a woman's brother ;

e) *-ku*, the same as *-ki*, but more distant, older, or venerated (?).

1) Sm. *aküttü-hü*, G. *da-kŏtŏ*, grandmother ;

Sm. *akkürrü-hu*, G. *da-ŏkürŏ*, B. *t-akiru*, a woman's mother-in-law (A. M. § 182, 38) ;

2) with *-du*, origin (?), authority (?).

Sm. *adukutti*, G. *da-dúkuči*, grandfather, *dukú-či, dokó-ko*, is also used when addressing an old man ;

3) with *m(a)-*, negation, i.e. "not my own", or *ma, mu*, with, i.e. "my companion's" ?

Sm. *u-mükuttü*, G. *da-makŏtŏ, da-muketé*, a man's mother-in-law ;

Sm. *úmadukür-ti*, G. *da-madukure-tsi*, father-in-law, B. *Caiaphas o-maadogo-ci-n o-doma i*, for he was father-in-law to Caiaphas (A. M. § 182, 37) ;

f) *ra*, female (? comp. §§ 179, 163 c) 1)).

o-iyurada-tu, aiyurada-tu, a man's sister ;

da-tula-tu (t-itula-tu), a woman's older sister ;

g) Miscellaneous.

1) *l-adiki-ci*, his younger brother, R. *d-adiki-di*, a woman's younger brother, *d-adiki-do*, a man's younger sister ; *adiki*, after, § 86 c) ;

2) Sm. *adaün-ti*, G. *d-adaën-či*, mother's brother = lord, ruler, § 89 (see § 165, clan-system) ;

3) G. *wa-burá-na-no*, our ancestors, S. *wa-bura-tti*, our fathers ; *o-bora*, before, § 105 ;

[4]) S. *kubakadi*, the patriarchs ; *kuba*, past time ;

[5]) *wakili-ci-no*, G. *wakili-na-no*, *wakili-tsi*, *wakili-či-kuba* ; them of old time ; *wakili*, long ago ;

[6]) *botoba-tu hiaro*, *botoba-tu*, Sm. *buttuba-ttu*, G. *botoba-to*, a widow, *botoba-či hiaro*, widows, Sm. *butuba-tti*, G. *botobá-ci*, widower ; [G. In former times the widow was not allowed to marry any other person than a relative of her deceased husband. Should he have a brother, then the latter was obliged to marry the widow, eventually as his second wife.] Comp. B. *a-bota*, to catch away, to spoil, and § 174 [b, c]), to fall in a trance, to dream ;

[7]) G. *tho-boyá-n-to*, first wife of a man ; *abuia*, to feed ?

G. *tho-dokára-to*, second wife of a man ; *tho-dokára-yó-tsi*, all the wives of a man, the first wife excepted ; *ka-dukará-či*, two men living with one woman [Baptist has once seen a case of this sort ; he disapproved of it] ; *dukara*, "rather", § 179 [f]) ?

§ 164. [a]) [1]) *loko*, individual of the Arawak nation, in the bible translations also used for "man" (human being) ; plur. *loko-no* ; *l*, loose, able to move, o, permanently, or : the same as the pronominal prefix III m. *l(o)-* ; *ko*, power, faculty ;

[2]) R. *lo-lo*, woman's younger brother, man's younger sister ;

[3]) R. lullaby song, sung by the mother : *b-adongka illor-lo papa o-bora*, sleep, child, father is coming ;

[4]) *d-iloni-ni warea*, from my youth, *l-iloni-ni warea*, from his youth, *iloni l-a-n ka*, of a child (Mk. IX, 21), *ilon-ci*, boy, *ilon-tu*, girl, *ilon-tu da-tu*, my little daughter ;

[5]) *o-loa*, heart, mind, bosom ;

[b]) *korilia-ci*, newly born (L. II, 12), *korilia-ci-no*, babes, infants, young children, (A. M. § 182, 34) ; *kore*, red, pointing to the red colour of the newly born, or *kori*, halt ? *lia*, newly arisen, § 98 ;

[c]) [1]) *(i)sa*, child, offspring ; the plural is frequently used for translating "sons" or "daughters" (§ 114 [a) 6)]) ; G. in addressing a young man (woman), they often use the word *sá-či*, little brother (*sá-tu*, little sister) ;

[2]) *isa-n-ci*, servant, plur. *isa-no-no-ci* ; "child to several people" ; G. a headman (*wa-fúdyi*, our headman) calls his subjects *da-sa-na-nó-či* ;

[d]) Sm. *bassabá-n-ti*, a little one, or a boy of about 6—12 years, *bassaba-n-tu*, do. girl, *bassaba-nni-be-tti*, several boys (see § 114 [e)]) ;

[e]) *wadili*, a man (male person) (A. M. § 182, 30 ?) ; *wadi*, to be long, or : *wa*, exceeding, *di*, strong, firm ;

[f]) *hiaro*, a woman (A. M. § 182, 32) ; *hia*, soul, life, etherical ?

[g]) *ikita-kwon-ci*, manservant, *ikita-kwon-tu*, maidservant, *ikita-kwono-no-ci*, servants ; *ikita*, to serve, *kwon* § 120 [a]) ;

[h]) *aiero-ci*, one who is in bondage. *L-aiici kiana a-maierodo faroka hu, kidua-n a-maiero fa hu*, if the Son therefore shall make you free, ye shall be free indeed, Sm. *háiaeru*, a slave, G. *haiéro*, a slave, a convict (A. M. § 182, 39) ; *ai*, established, *ro*, stopped ?

i) 1) *iri*, name; *r*, fixed, *i* principle;

2) *ire*, the state of husband or wife, *ireyu*, the state of wife; *ire-ci*, husband, *ire-tu*, wife, G. *m-ére-tsi-tå*, widow, *m-éreyu-či*, widower;

3) *ire-no*, little children;

j) 1) *kirikia*, kind, *ikirikia*, sort, tribe, people, own nation, *akirikia*, a (foreign) nation (§ 2), *akirikia-no*, kindreds, nations, the heathen, Sm. *ükkürrküa-hü*, nation; § 104 b) 2) III);

2) Sm. *kirtia-ti*, ein Blanker (~ Christian ?), plur. *kirtia-na*, G. *kirtiádo-nå*, white people;

k) Presumably connected with *iyu*, mother (see § 165, family-system):

1) *o-io-ci*, friend, neighbours, kindred, people, plur. *o-io-no*; S. *lu-ijuhu-nnu*, his friends;

2) *o-ho-na-no-ci*, kindred, kin, kinsfolk, cousins;

3) G. *thúyu-či*, a grown-up man, *thoyó-ya-korro kayará-n-da*, he looks like a grown-up man, S. *tuju-kû-ti*, elders;

l) 1) *oe-n-ci*, kinsman, *b-oe-n-tu Elisabeth*, thy (Mary's) cousin Elisabeth, R. *da-wo-n-chi*, (man's or woman's) brother's or sister's son, *da-wo-n-tu*, do. daughter;

2) Pen., G. *da-yéna*, my sister (rather archaic word), plur. *da-yéna-no;*

3) G. *šuwe* is used as a vocative in addressing a person of one's own age, or a brother;

m) B. *habe*, being old, other authors generally *hebe*, is often used with the suffixes *-ci*, *-tu*, *-li*, *-ru*, to denote an old man or woman, a grandfather, a grandmother; also: *habe-ci l-imigoda l-ibici*, he sendeth an ambassage;

n) 1) Sm., Q., R., G. *ebebe*, *bébe*, honorific (Vocative), especially used by young people in addressing older people (see § 184);

2) S. (*w-*, *n-*, etc.) *ebe-n-ti* or *ibe-n-ti*, a person of (our, their, etc.) company, sect, nation;

3) S. *ebettira*, to be on friendly terms with, in peace with, allied to, G. *d-ebetére-či*, my friend (comp. *ra* in G. *na-bukutára*, their slaves or prisoners; *a-bokoto-*, to lay hold on, etc.);

o) 1) *awa*, father, especially Vocative; G. *awa* is the archaic word, the modern word is *pápa;*

2) R. *tete*, Sm. *attétte*, mother, Vocative, term of endearment; G. *téte* is also used when addressing an old woman;

p) Sm. *aha-ti*, comrade, *l-ahá-ti*, his countryman, *aha-nu* comrades, playmates;

q) Q. When children or close relatives speak of their elders, then they use the plural, for instance they are not there, they have gone hunting, etc., instead of: he, or she is not there, etc.

r) G. *dūḡi*, a negro (hinting at the woolly hair, § 89 ?);

G. *baráti*, a negro; *bara*, sea ?

G. *basâri*, plur. *bassâri-no*, Kaliña; origin not ascertained;

G. *wărau*, Warau;

G. *k-arána-to*, a half-caste, lit. mixed;

g) *fale*, powerful (magic power ?), wise, in the following expressions:

1) I) S. *h-akussi-wa abbu h-addiki-pa balli-n, tu-murrua palle ti dia tu-ppa hu-münni-n, m-aditti-pa|n*, and seeing ye shall see, and not perceive: presumably: your-eyes-own with ye-see-shall verily, but power quality it-shall you-to not-know-shall it;

II) G. *faru-thu-má-lokó-ho*, a poison or charm for working evil on someone; *kuna-palu*, fish-poison, Euphorbia cotinoides:

2) Sm. *pále-tti*, masc., *pále-ttu*, fem., *pále-tti-ju*, plur., is the collective name for those Indian tribes [1]) which are ever on a war-footing with the Kalepi-na or Kalevi-te-nu; *kalipi-na má-pale*, the Caribs are not pâlettiju; G. *fáleto*, any stranger (white man, negro, Kaliña), plur. *falétyu(h-nå* or *falétu-be*, Pen. *faretho*, a wise man or a stranger;

3) Pen. *faretho, fareto, faleto* is used in combinations with other words to designate certain mythical Indian tribes as *Itori-faretho* (Howling Monkey Indians), *Papaya-faretho* (Papaw Indians), and many others; B. has used *Pareciyu*, S. *Palettiju*, for translating "the barbarous people" (Acts XXVIII, 2).

§ 165. Formerly the Arawak nation was subdivided in families or clans. At present this seems to be falling into disuse. [G. In Surinam it is still in operation. A child is considered to belong to its mother's clan, and a man who marries becomes subject to his father-in-law; comp. § 164 k) kindred, *o-io* ~ mother, § 163 g) 2) mother's brother, *adaen-či* ~ lord, ruler, and also that curious custom, by which an Arawak man is not allowed to look at his mother-in-law or to speak to her, and vice versa: *wadīli lu-mukŏtŏ u-ma koro lü-dia-kuma, l-ikisidá-ya-fa to lú-mukŏtŏ̂-uwa-da*, a man may not speak to his mother-in-law, he must be respectful to her (see also § 216 and a similar statement by Q. 18, 251 and v. C. 7 c).

The *káluafú-na* clan (plur.; a man is called *káluafú-di*, a woman *káluafú-du*) belongs to a group of eight. It is forbidden to marry any person of the same group, if dwelling in the same country, and any one of the same clan, no matter where he or she lives. It is also prohibited to marry a child of the full brother of one's father. Thy clan = *bu-kurukuya*, *bu-kürkiya* (§ 164 j)), or *b-ibithadu* (comp. § 164 n)). In order that marriages may be possible, families belonging to different clans are living in the same village.]

A similar clan-system has been reported also from the Palikur, Goajiro and Achagua; presumably it was already in existence among the old Arawak-Maipure. It is possible, however, that the names of the different clans are not so old as the system is.

The following types of Arawak clan-names occur:

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1) The *Máhanau* (Manao), *Úttumaku* (Otomake), *Akuliju* (Trio), *Assawánu* (?), *Saliwánu* (Saliva), *Addaráia* (Atorai), *Sáimakúttu* (Chayna), *Kumáiya* (?), *Nipuju* (Nepoio), *Waijána* (Guayana).

a) name of a place + *yo* (family, mother, § 164 k)) : *Maratakayo* (Marataka, a river in Surinam), etc. ;

b) name of a plant + *fo* (ruler, or offshoot, § 69 d)) : *Haiawafo* (*hayawa*, incense tree), etc. ;

c) name of a plant or of an animal + *ka* (when, § 29, or little, § 34 ??) : *Mibika* (*mibi*, vine-rope), *Barakataka* (*barakata*, small armadillo), etc. ;

d) miscellaneous : *Ebesowa, Koroboha, Demare*, see §§ 224, 167 b).

For lists of the Arawak clan-names, see Hi., I. Th., v. C., R., and § 196.

§ 165A. Proper names, see § 176 a) 2).

§ 166. a) It seems that the old Arawaks acknowledged a First Cause ; however, (B. 5e, 6) they never called upon this deity : "to Him for succour none can fly. He is so high above". The titles for this Supreme Being : *Aiomun Kon-di*, Dweller in the Height, *Ifili-ci Wa-ci-na-ci*, Great Our Father, *Wa-murreti-kwon-ci*, Our Maker, may perhaps be due to the influence of Christian missionaries ;

b) 1) *Orehu*, Pen. *huliu*, R. *oriyu*, G. *oriyu, uriyu*, probably indicates the cosmical mother-principle. "Bright Orehu ... her beauty rare", the unborn virgin (having no navel), ever renewing herself, like a serpent which casts its skin, appears to the medicine-man in his greatest illumination ; see B. 5e, 18, Pen. 17a, III, 102, 162, and especially 69g VII, VIII.

The same word is generally used to indicate spirits of a less exalted state, water-spirits, described to the author as "a dragon, a huge serpent with feet and wings".

The Kaliña term *Okoyumu* is probably composed of *okoyo*, serpent, *yumu*, spirit, and so we may translate *Oriyu* by *ori*, serpent, *yu*, mother (-spirit) ; but *ori* may also hint at "darkness" (§ 126 b)) or "rotation" (§ 108A), she being the "mother of time".

Speaking of the common water-spirits, R. (19a, Sect. 186) says : "Like the Spirits of the Forest, the Oriyus have strong sensual predilections. Every night, in their anthropomorphic form, both males and females may come after Indians of the opposite sex". This perhaps accounts for the fact that the biblical term "fornication", has been rendered by *orehi*, S. *wurehu* (comp., however, also German Hure, English whore) ;

2) R. *oroli*, G. *horoli*, is the name of a big snake which endowed man with the hunting-charms *(bina)* ; it is the same as the *halamali* of the Kaliña, a drawing of which is given by Roth, 19a Sect. 235. Comp. A. M. § 182, 42 ;

c) It may be that the heavens are considered to be the abode of the cosmical mother-principle. Indians told v. C. that in the height the wisdom of the vulture (§ 166 g)) is found. The Maipure consider heaven as being of divine nature. Comp. also Arawak *iyu*, mother, *a-io-mun*, heaven (§ 71 b) 6)), A. M. **eno*, **ina*, mother, **eno*, heaven. The Arawaks trace descent through the mother ; evidently this is expressed in the word *o-io*, kindred, people ; it might also be expressed in A. M. **eina-ri*, man (homo or vir), **ino*, **ina-ru*, woman or wife (§ 182, 33, 60, 30, 32) ;

d) G. *Harliwanli*, v. C. *Haliwálika*, *Halwanli*, R. *Hariwalli*, B. *Arawânili*, *Arawidi*, probably all indicate the powerful deity to whom inanimate things and irrational beings are subject (v. C.), who metes out justice (§ 212), and became afterwards the sun (*adaili*, which expresses lord or lordly light). The name reminds one of *hali*, light, *wa*, own, *li*, free or male;

e) By an action of the sun(-deity), a woman became pregnant with twins (§ 213): from one of them, the human race, or the Arawak nation is descended.

The adventures of the demi-god, or of him and his brother, or of two animals, form the subject of a great many legends of the Arawaks and other tribes (see Ehrenreich 63, Koch-Grünberg 45d, Roth 19a). In Arawak tales we find the following names:

1) D. *Maconaura*, v. C. *Macanaholo*, *Macanaura*. Probably the same is meant by G. *makuranale*, "the proper name of the big otter in the fable", and the word might also be contained in G. *waǫu-maká(nre*, big species of bat, and *wáliti-maká(ηro*, small ant-eater. It bears moreover a strong resemblance to the Makusi (Karib) name for the same hero, *Makuna-ima*. The origin of the word has not been ascertained;

2) Sm. *Kurrúruman*, der hiesige Indianer Grosvater; Q. *Kururuman*, the creator of men, *Kulimina*, the creator of women. Hi. *Aluberi* (comp. this §, d)) is the supreme being, and *Kururumanny* the god or patron of the Arawaak nation. See A. M. § 182, 40. The Maipure name *Purrùnaminàri* might mean great lord or great soul;

3) *Mabukulu* (without thigh), after he has lost one leg and has become Orion;

4) The man who roasted his wife (§ 214) is probably the same hero; but a name has not been given:

f) Hi., Sc. *Kururumanny* had two wives, called *Wurekado* and *Emisiwaddo* (night-female and morning-female ?), v. C. A girl asked the sun in marriage; the girl was impatient and opened the sun's box; instantly the light of the first day appeared.

Harliwanli had two wives who committed sin with his two brothers. One wife, G. *Sibarloyen*, v. C. *Sibourouyan* (rock-soul ?) could not stand the heat of the fire, and was changed into a porpoise, *kasekoyah*, § 167 a) 2), the animal which is alternately below the water, and rises to the surface (comp. the remarks about repeated incarnations in § 168, and the legend told by v. C., 7c, 519, of the men who, by way of punishment, were changed into fishes in such a manner that at times their human nature appeared above water). — The other wife, G. *Orliro*, v. C. *Ouriro* (fornication-female ? or darkness-female, water-spirit) could not remain in earnest, and was changed into a caracara-falcon, *beletata* (probably a sound-imitation and also *bele*, lame, *tata*, strength). — One brother, *Orowama*, G. *Orlowama*, v. C. *Ourwanama* (fornication-lord ? or darkness-lord; comp. Akawai *Oroan*, Taulipang *Olozan*, the demon of darkness who causes

eclipses, B. 5e, 189, Koch-Grünberg 45d II, 55, III, 171, IV, 34) was banished to a desolate part of the world of spirits. — The other brother, v. C. *Hiwanama*, G. *Hiwanaka* (from *hiwa*, bamboo ??) was banished to a place where spirits lived who extracted his bones; ultimately he was delivered by *Harliwanli* ;

R. 19a, Sect. 183. Two sisters had a tapir for a sweetheart (— according to Pen. this animal is the symbol for carnal lusts). Their brother killed the tapir, and when the women discovered what had happened, they threw themselves into the water; one sister turned into a manati, and the other into a porpoise ;

g) The demi-god married a girl, got into trouble with her clan, and finally escaped with the loss of one leg, and became Orion. The girl is *Anuanaitu* (vulture-daughter), her mother *Anuanâyo* or *Anânoyo* (vulture-mother-spirit) or *Taukelŏlelio* (condor-mother-spirit), her father *Anuanima* (vulture-lord ?) or *Kaikoutji* (caiman; however, in a Karib version he is the tiger, Karib **kaikuši*). [The name of the vulture or carrion-crow, Q. *annoane* probably means: heaven-being] ;

h) 1) G. *seme*, *sémehe*, the good spirits which inspire the medicineman. A similar word with a similar meaning is found in Island Karib, and Pelleprat has mentioned it in his Kaliña vocabulary; it has also been reported from the Great Antilles. The word might be the same as *seme*, sweet ;

2) G. *sémi-či*, Sm. *seme-tti*, medicine-man or doctor-priest. In the bible translations: B. *semici-ci*, S. *seme-tti*, *seme-tti-kill*, a sorcerer, B. *semeci-hi*, witchcraft ;

3) Twice the greater part of living men has been destroyed, because of their sins; the first time by fire, the second time by water (B. 5e, 10, v. C. 7c, 515). *Mārĕrewāna* survived the big flood. This name reminds us of the A. M. name for medicine-man **mariri* (§ 182, 49), which probably means "wise man" or "teacher" ;

i) 1) R. *yawahu*, G. *yáwahŏ*, the Arawak generic term for forest spirits or bush spirits, Sm. *jáwahü*, "the Indian's nightmare of something which does them harm, that makes them ill, etc.; we call it the devil", S. *jawahü*, B. *yauhahu*, (biblical) devil, unclean spirit (Acts V, 16); *y*, *i*, freely, *auha*, *awa*, roaming through space, *hu* forms verbal nouns, § 24, comp. *auaduli*, wind, *a-iaudi- … a*, to be beside oneself, to be mad, § 131 ;

2) *yaware*, a rainbow (A. M. § 182, 48); nature-spirit — no motion ;

3) Sm. *da-hudu|paruka jawale bia da-ebessu|pa baba*, when I die I shall perhaps resurrect as an opossum (said a heathen Arawak), lit. I-die if roaming spirit (the same word is used also for opossum and for rainbow) to-be I-transform future again ;

j) R. *mahui*, an evil spirit, the *kanaima* of the Macusi, etc. (A. M. § 182, 46) ;

k) R. *mansinskiri*, a particular nature-spirit: *m-*, without, *ansi*, soul, inner peace, love, *kiri*, active being (§ 175 e)) ?

l) R. *ekkekuli*, a certain kind of nature-spirits, Pen. *ekekoli*, the man-eaters; *eke*, to eat?

§ 167. a) Certain groups of stars are called by the Arawaks (R.) *tu-kuyuha*. Each of these has its particular name, consisting of R. *-kuyuha*, G., Pen., v. C. *-kuya*, *-koya*, preceded by the name of an animal or plant. The life and activity of that animal or plant species comes from its eponymous *-kuyuha*. G. The *-kuya* is a sign, not a spirit: when, for instance, the *hitsi-kuya*, the Southern Cross, appears, the curassow-birds *(hitsi)* begin to pair.

We surmise that the old Arawaks regarded each constellation as the visible sign of the spiritual connexion between the heaven-world and the animal or plant and called it: *tu-*, its, *kuyu*, navel, *u(h)a*, own. "Navel" as a symbol for a spiritual contact is also used by the Kaliña (Pen. 17A III, 137).

The same word is used to indicate:

1) I) the shyness or wildness of an animal or bird, or as a verb *ka-koia*, Sm. *ka-kuja*, G. *ka-kuyá*, to be shy or wild, Sm. *a-makujadi-*, to tame;

II) Sm. *kujára*, deer:

2) aquatic mammals, often mythical: Sm. *bara akkujaha*, a huge sea-beast, *aruwa-kujaha*, a sea-beast shaped like a tiger, *peru-kujuha*, seal (Seehund), *t-akujaha*, whale, R. *kassi-kuyuha*, a white or black variety of porpoise, embodying a good or an evil water-spirit: Sm. *kassi-kuyuha*, porpoise, G. *káse-kuya*, dolphin, *koyumóϱo*, manati;

3) R. *konoko-kuyuha*, bush-spirit, *adda-kuyuha*, tree-spirit; these spirits generally have a bad name:

4) G. the following mighty spirits:

I) *yóli-kuyáha*, the spirit of tobacco *(yúli)*: "true Indians treat tobacco with awe and smoke but little; lack of awe may cause illness":

II) *hiáλi-kuya*, the spirit of the takini-tree *(hiali)*: "a true Indian will not touch this tree, out of awe":

III) *khaléko-kuyá*, the spirit of the white pebbles in the medicine-man's rattle (which mostly come from the uplands): *"hamaru-ka|ie khaléku bura"*, they (i.e. persons which still believe in these things) are afraid of those pebbles.

IV) v. C. *hóroro-kojáha*, the spirit of the earth:

V) v. C. *kiringhá-kojá-no*, the spirit which opposes those spirits which bereave a man of his strength (comp. § 166 f); muscular, § 99 bB));

b) Several myths of the Arawaks and neighbouring tribes speak of a time when animals were men, and I. Th., when discussing the clan-system, tells us that "most Arawaks ... assert that each family is descended — their fathers knew how, but they themselves have forgotten — from its eponymous animal, bird or plant".

Whereas animals are supposed to be still connected with the heavenly

world, the connexion of man with this world has been severed, as is told in the following legends (B. 5e, 178):

[1]) The *Koroboha-na*-clan "originally came from above the clouds. The weight of a heavy woman broke the rope by which they were descending; (comp. the navel-string symbol, § 167 [a])); and communication was thus cut off between those who had reached the ground and those remaining above. The Great Spirit, pitying the latter, supplied them with wings and plumage; and they came down, to colonise the trees above the heads of their brethren — still privileged to live near, and to converse with them, though changed into *koriouka*-parrots";

[2]) A *Korobohá(na)* man married a *Demare-du*, an elphin-maiden, a daughter of the earth, and from this union the *Demaré*-clan has sprung.

Koroboha might indicate the firmament (§ 108A [d])); in *demare* the *d* may indicate "heavy" or "compressed".

Comp. also D. 8, 102: In the Arawak country there lived two sisters. One day they saw a creature whom they had seen before only in their dreams and worshipped and loved as a god. He was the first man they had ever seen in bodily form. He told them that his country was above the clouds: that while hunting he came to a cave, descending which led him to them. This first man taught them to cultivate the cassava, etc. (all trades and implements). From these three persons sprung the Arawaks, [and ever since bigamy has been a custom, or almost a law of the Arawaks];

[c]) In the heaven-world, or some intermediate world, the *yu*, the mother-spirits of the several animal- and plant-species reside. v. C. (7c, 517) the *galej-ojo*, cassava-goddesses formerly served man. G. After death, before the human soul goes to the world of God, it meets those spirits. If a man in his life has been kind to a dog, then, when he comes to *péro-o-yu šikwa bana*, dog-mother-spirit house surface, this dog (even if it died long ago) meets him, wagging its tail *(pero čwa halikibetoá-ŋ)*, and gives him many things, and *kaširi* to drink. But if the man has badly treated a dog, then the dog tells the dog-mother-spirit, and she judges him, and he gets nothing;

[d]) There is a tradition that animals are men, who on account of their wickedness have been changed into animals. In the legends birds often play the role of heavenly messengers; in Sm.'s vocabulary *kuddibiu*, bird, is the only name for an animal which takes the plural suffix *-nu* of the rational beings, and the word itself might mean: *kudi*, driving, racing, *bi*, tiny, quick, *yu*, spirit. We suspect that the same ending *yu*, meaning a spirit, occurs in the word *serabokilio*, a tempest, § 116 [d]) [9]).

§ 168. All Indians believe that after death the soul continues to live (Sc., 21a, II, 319). The following facts might be remnants of an ancient belief in repeated incarnations:

[a]) v. C., 7c, 512: The first men ... were happy: there was no sin, and neither were sickness and death. Every day God descended among them. If someone entered heaven, then he was obliged to die first, because the

human eye is not fit to contemplate God. To those Arawaks who had entered heaven and had to return, God gave a new life ;

b) G. Formerly, when an Arawak child died, and a new child was born, the parents sometimes said *to šuku-to a-kóyua kikatéba*, the little one returns again ;

c) De la Borde, 62, 15 : The Island Karibs believed that one of their several souls after death went to heaven and took a new young body ;

d) Pelleprat, 68, 77 : Among the Kaliña there was a belief that when they died, their soul entered into the body of a child which entered this world ;

e) The Arawaks, and also the Tamanacos (Q., 18, 257, Gillij, 42, III, 5) had a tradition, that man on account of his wickedness has been deprived of everlasting life, which was given to the animals which change their skin (snakes, cockroaches). A Carib legend, told by Brett (5e, 107) tells that before the great flood came : "if age brings evil on you ... Youth renewing, bright and fair : As the serpent glideth clear From the slough he scorns to wear". Pen. 69f, V : The soul of the Kaliña changes its body, like a snake changes its skin ;

f) G. The suffix *-mi* (= new, § 74 ?) after the name of a person or animal, indicates that that person or animal is no longer in the land of the living, for instance *da-yó-mi*, my late mother, *da-boketsi-mi*, my late brother, *d-epéro-mi*, my dead dog. The Maipure equivalent, *-mine*, is almost the same as *meni, mene*, field, plantation, and *umeni*, a snake (A. M. § 182, 49A, 43).

§ 169. G. *ü-ya*, 1⁰. that by which plants, animals and men differ from dead matter, 2⁰. something etherical (shadow, image, aroma, etc.) : possibly *ü-ya* expresses something intermediate between *u-yu*, mother-spirit, and *a*, time-reality.

a) 1) *kia n-onyi faroka huia-tu ada o-mun, ama-hu saka-tu omuni fa ?* for if they do these things in a green tree, what shall be done in the dry ? Sm. *uéja*, to be living, fresh, *üja-tu hime*, fresh fish, *ka-hüa*, bread being well-seasoned, not sour, I. Th. *eeya-to*, raw, fresh, G. *uüya-to hime*, fresh fish, *uüya-to kúta-ha*, fresh meat, *uüja-to khalli*, newly dug-out cassava-root (but : *na-korolia-sa*, §§ 164 b), 22, *khalli*, fresh cassava-bread) :

2) Sm. *abuku-nn-ua üja-hü*, to be uneasy (*abuku-nn-ua*, to be boiling), *kia abuká-ka da-iya*, that has caused me anxiety, *d-abuku-nn-ua üja*, I am anxious ;

B. I) *h-abokwa-li ia !* wonder (ye) ! *n-abokwa ia na-makwa*, and they were all amazed, *l-aboko-n-wa ia o-doma*, for he was astonished, *m-aboko-n-wa b-a ia*, marvel not :

II) *ama o-doma abokwa-ga hu-ia toho o-konomun ?* why marvel ye at this ?

III) *kia adaiahu adeki-n bena, l-ikiduada kiana: Adaie-li o-konomun-tu ajia-hu abokoto-n l-iia o-doma*, then the deputy, when he saw what was done, believed, being astonished at the doctrine of the Lord :

IV) *ma-kariti-n ia i*, [the devil came out] and hurt him not:

V) *a-iaudi- ... a*, to be beside oneself, to be mad (§ 131);

VI) S. *pahia*, word of astonishment; *pa* blowing away (?);

3) *ma-ia-kwa*, being easy, in peace;

4) I) Sm. *a-ijabussü-*, to be drowsy; B. *Wacinaci a-iabosa kia wakaia-hu o-konomun*, God winked at (that evil):

II) Sm. *t-abussia-hü*, the sleep, the sleepiness, B. *t-abisia goba namakwa, kena n-adunka goba*, they all slumbered and slept:

III) *Peter, lo-ma-ci bajia t-abo-kibi ma goba adunku-in*, Peter and they that were with him were heavy with sleep, *t-abo-kibe-n-ci adunku-in*, being fallen into a deep sleep;

IV) *l-itabotwabo ka adunku-in*, he sunk down with sleep;

5) Sm. *a-ijabudü-*, braten, B. *a-iaboda-sia himi ibena*, a piece of broiled fish;

6) Sm., *üeja, úeja-hü*, S. *üja*, G. *üyá-hü*, spirit, S. *üssa-tti üja-hü*, the Holy Ghost, *da-ija-wa*, my (own) Spirit (Acts II, 17);

7) R. *(h)iyaloko*, a dead person's spirit, G. *na-ialoko*, the spirits of the dead, B. *ialoko*, spirit: the word may be the same as *ialoko*, instead of (§ 103 g)), or it may express *ü-ya*, spirit, *loko*, man.

Examples: *Sa-tu Ialoko*, the Holy Ghost, *Ialoko ka Wacinaci: a-kwaiabo-ci-no a-kwaiabo fa lo-mun ialoko abu kidua-hu abu*, God is a Spirit: and they that worship him must worship him in spirit and in truth, *ama isa loko o-mun, to-makwa ororo l-auciga faroka, kena lo-boreda l-oaiya l-ialoko-wa ?* for what is a man profited if he shall gain the whole world, and lose his own soul? *Ialoko* in an unfavourable sense, has only been met with in: *ika tu iribe-tu ialoko a-fitikidi-n loko o-rea*, when the unclean spirit is gone out of a man (Mt. XII, 43). On the other hand Mk. V, 2 *abar-li yauhahu k-amun-ci*, a man with an unclean spirit;

b) Sm. *üeja, úeja-hü*, shadow, image *(da-ija, bu-ja*, etc., plur. *üjahû-nnu)*, *da-bulliti-pa bēju üja*, I will paint a deer, G. *thü-ya*, picture, image in a mirror, shadow, *d-adekáh da-yá-wa*, I see my image in the mirror, *kakü-či üya*, photograph of a man, *üya-hü*, the shadow of a man, *da-khábo-roko th-üyada-ŋ*, the lines in the palm of my hand, *a-yati-*, to picture, B. *a-iata-hu*, image, idol, R. *(h)iyá*, a person's shadow, B. *t-iya abomun*, [the fowls lodge] under the shadow of it, *a-bolliti-ci a-oda-hu iyabo mun o-mun*, to them that sit in the shadow of death, *Peter a-bolli-n bo l-iya a-iabota ma aba-no jiaro*, that at least the shadow of Peter passing by might overshadow some of them;

c) 1) I) *ointment o-boea*, the odour of the ointment, *boia-tu*, a sweet savour, Sm. *bûhujae*, to emit a balmy smell;

II) Sm. *kopáijoa*, a tree which emits a delicious smell (copaiva);

2) G. *hiaọi*, the takini-tree (see § 205);

3) Sm. *háiali*, fish poison;

4) Sm. *háiawa*, incense tree, Protium heptaphyllum.

§ 170. a) *kokke*, Sm. *kaku, kakü*, G. *kakü*, life, to live, is used when

speaking of human beings or animals : however, G. *kakü kan*, may be said when a newly planted tree is alive ; *ka, ko*, to appear in a positive manner, force, *ke, kü*, emphasis ?

b) 1) G. *kaki-či*, a human being in general (see also §§ 219, 9 ; 222, 3, 7), v. C. *kakhi-tsji bia l-ebéésowa koeba*, pro nobis factus est homo, G. *üe-kákü-hü*, human (perhaps also animal) soul or life ;

2) *a-kokkiti-tu ajia-hu*, the lively oracles, *(a-)kokketo-* to quicken (J. V, 21, VI, 63) ;

c) R. *kalli*, cassava cake, *keheli*, expressed cassava juice, *kereli*, the chewed fresh cassava bread, *cashiri*, a beverage manufactured from cassava etc. (A. M. § 182, 120) ;

d) *a-koto*, to eat, also : feeding swine (L. V, 32) ; G. *a-koto-* is used when no fixed object is meant, for instance *da-kóto fa*, I go to dinner, *bu-koto|bi|da ?* hast thou already dined ? *da-kutá-ia-bi|da*, (yes), I have already dined.

§ 171. a) *eke, eki, ike, iki*, food, to eat ; G. *eke* is used when a fixed object is meant, for instance *d-iki fa*, I shall eat (answer to the question : shall you eat this ?), *kalī (hīme, kūta) d-iki fa*, I shall eat cassava (fish, meat), *d-ekee bi|da|n*, I have eaten it already ;

b) *eke, eki*, clothes, *na-wakaia eke*, a clothe for their sin, *plata eke*, a purse, *t-eke*, its vessel (for oil), the sheath (of a sword), *oniabu eki*, the waterpots, *t-eke-loko-tu-alaiti abu*, *alaiti-adaia abu*, with lanterns and torches, Sm. *aku-ke*, the eyelids, G. *ēkĭ*, bladder, *éke*, amnion, *sá-kĭ*, uterus, *kúdibiyu sá-kĕ*, empty egg-shell, *kúši-ke*, spectacles ;

c) *c-ikihi*, its fat, *k-ikihi-tu baka sa*, the fatted calf.

§ 172. *Ako*, entering into (§ 128).

a) 1) I) *ako-si*, eye ; *(i)si*, seed (A. M. § 182, 15) ;

II) *yuho-li m-akosi-ci l-akosita ia n-adeki-n bia*, and unto many that were blind he gave sight :

2) *abaren l-ako-loko warea t-itikida isogo-tu t-eda jiamutu* (S. *ikka -ké t-illipe ti dia t-a a-ttikida t-aku-lukku-waria)*, and immediately there fell from his eyes as it had been scales, *kena n-akera l-ako-loko-ji*, and when they had blindfolded him ;

3) Sm. *aku-ke*, the eyelids ;

b) 1) *akonnaki*, a loud sound, *akonnakita*, to make noise, *akonnakita-hu*, uproar ;

2) *akonnabo- (bia*-form : *akonna-bia)*, to hear.

§ 173. *Ade, adi*, strong, independent appearance (comp. § 88).

a) 1) R. *adibua-hu*, omen, token, auguries, Sm. *addibóa-hu*, ein Gespenst; *boa*, abnormal appearance, § 120 d) ;

2) *adeki-, adiki-*, to see ;

b) B., G. *a-dimisi-*, Sm. *a-dimissi-*, to smell ; *eme*, the smell, § 136 e) 3) II).

§ 174. a) *Adunku-, adunko-*, Sm. *adumki-, adunuki-* is a general A. M.

word (§ 182, 147): it may be in its origin an imitation of the sound of heavy breathing or snoring, but it may also be related to *a-odo-*, to die (§ 122 e) 1));

b) *A-butado-(n-wa)*, to faint, to fall in a trance: *bu* appearance, *t* flowing (?);

c) *Adaie-li angel ka-raia goba Joseph o-mun lo-tobonia*, the angel of the Lord appeareth to Joseph in a dream, *hui habe-ci o-toboni-wa fa*, your old men shall dream dreams, Sm. *wakáia dá-ttubü-n*, I dream (an evil dream), *óakai-u-ttubbü-*, to dream (A. M. § 182, 140): presumably: *tobo*, having the character of the fluent, the liquid *(a-toboti-*, Sm. *a-ttabatti-*, G. *a-thábati-*, to trickle, *a-tobodi-*, *a-tobadi-*, to cast, to dip, to step into a fluid, comp. also § 119 b)), *nia*, continuing in a free manner, or for some time. [In olden times the Arawaks believed that in sleep the soul left the body and experienced all sorts of things, and also received forecasts.]

§ 175. A great many object-words show one of the endings *-li*, *-ri*, *-ro* or *-ru*. Wherever it is possible to analyze such words, it is found that these endings indicate the general character of the thing denoted by the word.

Examples (for the meaning of the roots, see Alphabetical Index):

a) *li*, freely streaming forth: *akorakali*, thunder, *koreli*, smoke, *auaduli*, wind, *oroli*, clay;

b) *ri*, fixed, hooked: *kaiiri*, island, *hori*, snake, G. *wayuri*, a tick;

c) *ro*, *ru*, stopping: *bilibiliro*, lightning, R. *kabadaro*, jaguar (with-claws), B. *adedisaro*, earthquakes;

d) *bali* is the ending of several names of trees, for instance G. *dakama-bali*, Andira inermis, *ite-bali*, Vochysia tetraphylla, *širua-bali*, Nectandra; according to Baptist, *širua-bali* means: a tree resembling the *širua-tree*, or belonging to the same family. *Bali* might depict trees standing in a row, comp. § 60 a);

e) *kili*, is used in the names of natural phenomena etc. (§ 130 a)): also: *tibo-kili*, a bush (A. M. § 182, 111), *amudi-kile-hi jiamutu*, a shore (Acts XXVII, 39), Sm. *amudü-kil*, the landing-place (*amodi-*, to go up), *su-muli-kile*, drunkenness, *ma-mulikile*, temperance;

f) *koro*, in *ifiro-koro*, feast, R. *wiwa-k-ihi-koro*, (Halley's) comet.

It has not been found that the masculine or feminine gender is concomitant with these endings: *isa-be-tu* (f.) *akodoonali*, the fair havens, *kia akodoonali isa-tu* (f.) *koro*, the haven was not commodious, *auaduli a-fuda alon jiaro t-* (f.) *ansi-n*, the wind bloweth where it listeth, *adaili abato fa oriroko-n bia n* (f.), the sun shall be turned into darkness.

G. *hadáli futikidah-te-da ?* has the sun already risen ? answer: *ma-futikidi(n koa th-a-ya-te-da*, the sun has not yet risen. Baptist said that here the feminine prenominal prefix should be used, notwithstanding the sun is masculine according to the myth (§ 213).

§ 176. In other forms, however, these endings do indicate the grammatical gender:

a) m. *-li*, f. *-ro* :

1) *adaie-li*, lord (*d-adaie-n*, my lord), *k-onyi-li*, the owner (of the ship), *isa-i-li* friend (Vocative), *d-onnaka-ro*, my burden, R. *ka-shikwa-lli* house-master ;

2) Proper names : R. *ka-iinasa-li* (boy), *ka-iinasa-ro* (girl), "big buttocks", *ka-bara-li* (boy), *ka-bara-ro* (girl), "plenty of hair", etc. ;

3) *abar-li*, *aba-ro*, § 152, *yuho-li*, *yuho-ro*, § 151 b) 4) ;

4) Superposition of the suffixes *-ci* and *-li* or *-ro* :

ifi-li-ci, great (a man), *ifi-ro-tu* (a woman, a non-rational being or a thing), *adaie-l-ci*, a nobleman, *k-abue-l-ci*, householder, citizen, Sm. *likia ándá-l-te*, der da kommt oder gekommen ist (also *likia ándi-ti*, der da kommt, *kia andi-tu*, *kia andá-ru*, die da kommt) ; comp. § 95, *-l-te*.

In B.'s texts these endings rarely occur ; S. uses them frequently :

b) S. m. *-li*, f. *-ru*, plur. *-nu* ;

1) *a-hudá-li irei-tu*, his (the dead man's) wife, *a-uttika-ni|n a-hudá-ru*, and found her dead, *l-anniká-ru platta*, the price, *Petrus u-ma anda-nu*, they ... as came with Peter :

2) *likidaha Jesus*, *hu-parrü-kubá-li*, (this) Jesus whom ye slew, *Gott ani-kubá-ru l-abbu*, [the signs] which God did by him, *l-a kuba-ru a-buleti-n Prophet David u-llukku-di*, Acts I, 20 (his-do past-*ru* writing prophet David in-place), *Jesus u-ma-tti-kubá-nu*, [they took knowledge] that they had been with Jesus, *Dai bu-ttinutti-kuba-nu U-mallita-koan-ti kêwai de*, I am the God of thy fathers :

3) *andi-tti-pa-li*, him which should come, *b-aku-te tuhu dai da-waja da-dukuttu-pa-ru hurruru-muniru*, come into the land which I shall shew thee ;

4) *abba Gott u-mün a-kujaboa-koana-ttu añika-hü-ssia bia-ru bahü-kan*, the tabernacle of witness, lit. one God to worship-instrument taken-thing to-be-*ru* house-small :

5) *w-addiki-ssiá-ru*, things which we have seen (B. *w-adeki-sia*) ;

6) *tu-maqua n-adia-ssia-bi-ru da-ijalugku*, the things whereof they now accuse me, *hamatalli h-adia-bi-ru*, these things which ye have spoken ;

c) S. m. *-ki-ll(i)*, f. *-ku-rru*, plur. *-ku-nnu* :

1) *Simon na-ssa-killi Zelotes*, Simon (they-call-*killi*) Zelotes, *bu-lesida-bu-kurru*, what thou readest ;

2) *Jesus ... Gott u-ria andi-tti-kill*, Jesus ... a man approved of God, *k-aima-tti-kill l-ibiamate-tti u-mün*, he that did his neighbour wrong, *Jehovah a-raijattoá-li ibitu-ttu-kurru kuñuku-mün*, the angel (Jehovah) which appeared to him in the (burning) bush, *adinamu-tti kunnu*, them that stood, *ihittira-tti-kunnu lü-jalugku*, his accusers, *ka-pparka-tti*, a murderer, *bibiti tausend ka-pparka-tti-kunnu*, four thousand men that were murderers ;

3) *Jerusalem-mün-li-kunnu Apostel-nu*, the apostles which were at Jerusalem, *miaka h-issika-buna-nu-kunnu Siba u-llukkumün*, the men whom (yesterday) ye put in prison.

§ 177. The pronouns are symbols for the different "persons". Their proper meanings are:

Pronominal prefixes:

I *d(a)-*, firmly established; will-power; "I"-feeling (§ 184);
II *b(u)-*, the quiet, expectant one; or: deictic gesture (§ 184);
III m *l(o)-*, *l(u)-*, *l* masculine, o not moving, potential;
III f. *t(o)-*, *t(u)-*, *t* feminine, o „ „ „ ;
I pl. *w(a)-*, vast;
II pl. *h(u)-*, *h* deictic (comp. §§ 44 b), 45 b)), *u* vast; or: deictic gesture, of a broader, a more solemn, character than *bu*;
III pl. *n(a)-*, continuity, or person (§ 187).

End-point pronouns

I *di*, the same as the pr. pr., but as a principle *(i)* only;
II *bu*, „ „ „ „ „ „;
III m. *i*, masculine;
III f. *n*, end-point;
I pl. *u*, the same as the pr. pr.;
II pl. *hu*, „ „ „ „ „ „;
III pl. *ie*, perhaps originally *ne*, continuity, or person (§ 187).

§ 178. Class (gender and number) is expressed only in object-words and pronouns.

singular, human, male	—, *l(o)-*, *l-i-hi*, *i* , *-ci*, *-di*, *-li*
„ „ female / non-human	—, *t(o)-*, *t-o-ho*, *n* , *-tu*, *-du*, *-ro*
plural human	*-no*, *n(a)-*, *na-ha*, *ie*, *-ci-no* or *-no-ci*, etc., *-di-no*.

Consequently:

i	*l*	*u*, o	*t*	*r*
free, lively	loose	at rest	limited motion	impeded motion
(active)	—	(passive)	—	—
human	human	nature	nature	nature
man	man	woman	woman	woman

Certainly, those authors which considered the gender distinction in Arawak and in related languages as evidence of the low mental and social condition of these nations, were on the wrong track. See further § 188.

In B.'s translation of the bible, God (*Wacinaci*, lit. our-father) and angel *(angel)* are put in the human (rational) class; devil (*yauhahu*, nature-spirits) is put in the nature (non-rational) class.

For The Word *(Ajia-hu)* the m. pronoun *lihi* has been used (Jl, 3) in accordance with the English text. Otherwise *ajia-hu*, the speaking, and other words denoting "abstraction" are put in the class of non-rational beings and things. J. XVI, 13, in accordance with the English text, *lihi kidua-hu Ialoko*, he, the Spirit of truth. Elsewhere *Sa-tu Ialoko*, the Holy Ghost, the Spirit (Acts II, 4).

The sex of animals is distinguished as follows: Gen. VII, 2, 3 the male

and his (the) female: *wadili hiaro mu-tu*, lit. man wife with-*tu* (non-rational).

§ 179. Expressions used only by men (m.) or only by women (f.):

a) greeting "bist du da?": m. Sm. addressed to a man, *büi-l-uai*, to a woman, *büi-ru*, to several people, *hü-n-uai*; answer "ich bin da", m. Sm. *da-ú-li*, *da-ü-li-si*, *da-ili-sé*, f. Sm. *da-ú-ru-ra*, *dâ-ü-ru-ra*;

b) I! m. Sm. *dái*, f. Sm. *dai-ra*;

c) surely, certainly: m. R. to a man, *ta-de*, to a woman *ta-shi*, Sm. *ta-sè*, *ta-êssè*, v. C. *ehé* (= yes), *ta-si*, f. R. to a man *ta-shi*, to a woman *ta-ra*; Sm. *ta-ra*, v. C. *ta-ré*;

d) o yes, so you say; m. R. to a man, *d-a-i-do*, to a woman *d-a-dai*, f. R. to a woman *b-a-bui*;

e) "vielleicht, ich glaube": m. Sm. *bahâ-sse*, v. C. *baha-ssi-da*. f. Sm. *bahá-ra*, v. C. *bahá-ra*, B. *d-ibibidi faroka baha l-eke*, if I may but touch his garment (Mt. IX, 21):

f) "freilich": m. Sm. *dú-ke-si*, *dú-ke-ssè* (comp. § 61 d)), f. Sm. *dú-ka-ra*: "allerdings": m. Sm. *hé|du-ke-ssi* (also used for "ja, freilich"), f. Sm. *he|ki-ssä-i-ra*, *ki-sse-i-ra*; "ja, allerdings": f. Sm. *he|du-ka-ra*, *hê ki-ssé-i-ra*; Pen. *wa-the-fa-do dokara*, we will go drink as usual, *wa-the-fa-do dokase*, do. (probably the first sung by women, the second by men); "gethan" (fertig): m. Sm. *hébbi-ssè*, f. Sm. *hébbi-ra*.

a—f) Many of these short words contain emphasizing particles which we have already met with. It seems that the sharp *si*, *se* (§ 116 d) 10)) is used especially by men, the perhaps somewhat softer *ra* (§ 104), especially by women. See further § 191 a).

g) Sm. *akkubani-hü* or *ukubanni-hü*, a garden (§ 128 e)); with pronominal prefixes: I *da-kkuban*, I pl. *wa-*, III pl. *na-*. When addressing men, one says: II *ba-*, III m. *la-*, III f. *ta-*, II pl. *ha*, when addressing women: *bu-*, *lu-*, *tu-*, *hu-*. Baptist considers this difference is owing to the fact that women articulate better than men.

CHAPTER XIX

FOREIGN WORDS. ARAWAK AND ARAWAK-MAIPURE

§ 180. The Arawak language has appropriated several foreign words. The Spanish words may be regarded as such, and also the creole-Dutch words which occur in Brett's texts, and partly those in Schultz' texts. Brett uses a great many English words (as: *hell, paradise, prophet, temple, angel, incense, praise, apostle*, etc. etc.), and Schultz several German words (see list of these words at the end of the Alphabetical Index), but these may not be regarded as having been assimilated.

All these words are — see Alphabetical Index — expressions for post-Columbian ideas. Penard (17c) is of opinion "that there is a tendency, though not a strong one, to replace foreign words by others of Arawak origin. Taken all in all, the Arawak language of Surinam does not appear to have been affected so much, as close contact with civilization might lead us to think".

The Arawak does not recognize foreign verbs as such; he makes an action-word from them, by means of the usual affixes:

From creole-Dutch words: B. *a-dankido-(n-wa)*, to thank, S. *a-lesedi-*, to read;

From English words: B. *a-baptizedi-*, to baptize (*baptism*, baptism), *a-circumcisedo-(n-wa)*, to be circumcised, *a-praisedi-*, to praise, *a-prophesido-(n-wa)*, to prophesy, *a-sacrificedo(-n-wa)*, to do sacrifice, *a-sweardoa*, to swear, *a-ridi-*, to read.

There is no direct proof that Arawak has appropriated words from other Indian languages. However, in Guiana and adjacent territories one often finds that a certain word for a pre-Columbian domestic article, a plant, an animal, or even a supernatural being, is used by tribes belonging to different families of languages. Such regional words also occur in Arawak (see §§ 197—200, where they have been marked r)), and it may be that some of these are not of Arawak origin.

Next come those words, that only occur in Arawak, but the etymology of which could not be traced (see §§ 195—200, where they have been marked u)). We are met here by the difficulty that we mostly do not know which peculiarity is described by a word. For instance, a land-boa is called "the slow one", *ma-hŏle-ru* or *mawleru* (§§ 112 d), 175 e)), but we should perhaps never have found this out, if the word had not been explained to us by an Arawak. [This snake is also called Sm. *kule-kunna-ru*, weak-walker.]

Finally comes the great majority of words (among them nearly all particles, pronouns, quality-words and action-words), which are constructed in the manner as shown in our examples in § 20. Although a slight doubt may be entertained here and there, as to whether our interpretation is the correct one, yet on the whole, the evidence that these words are really sound-pictures, complexes of sound-symbols, seems overwhelming.

§ 181. The Arawak words found in the oldest writings (II. 9, 14) do not differ in any perceptible degree from the words as they are used to-day. The differences between the translations of Brett and those of Schultz, are to be attributed to the different views of the translators, and perhaps to a difference in the dialects, in regard to which Schumann says: "Man findet darin verschiedene Dialekte", and Brett: "There is at present some variety existing, principally in the pronunciation of words by people of different districts. But there is no difficulty in the way of their understanding each other, and in all material points there is little difference". This latter is also the author's experience.

We may, however, still find out something about the early history of Arawak from a comparison with the other languages of the Arawak-Maipure group.

As a result of a superficial examination of these languages, we venture to make the following remarks:

All the A. M. languages use pronominal prefixes and pronouns consisting of an emphasizing particle with a pronominal prefix; in some of them end-point pronouns, differing but little from the pronominal prefixes, have been met with.

Several A. M. languages apply a pronominal prefix, even when the person is already indicated by an object-word:

Palikur: *ri-wasiri Palikurene*, Land der Palikur, *Toussaint ri-pina*, Toussaint's Haus;

Goajiro: *jamúsa nu nöike Maréigua nu mui Adam ? (su mui Eva, su mui úri, nu mui yarõjá)*, I qué habló Dios a Adan ? (a Eva, a la culebra, al diablo), lit. what he said God him at Adam (her at Eva, it at snake, him at devil), *nu-doctrina-ka Jesucristo*, la doctrina de Jesucristo, *su-rauráka körésia*, el Jefe de la Iglesia;

Kampa: *naçhi no-tomi*, hijo mio, *i-umbari Juan*, el amigo de Juan, *i-bango Juan*, la case de Juan, *i-gina*, su mujer, *o-gime*, su marido, *i-cachita-te pi-gimme ?* esta enfermo tu marido ? *o-cachita-te pi-ginna ?* esta enfermo ta mujer ?

Baure: *r-orani ehiro*, or *ehiro-coremo*, el vestido de varon, *r-orani eteno*, or *eteno-coremo*, el vestido de mujer, *re-puyi iscini*, or *iscini-puyi*, el pie del tigre;

Moxo: *ma-muiria ehoiro*, el vestido del varon, *su-muiria esseno*, el vestido de la muger, *ta-ibopé ichini*, el pie del tigre, *ta-ha-ze to-bea ma-epiya-co Maimona eto ?* paraque crio Dios essas cosas ? lit. what it-for he-creates God that ?

The pronominal prefixes are:

I sing. generally *n(u)-*, with the exception of: Arawak *d(a)-*, Goajiro *t(a)-*, Paraujano *t(a)-* (it is doubtful whether Baure *di*, which has only been found in d'Orbigny's vocabulary, is of the same origin);

II sing. generally *p(i)-*, *b(i)-*, Arawak *b(u)-*;

I plur. *ua-*, *oe-*, *u-*, *v-*, *ab(i)-*, *a*;

II plur: some languages use the same pronominal prefix as in II sing., others use *yi-*, *ye-*, *i-*, *e-*, Arawak *hu-*;

III: A difference is made, more or less distinctly, between one man, one woman, more than one person, and one or more non-rational beings or things;

III sing. Palikur m. *ri-*, f. *ru-*, Wapisiana m. *i*, f. *u*, Goajiro m. *n(u)-*, f. *s(u)-*, Achagua m. *ri-*, f. *ru-*, Maipure m. *i-*, f. *ju-*, Kampa m. *i-*, f. *o-*, Baure m. *r(e)-*, f. *r(i)-*, Moxo m. *ma-*, f. *su-*, a woman speaking of a man *ñi-*, non-rational beings and things *ta-* or *to-*;

III plur: mostly *n* (with different vowels).

Plural suffixes are applied to all object-words; however, in the grammars of Baure and Moxo, it is stated that they are but little used, when referring to non-rational beings or things.

Other indications of gender are found in the names of family-relations and such like, and in:

Goajiro: *kasáichir ni-chinka parajá-chi-ka jashia?* como se llama el primer hombre? *kasáichir ni-chinka parajá-te-ka jiér?* como se llama la primera mujer?

Moxo: *mo-chijcha-re*, (man) sin hijos, *mo-chijcha-ru* (woman) sin hijos.

In Wapisiana, in Maipure, in Ipurina, in Kampa and in Moxo interjections are used which differ according to the sex of the speaker and of the hearer.

In Arawak *i* has, amongst others, the meaning of "small", *u* or *o* the meaning of "great". In Moxo we find *achipi*, small, *achope*, great.

In Maipure the ending-*au* is used in order to indicate "for, or of, itself"; in Baure *-bo* or *-bobo* is used for the same purpose, and in Moxo *-bo*. It seems quite probable that these forms are of the same origin as Arawak *-oa*.

Moxo has numerous words in which the prefix *v-* means "great", for instance *v-a*, guevo largo, *v-i*, fruta larga, *v-pai*, campo, tierra larga, *ti-ve-quiené*, hay mucha distancia de aqui allà. Probably this is of the same origin as Arawak *wa-*. Comp. also: Arawak *wa-i-kille*, Kušitineri *wa-s(y)ō-ra*, Piro *hua-še-ra*, Moxo *ebo-i-re*, far.

Almost all A. M. languages use the prefixes *k(a)-* and *m(a)-* to indicate "being present" and "not being present".

Goajiro uses *-uma*, to indicate "with" (Arawak *o-ma*), and *mui*, in order to indicate "at" (Arawak *mun*). Ipurina uses *-muni* to indicate "at", "to" and "from", in the same manner as Arawak uses *o-mun(i)*. Piro uses *ima* to indicate "with".

Otherwise the suffixes indicating mood, tense and case are rather

different in the several A. M. languages, but it appears not at all improbable, that they may have been built up originally from primary elements which have a similar meaning to that which still prevails in Arawak.

§ 182. Several works dealing with a language of the A. M. group, contain a comparative vocabulary. We here give a summary of corresponding words, in order to illustrate the position of Arawak.

Words that are only found in languages belonging to the same subgroup, have been left out. Moreover not all the various transcriptions for a given word have been copied, and complicated phonetic spelling has been simplified. Students who desire to go deeper into the matter, are recommended to consult the original sources.

For the sake of clearness, the languages have been classified into four geographical groups (which do not correspond with the linguistic subgroups of the A. M. family), viz.

I. NORTHERN GROUP
(ANTILLES, GUIANA, MARACAIBO)

Abbreviation		List of literature
A	Arawak	different sources (phonetic spelling)
—	Arua	49
At	Atorai	15, 21a, 41
G	Goajiro	33A, 33, 40a, 44, 51a, b
IK	Island Karib	
IKf	do., women's language	31, 55
Map	Mapidian, Mawakwa	15, 41
P	Palikur	15, 49, 53
Par	Parauhano	44, 51b
—	Taino	6, 15, 42, 50
W	Wapisiana	15, 36, 41, 45e

II. NORTHWESTERN GROUP
(ORINOCO, RIO NEGRO, YAPURA, IÇA)

Ach	Achagua	40b, 42
Ad	Adzaneni, Izaneni	45c, 60
Am	Amarizama	40b
Av	Avane	42
Ban	Baniwa	15, 30, 32A, 34, 38, 45a, 60
—	Bare	15, 34, 38, 45a, 60
Ca	Caouiri	38
Car	Cariay	15
Cau	Cauixana	15
—	Cavere	42
Gu	Guinau	15, 21a, 45c
—	Guipunave	42
Ip	Ipeka	45a

Ja	Jabaana	15 (Part D)
Ju	Jumana	15
Kar	Karutana	45a
Kat	Katapolitani	45a
Kau	Kauyari	45a
Maip	Maipure	29, 42
—	Manao	15, 32b
Mand	Mandauaca	45c, 60
Mar	Mariate	15
—	Pareni	30A
Pa	Passe	15
Pia	Piapoco	34, 38, 45c, 64
Si	Siusi	45a
Tar	Tariana	15, 36, 45a, 60
Uai	Uainuma	15
Uar	Uareca, Uarekena	45a, 60
Yav	Yavitero	15, 38, 40c, 45a, 60
Yuk	Yukuna	15, 45a

III. SOUTHWESTERN GROUP
(BETWEEN THE AMAZONS AND THE RIO MADEIRA)

Ar	Araicu	15
In	Inapari	54
Ipu	Ipurina	35A, 45b, 52
—	Kampa	28c
Kan	Kanamare	15
Kun	Kuniba	54
Kus	Kušiti-neri	54
Man	Maneteri	35A
M	Marauha	15
Pau	Paumari	35A, 39, 52
—	Piro	54
Yam	Yamamadi	39

IV. SOUTHEASTERN GROUP

B	Baure	28a, b
—	Chané	50a
Gua	Guana	15, 56a
Ku	Kustenau	59
Me	Mehinaku	59
—	Moxo	28a, 29, 42, 46
—	Mucoxeone	(37)
Pai	Paiconeka	32a
—	Paunaka	(37)
Pare	Paressi	59
Sar	Saraveka	37
—	Waura	59
Yaul	Yaulapiti	59

COMPARATIVE VOCABULARY OF ARAWAK-MAIPURE LANGUAGES

THE BODY

1. Blood. § 191.

I. A *ite* (*itena* as a part of the human body), IK f *ita*, G *isha*, P *mera*, W *reine karu*, *irei* ;

II. Ju *itta*, Pa *yta*, Cau *isa*, Car *zanhy*, Bare *aya*, *iya*, Gu *ea*, Yav *miyari*, Kar, Tar *irai*, Uai *ira*, *irahi*, Mar *yray*, Manao *yraty*, Kat, Si *irana*, Yuk *ra*, Uar *ila*, Ad *ira*, *irena*, Pia *irai*, *irana*, Mand *-rami* ;

III. Ar *ithon*, *isa*, Kan *ürra*, Kampa *iraja*, Piro *xerari*, Ipu *eerenga*, Kus *slali* ;

IV. B *iti* (*n-itina*, mia sangre), Moxo *iti* (*n-ijtine*, mi sangre), Gua *iti*, *iddina*, Pare *itimarane*.

2. Juice. §§ 125, 107.

I. A *ura*, *era*, (*urali*, curare, arrow-poison), IK *ira* ; *acou-ira*, a tear, G *sira*, broth, P *nra* ;

III. Piro *ihixa*, *ixa*, broth, Kus *tra*, *tla* ;

IV. B *ore*, Moxo *oro*.

3. To drink. § 91.

I. A *a-ti-*, I K f *ata*, G *asi*, *aza*, P *hirap*, W *tir*, Arua *eta-le* ;

II. Bare *dia*, Yav *ziya*, Uar *ila*, Ad, Kar, Kat, Pia, Si, Tar, Uai, Yuk *ira*, Mand *jira-ni*, *-ra*, Manao *tüira*, Ju *ita*, Gu *weta* ;

III. Kampa *irhe*, *iri*, Piro *rani*, *reuači*, Kan *reoatschy*, Kun *rune*, Ipu *ŋati*, Ar *iratschy*, *p-ito*, Kus *ratkarii* ;

IV. B, Moxo *ero*.

4. *a*) Flesh, *b*) Heart, *c*) Male genital, *d*) Female genital, *e*) Worm, grub. §§ 115, 116.

I. *a*) A *isi-roko*, G *shi-ruku* ;
b) A *oassini-hü*, W *ishene*, lunge ;
c) A *issin*, W *tiye* ;
e) A *ischü*, I K *l-iche* ;

II. *a*) Pia *inazi*, Mand *ijeshi*, Ban, Yav *mitsi* ;
b) Maip *nichini*, Pa *saua*, Uar *(n)aseni*, Gu *inišini* ;
c) Kat *iži*, Ip, Uar *ihi*, Kar *ichiti*, Pa *tschyu-any*, Si *iši*, Uai *chy*, Yuk *hi*, Gu *seniží*, testicle ;
d) Uai *ynaro-sache*, Pia *aitžei* ;
e) Bare *enisi* ;

III. *a*) Ipu *ishini*, *isene*, Kampa *aicha* ;
b) Kan *natoxy*, Kun *wayi*, Piro *huaxi* ;
c) Ar *chy*, Kan *same*, Marauha *isy*, Piro *simeči*, Yam *dzoui* ;
d) Ipu *otseniki* ;
e) Pau *sumi*, Yam *soomi*, Kampa *chitzane* ;

IV. *a*) B *enascie*, Moxa *eeche*, Pare *inete* ;
b) Sar *i-vihine* ;
c) Pare *se* ;
d) Gua *oze* ;
e) Moxo *ichepi*.

5. Bone (presumably: figure, stature, § 60 ff.).

I. A *abona*, I K f *abo*, G *jimpu*, P *api-ti*, W *une-wiire*;

II. Ban *piuna*, *api*, Bare *abi*, Cau *bimi*, Ju *pina*, Uai *pihra*, Ad, Pia, Tar *api*, Gu *abe*, Mand *yahiži*;

III. Kun *hapö*, Piro *xapui*;

IV. B *inepe*, Gua *api*, *hopeeti*, Ku *anapi*, Me, Waura *inapü*, Moxo *eope*, *ope*, Pare *nahe*, Sar *nahaxe*, Yaul *napi*.

6. Skin (**ma*, soft, nos. 12, 17, **eda*, bark, no. 7?).

I. W *mada*, *mad*, P *mali*, G *imata*, lip;

II. Ban *mada*, Yuk *(u)ma*, Pia *imasi*, *imami*, Jum *matsche*, Uai *mami*;

III. Piro *mita*, Kun *muta*, Kus *šima*;

IV. B *chomo*, Moxo *umomo*, *mo*, Pare *meli*, Me, Ku, Waura *mai*.

7. Skin, bark, § 89.

I. A *eda*, I K f *t-ora*, G *suta*, *pata*;

II. Bare *ida*, Gu *eda*, *ita*; canoe: Pia, Uir, Kar *ida*, Ad, Kat, Tar, Si, Uar, Mand *ita*, Yuk *hita*, Bare *isa*;

III. Ip *itanta*, *utanta*.

8. Hair on the skin.

I. I K *iou*;

III. Kampa *ibiti*, Kun *(yewe-)ti*, Pia *waziwi* (on the pubes);

IV. Gua *etšeo*, Moxo *hiyoo*, Sar *(i-)tihi*.

9. Feather.

I. P *sipri*, W *id*, G *sumure-ra*;

II. Ban *uidoho*, Kar *(l-)idzu*, Kat, Si *(l-)idzu*, Gu *elidzu*, Ip *l-iyu*, Uar *(n-)idu*, Mand *idoshi*, Yav *junetzi*, Gu *hipiaži*;

III. Ip *ipiti*, Kampa *ibiti*;

IV. Gua *etšeo(-šoopeno* = bird), Moxo *pobo*.

10. Hair of the head: (head-)hair, §§ 100, 107.

I. (A *iyehe-riti-*, to shear). A *ba-ra*, W *(ruei-)re*;

II. Manao *(küüna-)itschy*, Mand *(uati-)quishi*, *(a-)tiki*, Pa *(ole-)sa*, Uai *itzihi*, Uar *(iue-)si*, Gu *itši*, Ad *tsikule*;

III. M *hoty*, Kampa *eçhi*, *içhi*, Kan *pity*, Kus *(šiwe-)sa*, Piro *(iwe-)tsa*, *(xihue-)sa*;

IV. B *chohihi*, *ichi-jiji*, Moxo *chuti-si*, Yaul *(putaku-)yati*.

11. Eyelash: (eye-)hair, § 90 *f*).

I. A *(iki-)ti*, I K *(acou-)iou*, W *depian*;

II. Bare *(biuiti-)bite*, Ip *(ti-)piyu*, Kar, Kat, Si *(ti-)pitsi*, Manao *(konikà-)itschy*, Mand *(disi-)uishi*, Pa *(tschila-)ntschoy*, Pia *(tui-)zimi*, Uar *(bo-)siuiole*;

III. Ip *(ke-)meipi-piti*, Kampa *tosio-ki*, Kan *pity*, Kun *pity*;

IV. Pare *(dose-)nivari*, Yaul *(yeoka-)?ti*.

12. Moustache: hair(-mouth), § 90 *f*).

I. A *iti(-ma)*, I K *iti(-ouma)*, At *hin*, G *li(-ma)*, Par *(m-)i-(a)*, P *siu*, Map *(tci-)namu*, hair, W *de-(no)*, *te(-nu)*;

II. Ban *sa(-noma)*, Bare *si(-noma)*, Kar, Mand, Si, Tar *tsi(-numa)*, Uar *si(-numa)*, Yav *za(-numa)*, Ad *chi(-numa)*, Gu *tsa(-numa)*, Pia *ussi(-nume)*;

III. Ipu *šampuťa-piti* (Kampa *açhpatuna*, Kun, Kus *šaptu*, Piro *sapto*);

IV. B *ich-(aona)?*, Gua *etsa* (*-kiri* = nose), Ku *(kira-)pi*, Me *(kiržaa-)pienu*, Moxo *hiyo(-sumu)*, Waura *ma-pi*.

13. Excrements, § 90 A; comp. also nos. 23, 149 A.

I. A *itika*, I K f *itica*, G *chaa*, P *isiki*, W *dikie*;

II. Bare *isike*, *sikahei*, Kar *iziate*, Ip *itsuka*, Kat *ža*, Si *iša*, Manao *tya*, Mar *ytschuka*, Tar *ihe*, *tsukude*, Yuk *hie*, Gu *tšikahi*, Pia *itsoka*;

III. Ar *yakye*, Ipu, Kan *itika*, Kampa *itiga*, Piro *yči*;

IV. Gua *ciquee*, Moxo *ichiqui*.

14. Head, § 116 *b*); comp. nos. 119, 118.

I. A *iši*, I K *ichi-c*, P *teu-ti*, At, W *ruair*, Map *reku*, Par *ki*;

II. Bare *dosie*, Yav *si-hu*, Uar *i-ua*, Kar *i-ta*, *gibi-da*, Kat, Ip *ui-da*, Si *ui-ta*, Tar *ahui-da*, Yuk *ui-le*, Maip *chibucu*, Ad *ui-da*, Pia *ivi-ta*, Mand *iua-shi*, *ui-da*, Manao *kū-una*, Car *küuy-sata*, Gu *in-tšeue*;

III. Piro *xi-hue*, Kan *c-hüy*, Kun *yi-hwö*, Ipu *iki-wi si-uy*, Ar *g-hy*, Kus *ši-we*, *ši-wö*

IV. Moxo *chuti*, Sar *heve*, Me *teu*, Ku *teui*, Waura *teur-zata*, Yaul *kuržu*, Pare *seviri*, Gua *tutiie*, *dooti*.

15. Eye, §§ 116 *b*), 172.

I. A *ako(-ši)*, I K f *acou*;

II. Bare *aci-ti*, Gu *aui-ši*, Manao *kurika*, Uir *acu-que*, Gu *aui-ži*;

III. Ar *oky*, Ipu *uky*, Kampa *oqui*, *oque*, Kan *chii*, *ako-sy*, Pau *kui*;

IV. B *qui-se*, Moxo *uqui*, Pai *ihuikis*.

16. Nose, § 116 *b*).

I. A *iširi*, I K *ichiri*, G *ichi*, Par *yi*, P *ikirti*, W *iribe*;

II. Maip *chirri*, Yav *siui*, Car *kūty*, Manao *kiria*, Uir *que*;

III. Ar *chit*, Kan *chiry*, Kus *širi*, *siry*, Piro *siri*, Ipu *kirita*, Kampa *quiri*, Pau *iridi*, Yam *uidi*;

IV. B, Moxo *siri*, Gua *girii-ti*, Ku, Me, Pare *kiri*, Waura *kidzi*.

17. Mouth, § 83 *a*) (see also n°. 12, moustache and n°. 20, neck).

I. (A *ema*, *uima*, the mouth of a river), I K *iouma*, G *anōka*, Map *unau*, *numiya*, P *numa*;

II. Ach, Ad, Am, Bare, Car, Gu, Ip, Ju, Kar, Kat, Manao, Mand, Pia, Si, Uai, Uar, Yuk *numa*, Ban, Yav, Tar *anuma*, Kau *nomo*, Maip *numacu*, Mar *nuna*, Uir *luma*;

III. Ipu, Kus, Piro, *nama*, Kan *nahma*, *comako*.

18. Tongue, §§ 83 *a*), 184.

I. A *ye*, I K *inigne*, G *ye*, *shie*, Par *benye*, P *nene*, W *nuba*;

II. Bare, Car, Cau, Ja, Mand, Pa, Pia, Uar, Uir *nene*, Gu *neni*, Ju *nena*, Ip, Kat, Si *enene*, Kar *inene*, Mar, Uai *nenepe*, Kau *nanipa*, Yuk *lena*, Manao *neta*, Maip *are*, Ad *nene*, *niñe*;

III. Ar *elon*, Ipu *nene*, Kampa *anene*, *nene*, Kan *nuny*, Kun, Kus, Piro *ne*, *iaya*;

IV. B *epenene*, Gua *nene-ti*, Ku, Me, Waura *nei*, Moxo *nene*, Pare *nini-se*, Sar *niñe*, Yaul *nya-ti*.

19. Tooth, § 100.

I. A *a(i)ri*, I K f *ari*, G *ari*, *(a)i*, P *aibu-ti*, Par *(a)i*;

II. Ad *etsa*, *yeihei*, Am *e*, Ban *aši*, Bare *ahai*, Car *aū*, Cau *e*, Ja *aida*, Ju *ihi*, *iy*, Kar *yai*, Kat *etsa*, Kau *a*, Maip *ati*, Manao *ay*, Mand *e*, *ieshi*, Mar *ai*, Pa *see*, Pia *uayex*, *yai*, Tar *ye*, Uai *ahai*, *aei*, Uar *ye*, Uir *adi*, Yav *azi*, Yuk *i*, Gu *ahe*;

III. Ar *itschy*, Ipu *serin*, Kampa *agi*, Kan *aū*, Kun *hi*, Kus *ihe*, M *atu*, Piro *ii*, *se*, *ixi*;

IV. B *isero*, *isera*, Gua *oe-ti*, Ku *tevoe*, Me *teve*, Moxo *oe*, Waura *itseve*, Yau *tsoa*.

20. Neck, § 79 *a*) 3).

I. A *ono-ro*, G *nu-lo*, W *k-una*, At *k-anei*;

II. Cau *noza*, *naza*, Kar *nu-ro*, Kat, Si, Tar *nu-ru*, Mand *nu-li*, Maip *inu*, Manao *noby*, Mar *nunape*, Pa *noto*, Yuk *nurupi*, Bare *nu*;

III. Ar *no*, Kan *nopy*, Kun *nuye*, Piro *nuxi*;

IV. Gua *anu*, Pare *hino*, Sar *xiñu*, Yaul *rhinyu-ti*.

21. Heron, etc., § 79 *a*) 3).

I. A *honoli*, Tigrisoma, *anula*, Ardea cocoi, W *arunau*, Tigrisoma, I K *omanomali*;

II. Kat, Si *unuli*, Ardea brasiliensis, Tar *unoli*, A. b.;

IV. B *tinore*, Platalea.

22. Navel, § 128 *h*).

I. A *kuyu*;

II. Cau *pahare*, Ip, Si *epure*, Pa *sipohry*, Tar *puleka*, Gu *žipulu*;

III. Ipu *šoronke*, Kan *puluchy*, Piro *puro*, Yam *dzubori*;
IV. B *poyi*, Moxo *tuyu*, Waura *peze*.
Liver, see n⁰. 113.
23. Bowels.
I. A *ite*;
II. Kau *tre*, Car *itschaba*, Pia *te*;
III. Kun *satö*, Kus *sate*, Piro *sati*, Yam *turu*;
IV. B *etise*, Ku *tšitšu*, Me *tšikiu*, Yaul *tsityu*.
24. Male genital (*p* = striving, aspiring ?).
II. Manao *puia*, Mar *pyhi*, Ad *piži*;
III. Ipu *pitsi*, *pichinchi*, Kampa *chibichi*;
IV. Me, Ku *pei*, Yaul *puhi*, Gua *keo*, B *pepe*, Sar *i-tihiyu*.
25. Arm, lower part of the arm, § 86 *g*).
I. *a*) A *adina* I K *areunna*, G *töna*, Par *dene*, *adne*, W *anub*, At *anubai*, P *wani*;
II. *a*) Ach *natuer*, Ban *nano*, Bare *dana*, Car *tanu*, Gu *dana*, Ja *tana*, Kat, Ip, Si *napa*, Kau *unapi*, Maip *ana*, Manao *tana*, Mand, Pia *ana*, Uar *nana*, Uir *tanaabe*, Yuk *napita*;
b) Yav *kanu*, *cano*, Ja *canu*;
III. *a*) Pau *dabunui*, Yam *yedabu*;
b) Piro *kano*, Kun *kana*, Kan *ghano*, Kus *kanu*, Ipu *canuke*;
IV. *a*) Pare *ötane*, wing;
b) Pare *kano*, Sar *kahano*, Ku, Me, Yaul *kanu-tapa*.
26. Branch, § 86 *g*).
I. *a*) A *adina-bo*, G *sutuna*, P *tauni*;
II. *a*) Si *haiku-itena*;
b) Cau *ghoe-kona*, Manao *ata-akura*, Mar *yru-kary*, Uai *apana-ghae*, Bare *ada-uako*, Tar *heiku-kena*, Mand *iuaco*, Gu *damun-uaku*;
III. *b*) Ar *aky*;
IV. *a*) Moxo *to-tabo yucuqui*.
27. Hand, § 134 *e*).
I. *a*) A *akabo*, G *hap*, *japo*, I K *cabo*, Map *kuba*, Par *(a)p*, W *kabu-rei*, palm or back of the hand;
b) P *waku*, At *kuei*, W *kake*;
II. *a*) Ach *caje*, Am *cagi*, Bare, Gu *kabi*, Car *ghai*, Cau, Ju *gabi*, *kapy*, Ja *khapi*, Kar *kapü*, Ip, Kat, Kau, Si, Tar, Uar *kapi*, Ad, Maip, Pia, *capi*, Manao *kaita*, Mar *ghapy*, Pa *ghapohli*, Uir *caue*, Yav *kahahi*, Uai *gaapi*, *ghaby*, Pareni *cavi*, Mand *kahi*;
III. *a*) Ar *kabu*, *kabesuy*, Pau *kabo-tini*, palm of the hand;
b) Ipu *wacu*, Kampa *aco*;
IV. *a*) Me *kapu*, Pare *kahe*, Waura *kapi*, *kabü*;
b) B *baqui*, *boqui*;
Nail, see n⁰. 114.
28. Foot, § 129 *b*).
I. A *kuti*, I K f *goutti*, P *kurku*, At *kheti*, W *kudi-be*;
II. Maip *chii*, Manao *kiy*, Uir *cauque*, Pareni *cizi*, Gu *žipe*;
III. Ar *ghutschy*, Ipu *kiti*, Kampa *guiti*, *kiiti*, Kus *šiti*.
29. Tail, § 112.
I. A *ihi*, I K *ili*, P *ribu*;
II. Ban *biši*, *piši*, Bare *ihibi*, Ip, Kat *itsipi*, Kar, Si *itipi*, Tar *isipi*, Uar *sipi*, Gu *ibi*;
III. Ipu *ishipi*, Kus *nsii*;
IV. Me *inepiu*, Moxo *hiqui*, Pare *enihu*, Yaul *ikipina*.

MAN. FAMILY. RELIGION.

30. Man (h. homo, v. vir). § 166 *c*).

I. (A *wadili*, § 164 *e*)). I K f *eyeri*, v, P *awaili*, *hinyeiri*, v also "clan", Par *eitsch*, *eiy(e)*, v:

II. Bare *heinari*, h, v, Ban, Yav *enami*, h. v, Cau *zinanni*, h, Gu *k-enaue*, h, *hanale*, v, Manao *herenary*, *yrinaly*, h, Kar *atsinari*, h, v, Kat *atsinali*, h, v, Uar *asinali*, *asinari*, h, Uir *atinare*, v, Uai *achijari*, v, Si, Tar *atsiali*, h, Yuk *asie*, h. Pia *naiyei*, h, *aziali*, *asieri*, v, *ouenaica*, h, Ca *ouenaouica*, h, Pa *schimana*, h. Ad *naiki*, *atchinali*, h, *tsiali*, v, Mand *a'inahe*, v:

III. Piro *ineri*, h, Kampa *cherari*, *chirampari*, v, Ar *etyalo*, h, Kus *yehyi*, *šeši*;

IV. B *ehiro*, v, Moxo *ehiro*, v, *achane*, h, Me *erinau*, v, Ku *erina*, *eniza*, v, Waura *enyau*, v. Yaul *örinau*, *erina*, v. Sar *eceena* v.

31. Husband (lord?).

I. I K f *amachi*, chief;

II. Bare *mi*, Ban *meuale*, Gu *yeme*, Ja *imigi*, *imiri*, Pia, Mand *niri*, Ad *iniri*, Manao *imiry*, Maip *(nu-)mina(-ri)*, (my) lord, Bare *maba-mina-ri*, bee, Yav *cuadiguao-mina-ri*, jaguar:

III. Kampa *o-gime*, *o-chuema*, Piro *aneri*, Ipu *umane*, chief;

IV. Moxo *ima*, Gua *uma*, Moxo *Maymonā*, God.

32. Woman, wife, § 166 c).

I. A *hiaro*, woman, *ireyu*, to be wife § 164 *f*), G *hierhe*, Par *h'niere*, P *eru*, *tino*, I K *inno*, *ani*, At *beanaro*;

II. Kar, Kat Si, Uar *inu*, wife, *inaru*, woman, Tar, Uai *inaru*, Yuk *inanaru*, Pia *inanai*, woman, *inu*, wife, Mand *inalutža*, woman, *yu*, wife, Mar *ynana*, Uir *inau*, Manao *ero*, wife, *ytunalo*, woman, Car *henitaky*, *netschu*, Yav *sariinaifemi*, woman, Ad *inaru*, woman, *inu*, wife, Gu *henau*, woman, *naune*, wife:

III. Marauha *runo*, Piro, Kun *anendu*, wife, Kus *hanando*, *wife*;

IV. B *eteno*, Moxo *esseno*, woman, *yeno*, wife, Gua *tseeno*, Me, Waura *teneru*, Ku *tineru*, Yaul *tinau*.

33. Mother, § 124 *b*), 163 *a*), 166 *c*).

I. A *yu*, *yo*, G *eyu*;

II. Maip *ina*, Pa *ainyu*, Manao *ena-kony*, Pia *atoua*, *otue*, Ad *ndoa*;

III. Kampa *ina*, *inero*, *iniro*, Kan *atu*, Kus *nato*, Piro *ndo*;

IV. B *eno*, Gua, Moxo *eeno*.

34. Child (male), § 164 *b*).

I. A *korilia-či*, At *curaitze*;

III. Kar *koliliapu*, Pia *kirazei*, Mand *kirahere*.

35. Son, § 163 *a*).

I. A *ai-či*, I K f *iraheu itaga*, Par *tschon*, G *chon*, P *haisu*, W *bitci*;

II. Ban *tani*, Manao *tany*, Maip *ani*, Cau *oay*, Ad, Pia *iri*;

III. M *tisy*, Kampa *tomi*, Piro *teri*, Kun, Kus *tori*, Kan *türy*;

IV. Moxo *chicha*, B *scera*.

36. Daughter, § 163 a).

I. A *o-tu* I K f *iraheu*, P *serhu*, W *udanrin*;

II. Ad, Kar, Kat, Pia, Si, Tar *itu*, Yuk *utu*, Uar *itu(x)ni*, Mar, Uai *ito*, Manao *tairu*, Maip *ani*, Gu *itxu*;

III. Mar *tay*, Kus *mtero*, Kun *šetiu*, Piro *čiču*;

IV. Moxo *chicha*;

37. Father-in-law, § 163 *e*).

I. A *madukure*, W *imidukur*, P *mökerhu*;

II. Si *kuiru*, Kar, Tar *kiri*, Kat *keri*, Gu *ku*, Ad *nxaueri*, Pia *yeru*;

III. Kus *hemačiri(ö)*, Piro *ximatieri*;

IV. Gua *imetšako*.

38. Mother-in-law, § 163 *e*).

I. A *akiru, akürü*, I K f *couchourou*, P *maturu-hu*, W *imirdukur* ;

II. Si, Tar *kuiru*, Yuk *yaxneru*, Kat *r(u)ixneru*, Kar *xneru*, Uar *xiyelu*, Gu *axku*, Ad *nxeru*, Pia *yeru*, Mand *koro* ;

III. Kun *yiru*, Piro *ximaxiru*, Kus *hemaširo*.

38 A. Stranger, white man (n°. 70 **parana*, sea).

I. I K *balanagle*, Christians, P *parahana*, Brasilian, W *parinakari*, G *parainsishi* ;

II. Bare *yaranave*, Ban, Kar *yaranaui*, Mand, Yav, Uar, Kat, Si *yalanaui*, Ad *yalanai*, Tar *hearana*, Maip *jaranavi*, Portuguese, Gu *yalanaui*, Venezolan, *palanaxkele*, Englishman etc. ;

III. Ipu *imbaraniri* ;

Karib languages in Guyana **paranakiri*.

39. Slave, § 164 *h*).

I. A *(h)aiero*, I K f *hai*, female slave ;

IV. Moxo *ahire*.

39A. *a*) the soul, *b*) the late, the former :

I. *a*) W *durima* ;

b) A *-mi* ;

II. *a*) Maip *amita-mine* (Ban *amita*, to fly), Ban *no-minana-te* : remembrance, *ma-minana-rro* : without reason, Si *auakata mina-li* : bush-spirit ;

b) Maip *-mine*, Bare *duh-amini* : a corpse, *kihi-amini* : the waning moon, Kar *ker-ami* : the w.m., Si *ker-amina-ku*, the settling moon ;

III. *a*) Ipu *c-amyry*, Kun *usa-mene*, Piro *uza-mena* ;

IV. *b*) B, Moxo *-ini*.

40. God, demigod, § 166 *e*) 2).

I. A *kururuman, kulimina*, W *tuminkar* ;

II. Maip *purrunaminari*, Tar *pirikuli*, Tar, Si *yaperikuli*.

41. Snake, § 108 A.

I. A *hori, wuri*, I K *hehue*, G *uri, willi, guiri* ;

II. Cau *höuwari*, Bare *huyaue*, Boa Cenchria, Tar *yolema*, B. C., Gu *udži* ;

III. Kampa *oragon* ;

IV. Me, Yaul, Waura *ui*, Pare *ui, uini*, Moxo *churu*, big snake, Sar *uhuvi*, boa.

42. Snake (comp. nos 41, 43).

I. A *mawleru* (§ 180), Boa Cenchria ;

II. Ban *mauaya*, Boa scytale, Si *umauali*, B. s., Ad *umauali*, Boa murina, Uar *auadamali*, B. s., Yav *zorema*, B. s.

III. Kampa *marangua*, Pau *mabūdiri*, B. c.

Karib languages : Oyana *ulamali*, Trio *alamali*, Kaliña *arimouori*, Makusi *palaraima*.

43. Snake ; animal which casts its skin, "renovation" §§ 74 *f*), 168.

I. A *emena-hu*, worm, *imina-ri*, scorpion ;

II. Ban, Yav *omeni*, Maip *umeni* ;

III. Ipu *imini, imina*, Kun *himuna*, Kus *imõna*, Piro *amuini, himane*.

Karib languages **munate*, scorpion.

44. Water-boa, Eunectes murinus (comp. nos. 42, 43).

I. A *kamudu* ;

II. Bare, Kar, Kat *hamu*, Mand *amu*, Pia *manu* ;

III. Ipu *keanti* ;

IV. B *comiti*.

45. Nature-spirit, demon, § 166 *b*) (comp. n°. 41).

I. A *origu*, water-spirit, goddess, G *yarõja*, Par *dyõrgua*, W *urupiru*, mythical great serpent ;

IV. B *yuvire*, Moxo *ereo-no*, evil spirits.

Karib languages **yoroku*, etc., Tupi *yurupari* ; I K *ioulouca*, God.

46. Nature-spirit, demon, 166 *j*) (comp. n°. 42).

I. A *mahui*, I K *mapoya* (I K f *opoyem*, good spirits), P *maipoko*, *yumauali*, W *maatiahi*, (Nourague, Acoqua *maire*, god);

II. Ban *mauari*, Car *maihinauy*, Manao *gamainha*, Pia *oumaouari*, Uir *mapa*, Car, Manao *mauary*, god;

III. Ipu *camyry*, Kampa *camagari*, *camaari*, *tzamari*, Kan *ghamatschy*.

Karib languages: Makusi *emmawari*, *emiwary*, Akawai *imawari*, Paravilhana *maualû*, Taulipang *mauari*; Kaliña *alamali*, serpent-grandfather: god: Mapoyo *maiuca*, Paravilhana *mauarouba*, Tamanaco *amalivaca*.

47. Etherical, § 169.

I. A principle of life, shadow: *ũya*, I K shadow: *(t-)iaoua*, G *juya*, Taino spirit of the living: *goeiz*;

II. spectre, demon: Yuk *hiya*, Bare *iyehe*, Tar *iyei*, Si *ieyeimi*, Kat *iyemi*, Mand *inaui-inaui*; nature-spirits: Kat *piori*, Si *biuli*;

IV. god: Moxo *biiya*.

48. Rainbow (comp. nos. 45—47; in South-America the rainbow is often considered as a manifestation of nature-spirits).

I. A *yawali*, § 166 *i*) 2), I K f *chegue-ti*, G *ka-sipo-rin*, W *kiweir*;

II. Ban *biuali*, Bare *miali seuebini*, Manao *ghenaiy*, Pa *gheseu*, Tar *iyenunite mauali*, Uai *hechpy*, Uar *iuili*, Gu *yihabutanaua*, Ad *heuiya*;

III. Ipu *kiesi*, *inkisi*, Kampa *uye*, Kun *kše*, Kus *kšõ*, Piro *kči*;

IV. Me *iyepe*, Waura *iyãpe*, Moxo *oe*.

Karib languages: Kaliña *palamu*, I K *alamoulou*.

49. Medicine-man, § 74 *d*) 8) *mali*, *mari*, knowledge?

I. W *marinau*, P *yihamuli*: *yihamulu*, medicine-woman;

II. Kar, Mand, Tar *malili*, *mariri*, Ad, Kat, Si *maliri*, Maip *marirri*, Pia *kamalikeri*;

III. Piro *mueraya*, divine, witchcraft;

IV. Pare *otahariti*, *tihanale*.

THE HOUSEHOLD

House, see nos. 116, 117.

49 A. Plantation, field (§ 168 *f*): W *pineari*, newly made).

II. Maip *meni-ti*, Bare *miyu-re*, Ban *miu-li*, Yuk *mena*, Gu *menahi*.

III. Yam *kamini*, to plant.

Hammock, see nº. 148.

50. Cassava grater, § 116 *c*) 2).

I. A *samali*, I K *chimali*, P *timali*, W *tcimari*;

II. Bare *dayama*;

IV. Pare *timare*, Me *imia*, Waura *imya*, Yaul *inya*.

Karib languages: Oyana, Trio *simali*, Makusi *chimiari*.

50 A. Cassava-baking pan, § 67 c).

I. A *budali*, I K *boutalli*, I K f *bourrélet*;

II. Bare *bodari*, Ad, Kat, Si, Tar *poali*, Gu *betali*, Mand *hali*.

50 B. Mortar, § 128 *aA*).

I. A *hako*, W *aku*;

III. Kun *hiha*, *Piro igxa*, Yam *huo*.

51. Rafter, § 104 *g*).

I. A *yurada*, I K *ioulla*;

II. Si *yura*, *yurama*; a long bench, Gu *kalata*;

IV. Me *yulakakati*, Waura *yulakakate*, Yaul, *yula*, *yola*.

52. Boat, § 76 *b*).

I. A *mihu*, ship, I K *meoulou*, pumice-stone, P *omuhu*, boat;

III. Kampa *aho*, ship.

53. Paddle (comp. nos. 25, 26).
I. A *nalihe*, Par *ane-ti*, I K *(ne-)nene*, Taino *nae*;
II. Ban *neyupa*, Bare *neheu*, Cau *denare*, Maip *nau*, Mand, Uai *dena*, Pia *tena*, Yav *nehu*, Gu *meha*; to paddle: Pia *tena*, Ad *dena-ka*, Mand *dena*;
III. to paddle: Piro *aniexare*, Kus *nikate*;
IV. Moxo *naurope*; *nu-nau-co*, I paddle.
54. Bow, §§ 116 c), 76 d), 109.
I. A *simar-abo*, I K f *chimala*, W *sumara-u*, *sumara*;
II. Gu *tshimari*, Pia *lema-po*, *dema-pu*.
Club, see nº. 141.
55. Axe (comp. nº. 134 B).
I. A, W *baru*, G *pore*;
II. Yuk *peru*, Pia *tžipali*;
III. Yam *bari*, *pari*.
56. Fish-hook, § 67 a).
I. A *bodi*, I K f *boute*, Arua *pučare*, P *ipunti*;
II. Ban *bodesi*, *putersi*, Pia *puivi*, Yav *kotezi*, Maip *icuria*, Gu *mbuti*.
57. Hat, § 120 e) 5).
I. A *kwa(w)ma*, G *huomo*, W *kwomai*, *couame*;
II. Gu *koamihi*, Mand *kauarihire*.
58. Comb, § 175 d).
I. A *ballida*, I K f *boulera*;
II. Bare, Kar, Kat *mauida*, Si *mauide*, Gu *maueda*, Mand *mauirita*;
III. Yam *masera*, Kun *mösiri*, Piro *mčiri*, Kus *möširi*;
IV. Ku, Me, Waura, Yaul *palata*, Pare *halata*.
59. Panpipe.
I. A *λeru*, P *elelu*, I K *touromba*, trõpe de bouche, W (Roth) tilele;
II. Kat *peruma*, Si *peluma*, Mand *abedaru*;
IV. Pare *dero*.

NATURE

60. Heaven, high §§ 166 c), 83 a), 71 b) 6).
I. A *aiomun*, I K *inou*, P *ena*;
II. Ban, Bare, Kar, Maip *eno*, Ad, Kat, Mand, Si, Uar, Yav *enu*, Gu *uenu*, Cau *gunuyhary*, Tar *enukoa*;
III. Kau, Kus, Piro *tenu*, Pak *tenu*ᶜ*a*, Ipu *itanotiši*, *itanushiti*, Kampa *geno*, Pau *nama*;
IV. B *ani*, Gua *vanoke*, Ku *enutaku*, Moxo *anumo*, Pare *enukua*, Waura *enunako*, Yaul *onyunako*.
60 A. Day.
I. I K *oubecou*, sky, heaven [also Kaliña (Pelleprat) les nuees, *bécou*];
II. Maip *pecumi*, Ad, Kar, Kat, Si *hekoapi*, Tar *koapi*.
61. Sun, § 134 f).
I. (A *kalime*, light, glory, to be bright, to shine), At, P *kamoi*, Map *kamu*, W *gamu*;
II. Ban *amoži*, Bare *gamu*, *gamoho*, Car *ghamuy*, Gu *gamuhu*, Ad, Kar, Gat, Manao, Pia, Mar, Si *gamui*, Mand, Uar *kamoi*, Uai *gamuhi*, Uir *camoe*, Yav *kamozi*, Yuk *kamu*, Maip *camo-ti*, Year;
III. Ar *ghuma*, M *kumetu*, Yam *mahi*;
IV. Ku *kami*, Me, Waura *kame*, Pare *kamai*, Sar *kahame*.
62. a) Moon, b) Sun, § 134 f).
I. a) A *kači*, I K f *cati*, At *kaishe*, G *kashi*, Par *keitschare*, Map *kirsu*, P *kairi*, W *gaere*, *kaere*;
b) I K f *cachi*, G *kai*, Par *kei-kei*;

II. a) Car *ghaizy*, Cau *ghezy*, Maip *chejapi*, Pa *ghischy*, Am *kede*, Bare *ki*, Manao *ghairy*, Mar *gheery*, Ad, Pia, Tar, Si, Uar, Yav, Yuk, Kar, Kat, Kau, Mand *keri*, Uai *gähri*, Uar *querli*, Ad, Yav *queri*, Pareni *keri*, Gu *keuali*;
b) Tar *keri*, Pia, Kau *eri*, Maip *chie*, Am *keybin*;
III. a) Ipu *kasiri*, Piro *kačiri*, *kus*, *kserö*, Kampa *caçhiri*, Ar *kairy*, In *kaire*, Kun *ksörö*;
b) In *tukuati*, Pak *xukati*, Piro *kaši*, Kan *ghasiry*, Kus *tökači*, Kampa *quienti*;
IV. a) Gua *koχeee*, Moxo *cohe*, Pare *kagö*, Sar *kače*, Ku, Waura *keri*, Meh *kerzi*, Pai *kejere*;
b) Gua *kaiše*.

63. a) Star, b) Pleiades, § 125 *d*).
I. a) A *wiwa*, (Sm.) *wijua*, Map *wishi*, W *wir*;
b) A (Sm.) *wijua*, W *wiñau*, G *igua*;
II. a) Am *wine*, Ban *hiwiri uiminali*, Bare *uinati*, Ad, Kar *hiwiri*, Kat, Si *hiuisi*, Gu *yuwinti*, Mand *euine*, Tar *uisune*, Uar *iuiri*, Yav *uine*, Yuk *hiuiri*, Mar *ipitze*, Cau *pirita*, Uai *ibihitschi*, Si *upitsi* (part of Orion);
b) Car *eounaua*, Manao *ynau*, Uar *iuine*, Uai *hypitsche*, Gu *yewente*;
III. a) Pau *buiri*, Piro *piri*;
b) Ipu *uminaua*, Kan *putachy*;
IV. a) Yau *uitsitsi*;
b) Gua *ovā*.

64. a) Star, b) Pleiades.
I. a) G *siliguala*, *siruara*, *shuru*, At *watsieirhe*, W *aikaer*;
b) P *kusupui*;
II. a) Maip *urrupu*, Kau *uirugo*, Pia *duruputa*, *nuluputa*;
b) Kar *oariperi*, Kat *oaliperu*, Si *oaliperi*, Tar *oalipeda*, Pa *pulay*;
III. a) Ar *ymiru*, Ipu *yuyryky*, Kampa *impuquiro*, Kan *tschy*, Piro *siri*;
b) Kan *nuchiry*, *sele*;
IV. a) Gua *šipere*, Moxo *hara-iriqui*;
b) Moxo *chuzi*.

64 A. Venus, morning-star, evening-star (*oa-ri* = great, § 121 ?).
I. A (Pen.) *iarowia*, I K *ouainamala*;
II. Kar *oariua*, Si *oaliua*, Tar *halianita*, Ad *ualiua*, star.

65. Fire, § 112 c).
I. A *ikihi*, At *tegherre*, G *sigui*, Map *tshikasi hikesia*, P *tiketi*, Par *guiei*, W *ikeire*;
II. Cau *ickiö*, Gu *tšeke*, Ip *tiye*, Ja *ikagi*, Kar, Kat, Si *tidze*, Maip *catti*, Pareni *kasi*, Mar *ytschepa*, Pa *heghüe*, Pia *kidžei*, Tar *tšiaua*, Uar *ixside*, Uai *itschipa*, Uir *jixe*, Yuk *tsia*, Ad *tidge*, *dzidze*, Mand *tžide*;
III. Ar *yghe*, Piro, Man *čiči*, In, Kun, Kus *titi*, Kampa *chichi*, *yrisy*;
IV. B *yaki*, Gua *iuku*, Chane, Moxo *yucu*, Sar *tikiahi*, Pai *chaki*.

66 A. Ash, § 116 *b*) 1).
I. A *bališi*, I K *ballichi*, G *pari*, W *parite*;
II. Ban *palitzi*, Bare *baritzi*, Gu *balidi*, Kar *pali*, Kat, Pia *bali*, Kau *pari*, Mand *hali*, Si *paliate*, Tar *paliaua*, Gu *mbalidi*;
III. Piro *čiči-paxi* (= fire-dust).

67. Wind, § 121 c) 5).
I. A *auaduli*, At *awarre*, G *suguaru*, W *auale*;
II. Ad *kaualere*, Pia *kauli*, Uir *maua*, Gu *hauidži*, Bare *hauisi*; storm : Kat *kaualere*, Si *kaualeri*, Tar *kaleru*, Yuk *karena*;
III. Ipu *ketaoliri*, *cataware*, Kus *hanate*, *kanipöari*;
IV. Gua *onauoti*, Pare *kahula*, Sar *kavihiena*, Mucoxeone *kavirian*, Pai *ovira*.

Rain, see n°. 151.
Rainbow, see n°. 48.

68. Water, § 125 *a*).
I. A *oini*, *wuin*, At *win*, *wuan*, G *güin*, Map *win*, *wune*, P *une*, *uni*, W *uene*, *wuane*;

II. Ban, Maip, Yav *ueni*, Bare, Gu, Kar, Mand, Uar *oni*, Ad, Ip, Ja, Ca, Kat, Kau, Pia, Si,Tar, Yuk *uni*, Manao *unũa*, Ju *uhũ*, *uy*, Pa *oy*, Cau *auuwi*, *ouy*, Uir *uune*, Uai *auny*, *oohni*;

III. Ar, In *uni*, Kan *weny*, Kampa *niya*, Ipu *wyny* (river), Marauha *uny*, Kun, Kus, Piro *une*, Man *huni*, Pau *waini* (river):

IV. B *ine*, Gua, Ku, Me, Pare *one*, Chane, Moxo, Sar, Waura *une*, Pai *ina*, Yaul *u*.

69. Lake, lagoon, § 107 *b*) 3).

I. A *kiraha*; *kulisa*; pool, W *kerice*;

II. Bare *kariahabuku*, Ban *cauiya*, Car *ghabitscha*, Ju *carica*, Kat *galidza*, Maip *cavia*, Manao *ghaliau*, Mand *kalisa*, Pia *caritsa*, Pa *ghaiya*, Ad *kalita*, Si *galita*, Tar *kalitsanei*, Uar *cauiya*, Yav *cabiya*, Yuk *karisa*, Gu *kaliha*;

III. Kampa *ingasane*;

IV. B *chaki*, Moxo *caquiure*.

70. Sea, § 107 *b*) 6).

I. A *bara*, G, Par *para*, P *palawa*, W *paranabauk*, I K *balanna*, Taino *bagua*;

II. Maip *parana*; *parrava*, Orinoco, Pia *barawa*, Orinoco.

71. Island, § 100.

I. A *kairi*, I K f *acaera*, Pal *kaiwuripra*;

II. Kat, Tar, Kar *keueri*, Si *keuereši*;

IV. Pare *kahihuruhe*.

72. *a*) Haven, § 128 *c*), *b*) Island.

I. *a*) A *akodona-li*;

II. *b*) Ban, Mand *kadonori*, Ad *kadonuli*, Bare *kadonoli*, Uar *katonoli*, Yav *catonori*.

73. Earth (comp. n°. 75).

II. Cau *oipo*, Maip *peni*, Mar *ypai*, Uai *ypay*, Ad *hipey*;

III. Ipu *kybachi*, Kus *kašpa*;

IV. B *pay*, Moxo *payre*.

74. Mountain (comp. n°. 75).

I. G *urapa*;

II. Ban *yapa*, Bare *siaba*, Kar *hidžapa*, Ad, Kat, Si *hidzapa*, Mand *idaha*, Pia *iba*, Maip *japa*, Tar *ixiapa*, Yav *auabo*, Guipunave *dapa*, Cavere *sciapa*, Gu *tsapa*.

75. Rock, stone, § 116 *a*) 3).

I. A *siba*, G *ipa*, P *tipa*, W *keba*, *kuib*, Taino *ziba*;

II. Ban, Kar, Yuk *hipa*, *ipa*, Bare *diba*, *tiba*, Car *ghũpai*, Gu *žiba*, Cau *pahla*, Ad *hipada*, Kat *hipade*, Ja *iba*, Ju *zepa*, Maip *chipa*, Manao *ghũa*, Pia *hiba*, Mand *siba*, Si, Tar *hipata*, Uar *ipa*, Uir *cuiba*, Yav *siba*, Mand *iha*;

III. Ipu *kai*, M *ghoeba*;

IV. Gua *marihipa*, Me Waura *tepa*, Yaul *teba*, (Moxo *mari*), Sar *ehexa*.

76. Forest, § 127 *e*).

I. A *kunnuku*, W *kanoku*;

II. Pa *uakaluga*;

IV. Pare *koluhu*.

76 A. Road, (comp. n°. 5).

I. A *abonaha*, P *aheni*, W *dinap* [A *inabo* (to follow) behind];

II. Bare *dinabu*, Ban *tanepo*, Yav *daneho*, Uar *anipu*, Kar *enipu*, Kat, Si, Tar *inipu*, Yuk *hiiepu*, Mand *enuhu*, Maip *anepu*, Ad *anipo*, Gu *tenabo*, Pia *ayapu*;

III. Kun *hatõnõ*;

IV. Moxo *achene*.

ANIMALS

76 B. Animal, § 129 *b*) 2).

I. A *kuta*;

II. Maip *queti*.

77. Howling monkey, § 124 *b*).
I. A *ittuli*;
II. Gu *dželeuc*;
III. M *yturu*;
IV. B *iyore*, Gua *toχoro*, Ku, Me Waura, Yaul *kapulu*, Moxo *iyo*, mono pardo.
78. Monkey (one or more species).
I. A 1°. *fudi*, 2°. *kaboaši*, Arua *puat*;
II. Ban *poatsi*, Cau *pauay*, Ad, Kar, Si, Tar *pue*, Kat *bue*, Mar *puzero*, Pa *poehe*, Pia *pouoi*, Uar *poe*, Yav *juatzi*, *püache*;
III. M *poete*, Kus *pöseri*.
79. Bat.
I. A *buhiri*, I K *bouliri*, G *posichi*;
II. Ad, Kar, Si *pitiri*, Kat *pitseri*, Tar, Uar *pitsiri*, Mand *hižiri*, Yuk *pisiri*, Gu *mbesaue*;
III. Kampa *pigiri*, Ip *šiepiri*, *šiu*;
IV. B *huitere*, Gua *viteete*, Moxo *bite*.
Karib languages **rere*.
80. Jaguar, § 183.
I. A *kabadaro*, G *kanapur*;
II. Kat *kadanane*, Uar *kabanaro*.
81. Dog, savanah-dog, fox.
I. A *ualiro*, I K *anli*, G *er*, *guariz*, Par *ieri*, At *din*, Taino *aon*, At *walir*, W *anir*,
II. Ach, Maip *auri*, Kau *šani*, Mar *ynary*, Pia *aouri*, Ban, Bare, Si, Tar *tšino*, Kar *džino*, Ad, Kat *tsinu*, Mand *tžinu*, Uar *tšinu*, Gu *yunali*, Ach *isarito*;
III. M *nira*.
82. Otter (= water-fruit? nos. 68, 118).
II. Ban, Bare *inevi*, Uar, Yav *neiui*, Kat, Si, Tar *hieui*, Yuk *hi(n)yeui*, Maip *nevi* Mand *neibi*, *ineui*, Pia *yeui*;
III. Ipu *ene*;
IV. Me *uveze*, Pare *inaue*, Gua *everetše*.
83. Rat, mouse, § 129 c) 3).
I. A *kuli*, I K *couli*, W *kori*, *kari*;
II. Gu *kusitiu*;
III. Piro *kuči*;
IV. B *cajachi*, mouse, Chane *covo*, Moxo *coza*, Mucoxeone *kosio*, Pai *kusa*, Paunaka *koso*.
84. Agouti, Dasyprocta, § 129 c) 3).
I. A *pukuleru*, I K *picouli*, Map *tukula*, P *bukutru*;
II. Ban *uayuru*, *picouroua*, Bare *guayuru* Cau *giahoui*, Pia *piži*, Ad *pidzi*, Mand *hiži*, Ju *puütschi*, Pa *poützy*, Uai *pihtzi*, Jav *guaioto*, Gu *uayulumidž*
III. Kun *pehiyöri*, Kus *peširi*, Piro *pehiri*, *pexiri*;
IV. Me *pekirži*, *peköžo*, Waura *peköorži*, Yaul *pikiri*, B *piri*.
Karib languages **akuri*.
Tupi languages **akuti*.
85. Paca, Coelogenis Paca, § 69 *b*).
I. A *laba*, G *pañia*, Map *caba*;
II. Ban *liapa*, Bare *yaba*, Ad, Kar, Pia *dapa*, Kat, Si, Tar *(n)dapa*, Uar *bapa* Uai *tahpa*, Pa *lapa*, Yav *iafa*, Mand *daha*.
Tupi languages **paka*.
86. Capybara, Hydrochoerus capybara.
I. A *kibiole*, *kibiwapa*, G *shikuire*;
II. Bare *kxihuiri*, *siwiri*, Pia *džiwiri*, Cau *geha*, Ju *gãho*, Ad, Kar *ketu*, Kat *ketsu* Mand, Uar *kesu*, Yuk *k(i)esu*, Manao *kiu*, Uai *gesso*, Gu *keyu*;
III. Piro *ipeti*, Kan *hypetu*, Kampa *ibeto*;

IV. Gua *evakatšu*, Me, Waura *ipichũ*, Moxo *uchu*, Pare *oli*, Sar *huhuri*, Yaul *iruti*.
Tupi languages **kapiwara*.

87. Armadillo.

I. A *yesi*, Arua *yudu*;

II. Ach *che*, Ban *uetsi*, Ju *yetu*, Kar *(t)se*, Maip *see*, Mar *tschee*, Pa *yetu*, Pia *tse*, Tar *iye*, Yav *tzeh*, *sece*, Yuk *yee*;

III. M *yeschy*, Ipu *išiuati*, Kun, Kus *kšiwana*.

Karib languages **kapaši*.

88. Tapir, § 134 *f*) 3).

I. A *kama*, G, Par *ama*, horse;

II. Ach *emayenesi*, Ban, Kau, Mand, Pia, Uar, *ema*, Ad, Kar, Kat, Si, Tar, Yuk *hema*, Bare *tema*, Ju, Gu, Mar *zema*, Pa *sehma*, Uai *aehma*, Uir *cama*, Yav *kema*;

III. In *xama*, Ipu *kiama*, Kampa *quimalo*, Kun *hyema*, Kus *hyema*, *šema*, Man *čema*, M *gama*, Pak *sama*, Pau *dama*, Piro *xiema*, *siema*;

IV. Gua *mąyane-kamo*, Ku, Me, Waura *tãme*, Yaul *tsãma*.

Karib languages **mašipuri*.

Tapir, see N⁰. 142.

89. Bush hog, peccary, Taitetu, Dicotyles torquatus.

I. A *matula*, Arua *urumaru*;

II. Ach *chamu*, Ban *tsoara*, *soara*, Bare Mand, *arua*, Gu *inarra* (D. lab.), Ca *samouri* (D. lab.), Kar *samoliti*, *soara*, Ad *dzamulitu*, Kat *tsamulitu*, Pia *dzamu*, Tar *yamulitu*, Si *samoliti*;

III. In, Piro *meriči*, Ipu, Kus *meriti*, Kan *merity*, Kun *möriti*, M *arua* (D. lap.), Pau *myrycy*;

IV. Moxo *simoru*, Sar *imiaxare*, B *simori*.

90. Bush hog, taiasu, Dicotyles labiatus, § 65 *b*).

I. A *abũya*;

II. Bare, Uar *abida*, Maip, Tar *apia*, Kar *apitša*, Cau *putzya*, Ju *apuya*, Mar *apytza* (Dic. torq.), Pa *abaeghua*, Ad, Mand *apija*, *ahida*, Uai *hapychtsche*, Uir *abiaxe*, Ad, Pia *apidza*, Si *apitsa*, Yav *ahiya*;

III. Marauha *abia* (D. torq.), In *irari*, Kun *iyarõ*, Piro *xihari*, *ilavi*, Kus *ialõ*, Ipu *irari*.

Karib languages **puinike*.

91. Bird, § 129 a) 2).

I. A *kodibiyu*, I K f *oulibignon*, *oulibignum*, G *uchi*, P *kuhipra*;

II. Ban *udsipie*, Pia *madzibe*, *couipira*, Ad *tepira*, *kepiren*, Yav *kotsiheasi*, Cau *uipiza-hinabe*, feather (bird-arm), Gu *kuripiu*;

III. Marauha *ghimpu*, Piro *kušiči*, *kusiči*, Kus *kušiči*, *kušiti*, little birds;

IV. Gua *šoopeno*, *dyaopeno*.

Karib languages **tukuži*, humming-bird, colibri.

Bird's nest, see n⁰. 111c.

92. Humming-bird, colibri, § 58 *d*) 2).

I. A *bimiti*, G *chumuchau*, W *pimud*;

II. Ad, Kat, Si, Tar *pimi*, Gu *humidi*, Mand *bumidi*, Pia *zipi*.

93. Pigeon, § 125 *e*).

I. A *wiru*, P *wirusi*;

III. Kampa *çhiro*;

IV. Moxo *siriu*.

94. Powis, curassow bird, Crax *a*) not specified, *b*) C. globulosa, *c*) C. tuberosa, *d*) C. Urumutum.

I. *a*) A *hiči*, G *ishu*;

II. *a*) Kar *koitsi*, Kat *kuit(s)i*, Manao *uiu*, Pia *kuizi*, Ad *kuidzi*, Mand *kuiži*, *Si*, Tar *kuitsi*, Uar *kuisi*, Uir *itite*, Yuk *kusi*, Yav *zoita*, *itiri*;

b) Cau *ghozy*, Ju *koezy*, Mar *ghuitze*, Pa *ghotsue*, Uai *ghuikzy*;

c) Cau *pinozy*, Ju *poyory*, Mar *pytyaka*, Pa *pũyury*, Uai *pytschaga*;

d) Cau *nazyŕy*, Kat *itseri*, Mar *auziry*, Pa *agho*, Si *itsiri*, Tar *yatširi*, Uai *uzyry*;
III. a) M *piury*, Pan *piyung*, Piro *kiuli*, *kiunti*;
c) Kan *piury*, Ipu *payuri*, Kus *kiurö*;
IV. a) Sar *uruxu*.
Karib languages a) **pahuiči*.
95. Duck, § 69*b*).
I. A *ipa*, *ifa*, W *bai*;
III. In *xupai*, Ipu *opai*, Kun *upši*, Piro *upči*, Kus *opši*;
IV. B *ipahi*, Gua *pazi*, *pohahi*, Moxo *upohi*, Yaul *upuelyu*, Waura *upi*, Sar *oxaču*
Karib languages **rapono*.
96. Tortoise (one or more species), § 129 c) 2)
I. A *hikuli*;
II. Ju *yko*, Kat, Pia, Si, Tar *ikuli*, Kar *icurli*, Maip *curita*, Uar *exkuli*, Uir *ocolle*, Yav *curia*, Gu *kulimalu*, Mand *kulimaru*;
III. M *ykury*, Piro *krũa*;
IV. Pare *ikore*, Sar *kore-zahuaku*, Gua *yukeelu*.
Karib languages **kuriža*.
97. Tortoise (one or more species).
II. Ban *puri*, Bare *tibuli*, Yav *sifori*;
III. Ipu *sempiri*, In *piri*, Piro *sipree*, Kus *sepörö*;
IV. Me, Waura *ipiu*, Gua *ovoe*.
98. Alligator, § 134 *h*).
I. A *kaikuči*, G *kaiushi*, Par *keibih*, Taino *caiman*;
II. Kat *gatsiri*, Mar *ghatschury*, Pia *katsuiri*, Ad, Si *katsiri*, Mand *kadiri*, Tar *katširi*, Uai *gatschaery*, Uar *katuili*, Yav *katsohiti*, Gu *kaimana*;
III. Ipu, *cayukyry*, Kan, Kun *šiušery*, Pau *kasei*, Piro *'coyušeri*, *čioxe*, Kus *k'iuyörö*;
IV. B *cahire*, Moxo *cahiure*, Ku, Me, Waura, Yaul *yaka*, Pare *iuwakare*.
Tupi languages **jakare*.
Karib languages **aribe*.
99. Lizard (one or more species).
I. A *lobu*;
II. Kar *dopu*, Kat *(n)do(u)pu*, Mand *doojo*, Tar *(n)dupu*, Uar *bopo*, Yuk *lupu*, Ad *doku*;
IV. Pare *dohi*, *zohi*, Sar *zooxo*.
100. Toad (sound-imitation?).
I. A *siberu*, P *tipuru*, G *iperüre*;
II. Bare *tibau*, Kar, Si, Tar *hiparu*, Pia *baruta*, Gu *žibau*;
IV. B *sipori*, Moxo *peru*.
101. Toad (sound-imitation).
II. Ban, Uar, Yav *tororo*, Mand *tora*, Gu *tukuro*: frog;
III. Kun, Kus *turuyöri*, Piro *toloxiri*;
IV. Sar *katorore*, Gua *turumo*.
Karib languages **poreru*.
Tupi languages **kururu*.
102. Fish, § 76*b*).
I. A *himi*, *hime*, G *jime*, *jima*, P *ima*;
II. Ban *šimehe*, Maip *timachi*, Yav *simasi*, *jimaa*;
III. Kampa *çhima*, *gima*, Kan *schima*, M *eme*, Piro *čima*, Ipu *shimaki*, Kus *ˇima*;
IV. B, Moxo *himo*.
103. Fish, § 69*b*).
I. W *kopai*;
II. Bare *kobati*, Kar, Uar *gope*, Kat *gupe*, Pa *kouhoby*, Pia *kubai*, Si *kupe*, Tar *kope*, Gu *kadžepe*;
IV. Me *kupa*, Pare *kohasa*, Sar *koxahe*, Yaul *kubati*.

104. Perai, piranha, Serrasalmo (comp. n⁰. 102).

I. A *(h)uma*, P *umayane*;

II. Ban *paruma*, Bare *baumehe*, Cau *pohma*, Jum *oma*, Kar *omai*, Ad, Kat, Mand, Pia, Si *umai*, Mar *ypuma*, Pa *auma*, Tar *ume*, Uai *ygpuma*, Uar *ome*, Yuk *mai*, Gu *umahe*;

III. Kan *humah*, Kun *uma*, *huma*, M *sebicama*, Kus, Yam *uma*.

Karib languages **poune*.

105. Honey, § 134 *d*) 2).

I. A *maba*, I K *mamba*, G *mapa*, W *mala*, bee;

II. Ach, Ban, Bare, Gu, Kar, *maba*, Ad, Kat, Maip, Si, Tar *mapa*, Uar *maba*, bee, Yuk *mapa*, bee, Mand, Yav *maha*;

III. Ipu *mapa*, bee;

IV. Gua, Yaul *mapa*, bee, Moxo *mopo*, bee, Para *maha*, Sar *maxa-hine*.

106. Big ant, Cryptocerus atratus.

I. A *muniru*;

II. Kat, Si, Tar, Uar, Yuk *mane*;

III. Kun, Kus *manahi*, Piro *manaxi*, Yam *yumu*, Pau *manei*.

107. Umbrella ant, Atta cephalotes (perhaps also other species).

I. A *kasisi*, *kuse*, P *kasisi*, W *kacur*;

II. Ban *catsitsi*, Bare *kasisi*, Uar *kazizi*, Gu *kuse*, Maip *cuchi*, Mand *cajita-carero*, Pia *kue*, Yav *cauijitzo*;

III. Ipu *katsepokere*, Kun *katiti*, Piro *isiki*, Kampa *catitori*, Kus *kačiči*;

IV. Moxo *cahisi*, Sar *arihiš*.

107 A. Wasp, § 124 *b*).

I. (A *hanuba*, a small fly that stings, *hayu*, ant that bites painfully);

II. Bare *hani*, Ban, Uar *ani*, Kar, Kat, Si, Tar *aini*, Yuk *hai*, Pia *aini*;

III. Ipu *sane*, Kampa *sani*;

IV. Moxo *hane*, Pare *ani*, Sar *anina*, B *ane*, Mucoxeone *dane*.

Karib languages honey, bee **hyane*.

107 B. Gnat, mosquito (one or more species), § 124 *b*).

I. A *haniju*, I K *aetera*, G *mein*, P *aniyu*, W *demese*, *mistu*;

II. Cau *nhitscho*, Ban *aneio*, Pia *anatsa*, *anoteho*, Maip, Yuk *aniu*, Mand, Uar *anidu*, Ad *ainidzu*, Kar, Si *ainitsu*, Uai *hanitschu*, Jum *ayu*, Pa *alikyu*, Kat *siniru*, Tar *ainiu*, Mand *annido*, Yav *aniio*, Gu *haniyu*;

III. M, Ipu *aniu*, Piro *axiu*, Kun *ahiu*, Kus *aiu*, Pau *pythaŋ*;

IV. Moxo *aniu*, Gua *niu*, Pare *aniotö*, Me, Waura *eyu*, Sar *ahazu*, Mucoxeone *anihure*, B *ini*, *huajai*.

108. White ant, termite, § 129 *f*).

I. A *kumučiri*; white ant-hill, I K *commotiri* (A *maba o-komodi*, honeycomb: in some Karib languages in Guyana **okomo*, wasp);

II. Ban *amara*, Gu *kamada*, Kar *gamare*, Kat, Si *gamara*, Ad, Pia, Tar *kamara* Uar *camara*, Yav *camata*, Yuk *kamarala*, Mand *kana*, Si *gamamota*, white ant-hill;

III. Ipu *kamara*, Pau *dyumah*, Piro *kamala*;

IV. Pare *munuli*.

Worm, grub, see n⁰. 4.

PLANTS

109. Tree, § 89.

I. A *(h)ada*, P *aha*, W *ataman*, wood;

II. Ban *atabi*, Bare, Mand, Uir *ada*, Car *atamina*, Gu *damuna*, Manao, Yav *ata*, Maip *aa*, Mand *innana*, Kau *aha*, Uai *abana*, Ju *auana*;

III. Ar *a-ata*, *aara*, Pau *aua*, Piro *axamuena*, Kun *amuena*, Kus *aõmõna*;

IV. Ku, Me, Pare, Sar, Waura, Yaul *ata*, B *ala-se*, fruit.

110. Tree.

I. W *luakare*, firewood. (A *egura*, root. §§ 124 *a*) 3), 107 *b*) 5)):

II. Ad, Kar, Kat, Si, Tar *haiku*, Mand *ahico*, Pia *ahicu*, Cau *aghozo*, *gazo*, Pia *ahicu*,

III. (Ipu *ecu*, *akotsa*, root, *icaty*, branch, Piro *itski*, root), Kampa *inchato*, *enchoto*, M *uguaschukuna* ;

IV. Moxo *yucuqui*, Gua *tikoti*, B *yokise* firewood.

110 A. Root, § 89.

I. A *duli*, W *ulud*, I K f *role* ;

II. Bare *iduli*, Manao *ataüety*, Ad *eliri* ;

III. Ar *azaly*.

111. *a*) Branch, *b*) Bush, *c*) Bird's nest, § 90 *f*) 4) (comp. nos. 11, 12).

I. *b*) A *tibo-kili* (I K *itibou ouattou*, fire-brand, *itibouri*, hair) ;

c) A *itiboko*, I K *itibouca* ;

II. *a*) Tar *tapu*, riverbranch ;

b) Ban *tauape* Uar *auakapi* Kar *tsakape* ;

c) Si *lie(f)-erupuku* ;

III. *a*) M *batiberu* ;

b) Ipu *itopa* ;

IV. *a*) Moxo *tabo*, branch (of a tree, a river, a path).

Branch, see n⁰. 26.

Bark, see n⁰. 7.

112. Leaf, (tree-)leaf, § 64 *a*) 4).

I. A *banna*, I K *(arou-banna*, G *pana*, P (ru-)*pana* ;

II. Cau *(a-)banna*, Kat, Si, Tar *panape*, Manao *(ata-)ana*, Mand *(a-)nape*, *(aha-)nahe*, Mar *(aa-)pana*, Pa *(a-)panama*, Pia *(a-)bana*, Uai *(apana-)pahna*, Ad, Uar *(a-)panape*, Yuk *(hauana-)pana*, Gu *(da-)bana* ;

III. Ar *(atu-)puena*, Kampa *(chi-)pana*, Kan *(sa-)pahna*, Pau *(aua-)φani*, Yam *(a-)φani* ;

IV. B *epone*, Ku, Me, Waura, Yaul *pana*, Sar *(ata-)xana*.

113. Liver, § 64 *a*) 4).

I. A, I K *bana*, G *pana*, W *k-uba* ;

II. Ban *pane*, Bare *kabale*, Kat *ẑupana*, Tar *inape*, Uar *toapaini*, Gu *yewana* ;

III. Kun *upana*, Piro *xupuna* ;

IV. B *perana*, *eperrena*, Gua *apakana*, Moxo *(ta)upono*.

114. Nail, § 64 *a*) 4).

I. A *bada*, I K *bara*, At *pari*, G *patau*, W *bare*, P *kinwirara*, *kipurara* ;

II. Bare *eba*, *apa*, Uir *bi-bata*, Car *pata*, Ju *pa*, Yuk *fino*, Pa *sopah*, Cau *paha*, Gu *abauidya*, Pia *ba*, Mand *ha* ;

III. M *para*, Ar *(ni-)kpia*, Kan *seoata*, Piro *sabata*, *seuata*, Ip *çawata*, Kus *sewata* ;

IV. Moxo *hipoño*, Ku *patata*, Me *hupatata*, Waura *huparata*, Yaul *barata*, Gua *dsibo* Sar *xauti*, B *tipo*.

115. Hair, § 64 *a*) 4).

I. A *bara*, I K f *iti-bouri*, head-hair, G, Par *walla* ;

II. Ban *dzi-banna*, head-hair, Ip *(niu-)detsi-pa*, do., Kar *(no-)sito-pe*, do.

116. House, § 130 e) (comp. n⁰. 112).

I. A *bawhu*, G *pia*, Taino *bohio*, *boi*, *boa* ;

II. Ju *bahû* ;

III. Yam *yobã* ; *baiã*, village ;

IV. Me, Ku, Pare *pai*, Sar *ahi*, Paunaka *ovia*.

117. House (comp. n⁰. 112).

I. I K *banna*, *bonoco*, G *pinche*, P *pinhu*, *pina* ;

II. Ban *panîsi*, Bare *pani*, Cau *bagnõ*, *painyoe*, Gu *bani*, Ju, Uai *pana*, Kau *paneti*, Ad, Kar, Kat, Si *panti*, Maip *paniti*, Mar *panizy*, Pa *pahna*, Tar *panisi*, Uar *panizi*, Yav *hanizi*, Mand *hanîzi*, Yuk *pasi* ;

III. Kampa *pango-chi, bango*, Kan *panitschy*, Kun, Kus *panti*, Piro *panči*;
IV. Gua *peti*, Moxo *peti, peno*, Waura *pune*.
118. *a*) Flower; *b*) Fruit, (tree-) fruit, § 125 *c*) 1).
I. *b*) A *iwi*, I K *(huehue)im*, P *(ra-)riwi*;
II. *a*) Kar, Kat, Mand, Tar, Yuk *iui*, Maip *ivi*, Si *iui, yivi*, Manao *iby*, Bare *hiwi*, Gu *hibiukuži*, Pia *iwina*, Ad *eliui*;
III. *a*) Kus *iawö*, Piro *ka-xuere*, Kun *ka-huwiri*;
b) Piro *exi-n-exi*, Kus *čowayi*.
119. Seed, § 116 *b*) 1).
I. A *isi*, G *sö*;
II. Kar, Si *iši*;
III. maize: In *is*, Kan *schi-schy*, Kun *čihi*, Piro *šxi*;
IV. B *se, ese-ki*, Sar *ehe*, Pare *esö*.
Juice, see n⁰. 2.
119 A. Bignonia chica, red paint, § 135 *d*) 1) VII).
I. A *karraūru*;
II. Bare *kiaui*, Kat *karauitu*, Tar *keraweyu*, Uar *kilauiru*, Maip *chirraviri*, Gu *kayali*.
120. Cassava (§ 170 *c*)).
I. A *kalli*; *kanneki-ddi*, Cassabistöcke, § 83 *a*), I K f *canhim*, Map *kase*, P *kineri*, W *kanir, kanen*, Arua *kait*, G *aik, aii*;
II. Ach *quenirro*, sweet cassava, Ban *ašihi*, Bare *kaniti*, Gu *kani*, Ju *ghey*, Ad, Kar, Kat, Si, Tar *kaini*, Kau *kanyi*, sweet cassava, Maip *cattichi*, Mand *cajinaji, chachi*, Manao *ghanury*, Pa *ghanya*, Pia *kaini, caina*, Uai *ghany*, Uar *ka(x)ni*, Uir *calli*, Yav *cafesi*, Yuk *gahiru*;
III. Ipu *komiri, kumūrū*, Kampa *caniri, cañari*, Kan *ghanury, ghunury*, Piro *ximeka*, In *kemeka*, Kun *kande*, Kus *kandö, komiri*;
IV. B *cajapa*, Me, Waura *mukura*, Pare *ketoso*, Sar *ketehe*.
Karib languages **kišere*.
121. Cotton, § 121 *c*) 10).
I. A *yahu*;
II. Ban *ahuali*, Bare *huakaoari*, Ca *saouari*, Kar *kauarie*, Ad, Kat *tauali*, Mand *cauarli*, Pia *fawali, saouari*, Tar *tsauali*, Gu *kanalidži*;
III. Kun *wapöhö*, Pak *apau*, Piro *goxapuxe*, Kus *wopö, wapeh*;
IV. B *cajahuare, cohobore*, Moxo *cohore*, Pare, Sar *konohe*, Ku, Me, Waura *ayupe*, Yaul *aliupö, ayupö*.
Karib languages **atakuare*.
Tupi languages **amandyu-b*.
121 A. Genipa americana, black paint.
I. A *lana*, I K f *chaoua*;
II. Si *tana*;
III. Yam *ora*, Kampa *ana*;
IV. Pare *dana*.
122. Maize, § 116 *b*) 1).
I. A *mariši*, I K f *marichi*, G, Map *mariki*, P *mahiki*, Par *mai*, W *marique*, Taino *mahiz, maysi*;
II. Bare *mai, makanasi*, Ban *makanatsi*, Mand *makanaži*, Kar *makanadži*, Uar *makanasi*, Maip *jomuchi*, Ad, Tar, Ach, Yav *kana*, Yuk *kane*, Kat *gama*, Si *kama*, Pia *kanai*;
III. Ipu *kiema, kimy*, Yam *kemi*;
IV. Ku, Me, Waura, Yaul *maiki*.
Karib languages **ašina^c i*.
Tupi languages **abati*.
123. Ite (muriti) palm, Mauritia flexuosa (comp. § 90 *f*)).
I. A *itte*, P *isawi*, W *duer, yure*;

II. Ban *teui*, Bare *izehui*, Kar *iteuina*, Kat, Pia *ideui*, Ad, Mand, Si, Uar *iteui*, Tar *teuira*, *teuida*, Yav *tehui*, *tegui*, Yuk *hiteui* ;

III. Kun *yende*, Kus *hyinde* ;

IV. Pare *isoe*.

Tupi *miriti*.

124. Manicole (assai) palm, Euterpe oleracea, § 74 e) 2).

I. A *manaka* ;

II. Ban *manaha*, Bare, Gu, Kar, Mand, Tar, Uar *manaka*, Ad, Kat, Si *manake*, Pia *manakei*, Yuk *manakala* ;

III. Kus *yušiköl(r)ö*.

124 A. Papaya, Carica Papaya, § 69 *b*).

I. A *papaya*, I K *ababai*, G *papaya*, P *papayu*, W *mapaye* ;

II. Gu, Mand, Maip, Pia *mapaya*, Ad *mabaya* ;

III. Kun *kapayu*, Piro *kapayo* ;

IV. Gua *tšapaiu*, Moxo *opopohi*.

125. Paxiuba palm, Iriartea exorrhiza.

I. A *buba* ;

II. Tar *pupa*, Ad, Pia *puba*, Mand *koha*.

Tupi *paxiuba*.

126. Cayenne pepper, Capsicum (comp. to sneeze : Arawak *a-tte-di-*, Kechua *achhi*).

I. A *hači*, I K f *ati*, Arua *at*, G *jashi*, P *atiti*, Taino *axi* ;

II. Ban *tsitsi*, Bare *hadi*, Mand *hati*, Ad, Kar, Si *ati*, Kat *at(s)i*, Maip *ai*, Pia *aasi*, Tar *atši*, Uar *asi*, Yav *atsitsi*, Yuk *haasi*, Gu *adži* Pia *azi* ;

III. Pau *kasi*, Piro *tasso* ;

IV. B *iyeti*, Gua *tati*, Ku, Me, Waura, Yaul *ai*, Moxo *acheti*, Sar *otzotzo*.

Kechua *uchu*, *achi*.

127. Reed, § 112 a).

I. A *hihi*, I K *hipe*, arrow, A *hiwa*, bamboo ;

II. Bare *ixi*, *ihi*, Tar *iua*, bamboo :

IV. Pare *tiua*, B *evise*, bamboo.

128. Sweet potatoe, Ipomoea Batatas, § 126 a).

I. A *halitsi*, G *jaishi*, Map *kasai 'i*, P *kairi*, W *kari*, Taino *hage* ;

II. Bare *gahau*, Gu *kauo*, Mand *kahau*, Kar, Uar *kariri*, Kat *galiri*, Ad *kaliri*, Maip *chei*, Pia *kalidi*, *carirri*, Tar *kalidie*, Yav *kaliti*, Yuk *koayu* ;

III. Ipu *kepare*, Kun *yipari*, Kampa *catzari*, *curiti*, Piro *xipali*, Kus *hipale*, *šipale* ;

IV. Gua *koe*, Moxo *coerepa*, *coere*, Pare *kaye*, Sar *kače*.

129. Tobacco, § 124 a).

I. A *yuli*, I K f *iouli*, G *yülli*, *yüri*, P *airi* ;

II. Ban *eli*, Bare *ali*, Gu *ili* ;

III. Ipu *awiri*, In *airipi*, Kampa *tzeri*, Kun *hiri*, Pau *hädyiri*, Piro *iri* ;

IV. Gua *tchahi*, Moxo *sabara*, Pare *azieho*, Sar *ače*, Yaul *airi*.

130. Tobacco.

I. At *schuma*, W *suma* ;

II. Ban *djeema*, Ca *sema*, Kar *ndzema*, Ad, Kat *dzema*, Maip *jema*, Mand *dzema*, Pia *tsema*, Si *(n)dzema*, Tar, Avane *yema*, Uar *dema*, Yav *shema*, *dyema*, Guipunave *dema*, Cavere *scema*, Gu *nyama* : cigar.

Karib languages **tamu*.

Tupi languages **pety-m-a*.

NUMERALS, INTERJECTIONS, WORDS DENOTING PLACE, ETC.

131. One, § 152.

I. A *aba*, I K *aban*, Map *apaura*, W *baulau*, another ;

II. Ach *abai*, Ad *apekutza*, Ban *peyaro*, Ju *aphülla*, Kar *aapetsa*, Kat *apadatsa*,

Manao *ababy*, another, Pia *aberi*, Pa *apeala*, Si *apaita*, Tar *paita*, Uar *apabasa*, Gu *abaamedža*;

III. Kampa *aparo*;

IV. Ku, Waura, Yaul *paua*, Me *pauitza*, Moxo *opo*, another.

132. *a*) Two, *b*) Half, § 153.

I. *a*) A, I K *biama*, G *biama*, *piama*, P *pitana*, Par *piam*;

b) I K *tibiri*;

II. *a*) Ju *biagma*, Yuk *hiama*, Gu *abiamaka*, Tar *hiamepa*, Si *dzamapa*, Ad *dzamana*, Kat *(n)dzamata*, Kar *ndza(x)me*, Pia *putsaipa*;

b) Bare *ihia*, Kat *bamutsoa*, Tar *pamuyoa*, Yuk *peyo*;

III. *a*) Ar *puyabana*, Ipu *ipi*, Kampa *apite*, Kus *hepi*;

IV. *a*) Ku, Me, Waura *mepiaua*, Moxo *api*, Pare *hinama*.

132 A. Yes, § 109.

I. A *ahe*, *ehe*, I K *hanhan*, G *aa*, P *ye*, *ihe*, W *uh*, *euheu*, *anhan*;

II. Pia *ahae*, *haa*, Bare, Ban *ehe*, *hehe*, Kar *ehe*, Ad *ohu*, Kat *uhu*, Si *oho*, Yuk *he*, Tar *haha-ye*, Mand, Yav *eje*, Ju *aeae*, Gu *hai*;

III. Ip *ei*, Kampa (women) *he*;

IV. Moxo *eé*, Gua *e*, *ēē*.

132 B. *a*) Verb or interjection expressing pain or sorrow, *b*) Pain, §§ 136 *e*) 5), 134 *a*).

I. *a*) A *aka*, I K *cayeu*;

b) A *kari*, I K f *cari*, G *ais*, W *kario*, *kalini*;

II. *a*) Kar *caica*, Maip *cavi*;

b) Uar *keui*, Yav *cauiji*, Ban *cauina*, Mand *cauiri*, Uar *ucuiqueui*, Pia *caoure*, sick;

III. *a*) Kampa *accaia*;

b) Piro *kačindi*, Ipu *catçui*, Kampa *cariba*, a cudgel;

IV. *a*) B *acai*, Moxo *aco*;

b) Moxo *cati*, Gua *karinai-ti*, sick.

132 C. Here, § 45 *b*).

I. A *yaha*, G *yaya*;

II. Si *ayaha*, Ad, Kat *aya*, Tar *ahe*, Gu *auhu*, Pia *tsahei*;

III. Ipu *wai*, Kus *ewi*.

132 D. Yonder, § 45 *b*).

I. A *taha*: far, G *sasa*;

II. Ban *uitaha*, Ad *ayata*, Kat, Si *ataha*, Mand *eteha*, Uar *akada*, *atida*, Yav *te ie*: far, Gu *džuahe*;

III. Piro *tekka*, Kus *tõka*.

COLOURS

132 E. *a*) White, § 126 *a*), *b*) Light, day, § 161 *a*).

I. *a*) A *(h)alira*, I K f *alou-ti*, G *kasutai*, P *seine*;

b) A *alaiti*, a light, *aranaha-i*, *harunaha*, the dayspring;

II. *a*) A *haledali*, Bare *balini*, Ban *aliri*, Kat *haalide*, Si *halaite*, Tar *ahalite*, Uai *ariri*, Uar *aleli*, Yav *ga-halimi*, Yuk *hareni*, Manao *palyhaty*, Pa *sareu*, Cau *jathiri*, Pia *kabaleri*;

III. *a*) Kus *kratarõ*, Ar *ghalikate*, Kampa *quitamaro-ri*;

b) Marauha *ary*;

IV. *a*) Moxo *hapu*;

b) Moxo *hara*.

133. Black, § 135 *b*, *c*).

I. A *karime*, *uelihi*, I K *ouli-ti*, G *guitse*, blue, W *kuli*, blue;

II. Bare *kuli-ni*, blue, Ca *kouride*, Maip *curi-chini*, black, blue (*mari-chini*, white) Pia *curiri*, Yav *koyoni-mi*, blue;

III. Ar *ghuli, kuryhy,* Piro *saxiri,* Kus *ksayirö.*

134. Yellow.

I. A *hae-hae,* P *ayeweye,* I K *houhere-ti;*

II. Ban *t-eua-li,* Ad *euadąli,* Kat *eua-de,* Maip *eva-chini,* Pia *everi,* Si *eua-da-li,* Tar *eua,* Yav *t-eua-mi,* Yuk *heua-ni,* Manao *t-aua-ty.*

III. M *uauy,* white.

VERBS

134 A. To be afflicted, § 29 e).

I. A *amunaiga,* I K f *imonheme;*

II. Mand *uremi-cashi,* Yav *jata iomijina,* Kar *saum-queita;*

III. Piro *amuneuata,* Ipu *amiyanata,* to be sick;

IV. Moxo *miypone-re-reico,* to cause affliction.

134 B. a) To beat, b) To kill, § 69 e).

I. a) A *a-boragi-,* I K f *apara,* W *bairi;*

b) A *a-forri-,* I K f *apara, aparo;*

II. a) Pia *ibalaka;*

III. a) Kampa *patza;*

b) Piro *haxali,* cudgel:

IV. a) B *i-buicho,* Moxo *epucheico;*

b) B *iporocho,* Moxo *co-paraico,* Chane *parapiti,* the river of killing.

134 C. To give birth to a child, § 124 b).

I. A *himeu,* I K f *emeigno;*

II. Bare *meno;*

III. Ipu *emeakore;*

IV. Moxo *imino-co,* Sar *imiae-tsani,* male child.

135. To bury, § 134 c).

I. A *akarata;*

III. Ipu *nekatapiri;*

IV. B, Moxo *ecoro.*

136. To carry, § 79 e) 3).

I. A *aniki-,* I K *annegui;*

II. Pia *enu-li,* Ad *anu-ži,* Mand *anu-lu;*

III. In, Piro *anika,* Ipu *anica,* Kampa *anaque, anaje.*

137. a) To cure, b) Remedy, charm, § 58 d) 2) VI).

I. a) A *ibihidi-;*

b) A *bina;*

II. a) Bare *binada;*

b) Ban *pinaši,* Bare *binihi, abinadani,* Kar *tape,* Kat *uetape,* Maip *epenati,* Si *dape,* Tar *l-itape,* Yav *epinatzi;*

IV. a) Moxo *ca-ipu.*

138. To die, § 122 e) 1).

I. A *a-(h)o-do-,* I K *ahouee,* G *a-utu-,* Par *a-otida,* to slay;

II. Yav *uauioa, uiyua,* Bare *adauikana,* Ban *uyoamiha.*

139. To do, to put, § 78 e) 3).

I. A *ani,* I K *ani-ra,* G *ainy,* to make;

II. Pia *anu,* to give, Uar *aini,* do., Kat *ani,* do., Maip *nua.*

To drink, see n°. 3.

140. Dream, § 174 c).

I. A *toboni,* I K f *toboũi,* G *rapo;*

II. Ban *tabonihi,* Bare *sabonini,* Kar *tapuinke,* Kat *taponika,* Si *hitapune,* Tar *tapuli;*

III. Ipu *pi-tapunawa-tapinawa,* you dreamt;

IV. Moxo *echopu.*

140 A. To eat. § 171 *a*).
I. A *eke*, I K *aica*, G *eka*, Par *aghi*, W *nik* ;
II. Bare *nika*, Pia *yaca* ;
III. Ipu *nica*, Kun *nekane*, Piro *nike* ;
IV. B, Moxo *nico*, Sar *inihiča*, Mucoxeone *nika*, Gua *niige*.
140 B. To be halt, lame, § 129 c) 1).
I. A *ikori*, I K *icou*, W *tukurai* ;
II. Bare *aculrunani* ;
III. Piro *hečuri* ;
IV. Moxo *capuri*.
141. To be heavy, § 129 *e*).
I. A *kudi*, *kudu*, I K *keurre* ;
II. Uar *tokoli*, Bare *dokuni*.
142. Tapir (comp. n⁰. 141).
I. Map, W *kudui* ;
IV. Pare *kote*, *koite*, Sar *kuti*.
143. Club (comp. n⁰. 141).
I. W *couidarou* ;
II. Ad *kudaru*, Mand *kuidaru*, Yuk *kutiua* ;
III. Piro *kakonda*.
143 A. To know, § 133 *a*).
I. A *aici-*, *aditti-*, G *atöj*, W *aitapan* ;
II. Ban *(no-)tze*, Pia *ieouari*, Maip *via* ;
III. Kampa *iute*, *iu* ;
IV. Moxo *itu*, B *ite-ri*.
144. To leave, § 58 c) 2).
I. A *a-iibi-* ;
IV. B *ibio*, Moxo *beo*.
144 A. To make, to create, § 74 *d*) 5).
I. A *a-maliti-* ;
II. Maip *uma*, Uar *(b-)uma-ni*, Bare *(bi-)modasa*, Pia *mani* (?) ;
III. Ipu *cama*, Piro *kamerete*, Kun *kamha*.
145. To plant, § 91.
I. A *abone-*, I K *abona*, G *apunaja*, to sow, W *pauna* ;
IV. B *ipono*, Moxo *bo-co*, to sow.
146. *a*) To be sharp (a knife), *b*) To sharpen, § 74 *e*).
I. *a*) A *ka-mana*, W *dimin* (blunt *mameu*) :
b) A *a-manti-* ;
II. *b*) Ban *n-amenota*, Kat *ke-mina-kane*, Uar *pi-meleta-ni*, Si *ke-manati*, Tar *pi-maneta*, Bare *ki-manada*, Maip *manu-ri*, a *knife* ;
III. *a*) Ipu *ca-nwana* ;
b) Piro *pu-xe-nana-teri*.
147. To sleep, § 174 *a*).
I. A *adunku-*, *adunuki-*, I K *aronca*, Arua *domakale*, G *a-tunku*, P *himaka*, *himeka*, W *dau* ;
II. Am *nu-imaca*, Ban *tsima*, Bare *domakari*, Cau *w-emakya*, Gu *demakaini*, Ju *uymaka*, Kar Pia, Si *imaka*, Kat *imakaua*, Mar *magha*, Manao *uatümaka*, Pa *n-imata*, Si *imaka*, Tar *iemaka*, Uar *imama*, Yav *ua-tsima uera*, Yuk *pi-kiemato*, Ad *manimaka*, Mand *imake* ;
III. Ar *timka*, Ipu *imaca*, Kan *macho-atschy*, Kampa *amaje*, *magaye*, Kus *re-mõka*, M *temeka*, Piro *mka*, Yam *amo-nini* ;
IV. B, Moxo *imo-co*, Gua *hime-ka*, Sar *i-tiemeka*.
148. Hammock. (comp. n⁰. 147).
I. A *hamaka*, G *jamataure*, Par *hamach*, W *ramac*, Taino *amaca* ;

II. Kau *maka*, Maip *amaca*, Pia *hamaca*, *amaka*, Tar, Uai, Yuk *hamaka*, Mand *amakatža*, Uir *amma*, Yav *amaiha*;

IV. Ku, Me, Waura, Yaul *amaka*, Pare *maka*.

(It does not seem at all impossible, that the first European who saw an Indian hammock and asked the name for it, got the answer "to sleep", A. M. **imaka*, and that the word *hamaka*, which is met in a few vocabularies of A. M. languages, is really the creole word. The Arawaks, though they know the word *hamaka*, have also a word of their own for a hammock, § 129 *d*) 2).)

148 A. To be sound, good, § 114 *a*).

I. A *(i)sa*;

II. Maip *so-ni-rri* (*ma-isu-ini*, bad), Yav *yo-nihihi*.

149. (To steal). Thief, § 118 *a*) 1).

I. A *ka-čiki-be-či*;

III. Piro *ka-čunxe-ri*.

149 A. To stink, § 115.

I. A *(h)isi*, I K f *inchi*, G *ke-jushi*, W *depus*;

II. Maip *isi(-che)*;

III. Piro *puse*, Kampa *echte*;

IV. Moxo *heche*.

149 B. *a*) To be true, *b*) To be good, § 48 1).

I. *a*) A *kidua*;

II. *b*) Bare *doali*, Ban *anedoaha*;

149 C. To urinate.

I. A *a-dahaka*, I K f *arago*, W *tatakan*;

II. Ad *dakaka*, Gu *dzzakaini*, Pia *ataiteka*, Mand *adake*: penis;

III. Ipu *tcinaca*;

IV. B *itapa*.

150. To weep, § 91.

I. A *a-ii-*, *a-iya*, I K f *aya*, G *ayara*, *eira*;

II. Ban *yaya-ha*, Bare *ihiya-ni*, Ad *idza-ka*, Kar *itša-ka*, Pia *itse-ka*, Kat, Si *itsa-ka*, Tar *iiha-kanuka*, Mand *ida-ke*, Uar *ida-ka*, Yav *haya*, Yuk *iya*, Gu *aia*;

III. Kampa *irha*, *iraa*, Ipu *chiinta*, Yam *ahini*, wimmern, Kus *čiaata*;

IV. B *iya*, *iyo*, Moxo *iiyo*, Gua *jaho-ti*.

151. Rain (comp. nos 150, 2, 1).

I. I K f *oya*;

II. Bare, Gu *hiya*, Kar *itša*, Kat *ida*, Ad, Si *idza*, Tar *iya*, Uar *ida*, Yav *ziya*.

CHAPTER XX

ORIGINS OF THE ARAWAK LANGUAGE

§ 183. A few words which are in use in most A. M. languages, are not found in Arawak. These are: I, me, A. M. **n(u)-*, Arawak *d(a)-*: man, A. M. **e(s)ina-ri*, A. *loko* (human), *wadili* (male); sun, A. M. **kamu*, A. *(h)adaili*; mountain, A. M. **yapa*, earth, A. M. **ipai*, A. *(h)ororo*; mouth, A. M. **numa*, A. *areroko*: hair, A. M. **(b)itiu*, A. *o-barra*.

The language of the Lesser Antilles, which was closely related to Arawak, and of which important remains have been preserved in Island-Karib, has not undergone these changes. Goajiro and Parauhano have the pronominal prefix *t(a)-* for the first person singular, which evidently is the same as Arawak *d(a)-*.

We surmise that Arawak, which is a very living language, has discarded the old words, because their inner meaning was no longer felt. The economical use of pronouns (§§ 16 [c]), 19) may also be an Arawak innovation.

In a few cases in which an Arawak word may be readily explained from the general principles of the language, the same explanation is not applicable to the corresponding A. M. word. Most often, however, the explanation of the Arawak word also holds good for the A. M. word, and this, with what has been mentioned in § 181, makes it very probable, that in primitive Arawak-Maipure, the vowels and consonants were used with a similar meaning to that which they still have in Arawak.

In their vocabularies the A. M. languages show a wide difference, when compared with each other.

Now, an Arawak word is a description of a few salient features of the thing, and the same thing can also be described by mentioning other features belonging to it. And in this way synonymes may come into use, without there being any deviation from the principles of the language.

In other cases the feeling for the inner value of the parts of a word may have been weakened, and as a consequence decaying influences got a chance to creep in. This has perhaps taken place to a considerable extent in Goajiro and Parauhano, and in Wapisiana.

The language of the Lesser Antilles has assimilated great quantities of foreign (Kaliña, Karib) words, and it is possible that a few more originally A. M. languages have undergone a similar fate. However, the opinion of Max Schmidt (56b, 105) "Ebenso erklärt sich die Verschiedenheit der

Aruak-Dialekte aus einer Verbindung der Aruak-Sprache mit jeweilig verschiedenen anderen Sprachen", goes perhaps a little too far.

Many new words may have come into use, when existing words became tabooed. Concerning the Arawaks, R. (19a Sect. 194, 19b Sect. 881) mentions the following:

"in case of certain animals the Arawak use different names according as they speak of them by day or by night. Thus, during the working hours a jaguar is *aróa*, but when darkness sets in it is *kabadaro* (claws). Similarly, *kamudu*, a boa constrictor, becomes *akkara* (a coil); *yéshi*, an armadillo, is paraphrased into *andajika* (*anda*, close, *tejika*, ear, i.e., ears close together), and so on." And:

"The surest way of offending the Water Spirits, however, and thereby getting caught in a storm, and being capsized, wrecked or drowned by way of punishment, is to utter certain words strictly forbidden under the circumstances. Thus, among the Arawaks of the Pomeroon and Moruca Rivers, there are certain terms which must never be employed when on a boat: they have to be paraphrased. The majority of these tabooed words are evidently of foreign (mostly Spanish) origin: a few are certainly indigenous. Thus, the occupants of a corial will never be heard to use the term *arcabuza* (gun), but they will speak of a gun as *kataroro* (foot, referring to the stock); they talk of *kariro* (the one with the teeth) instead of *perro* (Span., dog); of *kanakara-shiro* (load on the head, the cock's comb) instead of *gai-ina* (Span., *gallina*, fowl); of *akwadoa-kotiro* (round foot) instead of *kawai-yo* (Span., *caballo*, horse); of *kakwaro* (horn) instead of *bakka* (Span., *vaca*, cow); of *tataro* (something hard) instead of *sereri* (grindstone, or saw, probably from Span. *sierra)*; of *majeriki* (the untrimmed one, referring to the hair) instead of *hó-a* (monkey); of *ehedoa* (frothing, brimming over, in reference to its snarling or growling) instead of *aroa* (tiger); of *katau-chi* (the one with wisdom) instead of *semi-chichi* (medicine-man) etc.".

Pen. (17a, I, 45) mentions crab, tortoise, bird, arrow, as forbidden words when one is at sea.

G. An Arawak who is on the tracks of a tapir, calls this animal *kulihi* = rat or mouse; he is convinced that, if he were to pronounce the real name of the tapir, it would then run away.

§ 184. Numerous Arawak words are comparisons and descriptions, several of which may have come into use as paraphrases (§ 183) or nick-names. Examples: G. *šilótoǫo wayurĭ*, a padlock, lit. lock (creole word) [resembling a] tick, R. *baiyari-shiri*, a certain fan-design, lit. sawfish-snout, G. *unábuse*, a certain blindworm, lit. ground-worm, R. (§ 183) *k-ari-ro*, dog, lit. with-tooth-one, *ma-jeriki*, monkey, lit. un-trimmed.

All these expressions contain a root which is a word in itself.

(H)ala, an Indian seat or bench, also designates a characteristic quality of the thing, viz. "movable", but in order to express this quality, the Arawak

resorts to making an imitative gesture with the organs of speech. The loose or free movement of the tongue (the loose or free part of the organs of speech) which causes the *l* sound to be produced, is consistently used to indicate the principle : willing (and able) to move, loose.

In this case there is a direct correspondence between (1⁰. the thing), 2⁰. the mental (emotional) image, 3⁰. the "gesture" of the organs of speech, (4⁰. the sound).

A still more intimate connection may perhaps be seen in the root *le*, talking, occurring in the words Sm. *a-leledü-*, durch einander plaudern, G. *lólŏ-ka adia-hü*, he contradicts, S. *a-llepeikattoa*, Sm. *a-lllepekattoa*, angeben, verklagen, verklatschen, in gutem und bösem Sinne, es sei wahr oder falsch. S. *ue-llerukku*, B. *areroko*, *ireroko*, mouth (*roko*, fixed place), a rather new word, § 183 ! B. *lihi k-areroko-ci*, this babbler, G. *tata lŏ-léroko*, he is impertinent.

In a similar way the act itself is imitated in the roots of the words G. *da-thúnda*, I cough, *da-čida*, I sneeze *da-ĕerådoa-ka*, I yawn, *da-raráida*, I belch, *d-iwiwida-ka da-leroko abu*, I whistle (with my mouth), *a-thethédi-n*, to whisper, to whisper in the ear (*a-tekeda*, to advise), *hatáta-ŋ*, to stammer (comp. also § 109, *hata*, to stick fast), *hŏkŏküli-šia de*, I hiccup (*hadülikülišia dẹ*, I have an eructation), Sm. *a-hüküdü-n*, to clear one's throat.

Sometimes it seems as if the sound results from pointing out the representative part of the organs of speech ; this may be the case in A. M. **enene*, tongue, and in *ana (-ka, -ku)*, the midst.

Further we have a strong suspicion, that the Arawak in saying *bu*, thou, *ebebe*, older brother, etc. (Vocative), *aba*, other, one, a, etc., indicates the person by sending a mild explosion in his direction. The *f* or *p* in S. *pahia*, Sm. *poi*, interjection of astonishment, and in *sipe*, bitter (*seme*, sweet), G. *fγ(h*, a thing no longer fit for use, might be the blowing away of the undesired thing. The *m* in Sm. *emė*, interjection of astonishment, and generally the *m* indicating hesitancy, might be the act of secluding oneself from the unknown or dangerous. The movement of the lips in producing the *oa* sound, by which the principle "self" is expressed, reminds one of an instinctive withdrawal ("in itself"), and bears a slight resemblance to an animal showing its teeth.

In a similar way the *h* is used to indicate "breathing out" (*ahakobu*, to breathe), and as a gentle affirmation (*ahe*, yes) or deictic movement (*n-aha*, these, *hu*, ye), and sometimes these functions merge into each other (*ahaka*, to tell, to command, *-hu* forms abstracts, etc., *a(h)a-li-kibi*, joy). Often the *h* only serves to put a slight emphasis on an initial vowel, and is written in one vocabulary and omitted in the other (examples in § 111).

The feeling "uneasy, unquiet" is expressed by *onno*, *hunna* (§ 127, comp. also Island Karib : he murmurs, *hom hom tiem l-ariá-ngle*, lit. *hom hom* it-does he-speaks). The feeling "inner peace" is expressed by *ansi* (§ 80 b)). Light is expressed by *a-li*, dark is expressed by *o-ri* (§ 126). Though each

of the component parts of these roots may be accounted for, they are also as a whole rather suggestive.

The use of the *d* to express a shock, appears to be almost a direct imitation. Examples: G. *dŏ(ĭdŏ(ĭ ka i,* he is limping, *hóɡoɡo dŏ́rŏrŏsi-(η.* B. *adedisaro,* earthquake, B. *a-dehada,* to be leaping, *adaridi,* to run, Sm. *dúbuli,* sting-ray, *issimuddu,* electric eel, Wyatt *eduólah,* a knife (Dudley *yeddola,* Sm. *jadolle,* Sagot *iadoala,* G. *yadoala; oala,* a shiver, § 120 c)).

Closely related to this is the use of *d* in words like G. *miyu ŏ-dĭlĭ,* a ship's anchor, and furthermore the Arawak *d,* expressing: will-power manifesting itself by remaining firmly established, standing, stiff; "I"; emphasis.

In Arawak the *r* is used to express: motion being impeded. $R = l + d$, and on account of this relationship, we can understand that often Arawak *d* ~ Island Karib *r*.

§ 185. See now the following synopsis of Arawak sounds:

i expresses (§§ 2, 190) 1⁰. high tension, time is contracted, 2⁰. the pointlike aspect or central point; when pronouncing *i*, 1⁰. the muscles of the tongue are tightened, 2⁰. the resonance chamber imitates a point in the centre;

o or *u* expresses 1⁰. low, or negative tension, time is expanded, 2⁰. the periphery-aspect; when pronouncing *o* or *u*, 1⁰. the tongue withdraws to the lowest position, 2⁰. the resonance-chamber imitates a hollow sphere;

a expresses 1⁰. the regular flow of time, 2⁰. the world in its common, everyday aspect; when pronouncing *a*, 1⁰. the muscles of the tongue relax, 2⁰. the cavity of the mouth takes on its natural form; according to Steiner (71 a, b, c) the *a* is the natural means for expressing astonishment, "Verwunderung an der Sache": the Arawak *a*, indicating "the world in its aspect of continual change" agrees very well with this; comp. also § 13 and the interrogative words, *ama, alika, alo,* § 139.

The e, which indicates something like: sickly, delicate, tender, lingering, quality, may really be felt as an *a* lacking health, or an *i* lacking energy.

The following consonants illustrate by degrees the contrast which we found to exist between the *k* principle and the *b* principle, and which we expressed by way of comparison by saying: "the *k* reminds one of 'creation at work', 'the idea or principle that becomes phenomenon', the *b* of 'the manner in which that which has been created manifests itself', 'the appearance' ".

H, k, passionless force:

h, gentle affirmation or emphasis:

k, a strong force, making its appearance in a positive manner.

N, l, r, personality begins to appear, with a mild, innocent character:

metamorphosed vowel + *-n*, the vague, an ending;

n-, the neutral, a beginning, a continuation;

l, willing (and able) to move, loose;

r, willing, but not able, to move, motion being impeded.

D, t, s, the personal will-power which already interfered in the *r,* appears, acts, and is checked, cumulates:

d, firmly established, standing, stiff; forms causatives;

t, motion directed towards an object, limited motion (with a touch of force): forms causatives;

s, form, surface, shale or cuticle.

M, b, f, gentle feelings: timorous — placid — aspiring:

m, not daring, hesitancy, new, mild;

b, a separate appearance, quiet, passionless;

f, striving, aspiring, airily, lightly.

Furthermore the character of "pointing out" may be seen in: *s,* the scale or surface formed by the teeth; perhaps the *m* in Sm. *ué-imihi-ruku,* the corners of the mouth, and A. M. **numa,* mouth; also in *b,* the outer surface.

The character of imitating may be seen in: *f* or *p,* the pointed form of the protruding lips; *d,* the tongue imitates or produces the vertical, the standing; *t,* the tongue imitates or produces the horizontal, the moving.

N, l, r and *h,* see § 184.

Concerning the place where the sounds are formed, and tension and relaxation of the muscles of the tongue, there is also a relationship between the *d, y-* and *i* and between the *b, w-* and *u,* having its parallel in relationship in meaning.

§ 186. Words like R. *baiyari-shiri,* a certain fan-design, G. *unábu-se,* blindworm (§ 184), are of course deliberately invented compounds. But it seems scarcely possible that *(h)ala,* Indian seat or bench, has been quite consciously constructed from *a,* time-reality and *l,* loose, movable. The selecting of the "gestures" of the organs of speech in order to express different feelings and wishes, and the compounding of them into words, must be an intuitional, instinctive action.

The resemblance between Arawak and primitive Arawak-Maipure tends to the conclusion that these instincts are very persistent, and must be inherent in the nature of the people. They might be related to the instinctive, automatic imitating, which may be observed with young children, with monkeys, and with natives of Java suffering from the neurosis called "lata". In a wider sense it might be connected with the imitative tendency which we see in nature.

Now it is interesting, that a sound-symbolism in which the sounds represent something very similar to their meaning in Arawak, seems to be present not only in the Karib languages, but also to a certain extent in Dutch, French, etc.[1]: sometimes we even find the same sequence of

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[1]) And in African languages, see D. Westermann, Laut, Ton und Sinn in Westafrikanischen Sudansprachen, E. M. v. Hornbostel, Laut und Sinn, both in Festschrift Meinhof, Hamburg, 1927. (Professor Uhlenbeck was kind enough to draw the author's attention to these articles.)

sounds as in the Arawak word. Also the value of Arawak sounds corresponds more or less with the value of sounds as exposed by R. Steiner (71a, b, c).

We now begin to see, that there might be some reason for the special importance which the Arawaks, and many other peoples, attach to names.

Be that as it may, the important fact remains, that in Arawak we have a well-developed language, in which there is an inner and essential connexion between the idea and the word [2]).

— In our discussion of Arawak speech, we have paid but scant attention to the sounds which result from the "gestures" of the organs of speech. But of course the auditive faculty plays an important part in the learning of speech, in guiding pronunciation, and perhaps also as an inner function which has something to do with the preparation of the word before it is pronounced. In this connection we may mention the sound-imitative words, of which Arawak possesses several, for instance *wakokwa*, a pigeon, *yohau*, a gnat, Sm. *húnnu-húnnu-li*, a bumble-bee (comp. Karib **were-were*, a fly).

Some other words, which may express a sequence of elementary principles, are so very suggestive, that they constitute as it were a link between built-up words and direct imitations. Examples: Sm. *a-ssürdü-*, *a-ssurrisürridü-*, to spin, to whirl the spindle, B. *a-soroto-*, to suck, *akoraka-li*, thunder, *a-fudi-*, to blow, *bili-bili-ro*, the lightning (comp. Jespersen, 65a Chapter XX Sound symbolism, "No wonder, then, that the Germans feel their word for 'lightning', *blitz*, singularly appropriate to the effect of light and to the shortness of duration"). See further the duratives, formed by prolonging a sound (action-words, a group), and the reduplications (§ 93).

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[1]) In order that no misunderstanding may arise, the author wishes to state that he did not seek for such a connexion.

The formation of the Karib verbs, suggested the idea, that in Arawak the *a* might also be the verb, indicating "time" or "happenings". Then the thought occurred, that the *i* and the *o* must have a different meaning from the *a*, and so on. Gradually it became clear that in a great many forms, each vowel and each consonant represents a certain principle, which is, roughly speaking, always the same. — The writings of H. Beckh have been of some assistance in finding the value of Arawak *s* and *n*.

It was soon apparent, that affinity between sounds is accompanied by an affinity between the value of those sounds, but only after reading L. Bloomfield's "An introduction to the study of language" (New-York), did the author hit upon the idea, that the Arawak in speaking, reproduces the thing or the event, by making a series of imitating "gestures" with his organs of speech.

This book was already in the press, when the writer for the first time read R. Steiner's lecture held at Penmaenmawr, August 26th, 1923 (II.71*b*, p. 33 ff.), and the articles of D. Westermann and E. M. v. Hornbostel, mentioned in note [1]), p. 240. It says much for the fundamental soundness of the explanations, that several investigators, working on different lines, come to similar (though not identical) opinions.

Of course we must not expect that the Arawak system of sound-symbolism represents the very earliest form of speech; moreover the author's description needs to be perfected.

Also: *k-okkituka-tu*, a thistle, in contrast with *maba*, honey: *tata*, hard, in contrast with *bele*, soft, jelly-like, lame.

§ 187. Concerning the scale of consonants, we still venture the following remarks, by way of hypothesis.

The Arawak calls the lung Sm. *tutulla* = the deep (§ 122 c)).

His gutturals *h*, *(g)*, *k* have the value of the impersonal, of the spiritual, of a creative force: comp. *ahaka*, to tell, to command, *oini* ... *iki*, Moxo *tikui-bo*, to rain.

The consonants *n*, *l*, *r*, *d* and *t*, which are formed by an action of the tongue, are used to express will-power and related ideas:

n, end-point pronoun III f., "a thing", *n(a)-* pronominal prefix III pl., *ie* (from an ancient form **ine*), end-point pronoun III pl., *-no* plural suffix human class, A. M. **n(u)*, I, me;

l(o)-, pronominal prefix III m., *loko*, man, *-li*, *-ru* form substantives;

d(a)-, pronominal prefix I, *di*, end-point pronoun I, *adaia*, to be a ruler, *ajia*, S. *adia*, to speak (this might also point to the "gesture"-character of speech, comp. *adi*, an appearance, § 173 a), *jia*, S. *dia*, as, like, § 88 a));

t(o)-, pronominal prefix III f., *-ci*, *-tu*, suffixes forming agent nouns; etc., *tata*, hard, *tata* ... *o kona*, strong, *(hi)ti*, to desire, etc..

The *s* expresses as it were the cumulation of the creative forces, or of the will-power: comp. *-sia*, the result of an action, etc., *siba*, rock, *isiroko*, flesh, *isibo*, face, *isi*, seed, *(i)sa*, child, egg. The word *(i)sa* is also used in order to indicate "sound", "good", „beautiful". It seems that the Arawak considers creation as being good, or even holy (§ 114 a) 4)).

In the series *m*, *b*, *f* we may feel the new life of the created, gradually unfolding: comp. *amaro*, to be afraid, *aburi*, to be ashamed, *ibara*, to be left, *a-fitikidi-*, to go forth, *da fa*, I will.

§ 188. It appears that the Arawak language discriminates between facts which form part of the central government of the cosmos, and facts which show independence or free-will: the latter are distinguished by the particle *oa* (*ua* or *wa*).

To this last category belong, amongst others: *atenwa*, the beginning, *onnawa*, to choose, *o-loa*, heart, mind, *kidua*, truth, Sm. *a-buledu-nn-ua*, a source, a well (*a-buledi-*, to throw away, to lose), and further the "middle voice" of the Arawak verb. [May not this be also the origin of the middle voice in other languages ?]

The Arawak expresses "evil" by *wakaia*, lit. *wa*, the separate, the free-will, *ka*, strongly acts, *ia*, flowing out into time-reality; the word might then depict pride, non-cooperation with the central government of the cosmos.

§ 189. a) The use of the particle *oa*, shows that independence or free-will is to the Arawak something worthy of special mention; comp. also *b-oa*, abnormal appearance (§ 120 d)).

Related to *oa*, the separate, is the word *aba*, which means: that which has the aspect of the created, of a separate thing. The Arawak uses this

word (with suffixes) as the numeral 1. He gets at the conception of 2 by dividing the one, of 4 by repeating the same process (§§ 152—155) ;

b) The Arawak says: "they killed him" (*na-forra goba i*, lit. they-kill past-occurred him), but "fear occurred them" (*amaro goba yuho-li loko-no o-bora ie*, lit. fear past-occurred many men future-event them), and "you-with me" (*ho-ma di*, lit. your-humble place me), corresponding to English "they killed him", "they feared [the multitude]", "I am with you".

Evidently, the Arawak is not so strongly possessed by egocentric feeling, as the European.

For the Arawak the "person" is very important: he mentions it in cases where the European would deem this to be superfluous (§§ 10, 16 b), 19), and he has several kinds of pronouns (§§ 7, 44). But his pronouns, and generally also the object-words, are not *oa* forms (however: *o-koborokwa*, consciousness, § 120 g) 7)). Moreover, he depicts even the person par excellence, the "I", by elementary principles *(d-a, d-i)*, which also occur with the same meaning in the names of all kinds of other objects, actions, etc. It seems as if the consciousness of his own personality, his "I" feeling, does not essentially differ from the feeling evoked by a sensual perception or a remembrance.

In addition to this, we found that there are no sharp lines of demarcation between object-words, quality-words and action-words, and it seems as if in Arawak even object-words express qualities or describe events;

c) From a) and b) we might perhaps conclude that the Arawak feels the cosmos, himself included, more or less as a whole;

d) One cannot imagine that words as, for instance *ala*, a bench, *ororo*, earth, *furi*, a blade of grass, are the result of logic reasoning. Evidently the Arawak felt the salient qualities of these objects, and when he wanted to name them, his instincts or intuitions prompted him to put his organs of speech into such successive positions as evoked similar feelings.

The old Arawaks — this has already been discussed in § 20 — probably lived far more in the sphere of feeling and will-power than we do. To the sensitive creature, the world is all life and activity, and this may account for the fact that those same Arawaks whose language is so very systematic, logical, sincere and philosophical, before they were christianized, described the world in terms of gods, spirits, souls and magic forces.

Similar beliefs are found all over the world. It may be that they will cease even to seem absurd, when we succeed in interpreting them in the way they were originally meant. Comp. also the following extract from de la Borde's description of the Island Karibs: "Ils s'offencent quand on les appelle Sauvages, & qu'on leur dit qu'ils n'ont point d'esprit, & qu'ils vivent en bestes: Ils répondent que nous le sommes encore plus à leur égard, parce que nous ne vivons pas à leur mode: qu'ils ont leur science, & nous la nostre, comme si il y avoit deux façons de sçavoir les choses dans la vérité."

§ 190. One of the most important elements of the Arawak language, the discrimination between the *i* and the *u* principle, expresses the cosmic fact, that energy (or whatever we should like to call it) manifests itself in two forms: *u* or o, expanded, great, slow, inactive — *i*, contracted, small, quick, energetic; also: *u* or o, fertile matter, the spirit in an enchanted form — *i*, the free spirit.

This cosmic fact is described with great clearness in Chinese philosophy (perhaps also in the Indian and in other philosophies).

In Arawak, we find:

u	*i*
great, space, the permanent, motionless, not changing (*w* vast, far away)	tiny, quick, instantaneous, free, principle, idea, intensively, accentuated (*y*, here)

[comp. *(u)* the slow current in places where the bed of a river is broad and deep, *(i)* the rapids and falls in places where it is narrow and shallow, *(u, w)* a curve or curved surface, the periphery, *(i, y)* the focus, the centre]

o-*ri*, dark	*a-li*, light
nokonne, sad, merciful	*a(h)ali-kibi*, joy
mule, to be drunk, *muri*, *muli* (*-ka*), to be false	*mali*, *mari* (*-ko-ta*), to be able, to know
oie, lazy	*imi*, willing
roko, female genital	*isin*, male genital
o-iyu, mother	*ici*, father
o-tu, daughter	*aiici*, son
o, *u*, female class	*i*, male class
o, *u*, nature class	*i*, human class
o-iyu (*u-i-u*), mother	*iwi* (*i-w-i*), fruit
iwi, fruit, *o-tokoro*, flower	*isi*, seed
yu (generally *u*), moisture	*ikihi*, fire
ororo, earth	*adaili*, sun.

Something of a similar nature as the Arawak contrast between the *i*, (the *a*,) and the *u* or o, might be presumed in that which Trombetti (72, § 281 ff.) has described in his chapter Il fenomeno della polarità [1]). Comp. also de Josselin de Jong (66, 213): "In Indo-Germanic, the higher class is grammatically characterised as active-transitive, the lower, on the other hand, as passive-intransitive".

§ 191. The following coincidences may be quite accidental, but yet it seems worth while to mention them:

a) Anguish, astonishment, they express by saying *aboko-(n-wa)* ... *ia*,

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[1]) And perhaps in the contrasts found by D. Westermann (op. cit. p. 328) in West-African Sudan languages.

the soul (or principle of life) boils (§ 169 a) 2)). The soul is here considered as having the nature of a fluid. (Comp. also § 80 b), vexation, trouble, haste, *yula* or *yura* ... *ansi*, presumably : the soul is stirred).

The word *hiaro*, woman, literally expresses : soul-female thing, or life-female thing, and again in our enumeration in § 190, the female, nature and moisture (fertility) appear in the same class.

T, which is used to indicate the female or nature-class, also describes "flowing" (*ite*, blood, *a-ti-*, to drink, etc.), and the suffix *-ra*, used by women (§ 179) also appears in connexion with fluids (§ 107), whereas *si*, *se*, the suffix used by men, appears in words denoting matter, flesh (§§ 116, 115) ;

b) The female *(u)* principle we find in *Oriyu*, the virgin-mother, *aiomun*, heaven, o-*yu*, the animal-mother-spirits, in the water-female of the Taruma legend (Farabee, 41, 143), who became the mother of the human race, in the clan-system in which descent is traced through the mother, in the woman who caused man to descend to the earth (§ 167 b)), and in the woman whose inadvertency caused the big flood, and who became an *oriyu*, a water-spirit (§ 216).

The male principle we find in *Harliwanli*, the saviour (sun-deity ?).

APPENDIX

Information collected in Surinam in 1907 and in 1928

I

§ 192. The author collected:

in 1907 vocabularies, communicated by an Arawak woman at Albina;

in 1928 a few words and forms, communicated by an Arawak woman at Zandery I;

in 1928 a great many words, sentences, tales etc., communicated by the Arawak Johannes Baptist, assisted by his cousin Alphons, both from Mata.

The phonetic spelling, mentioned on p. 14 has been used, with the exception of §§ 202, 204, 212, 216—222 and parts of §§ 203 and 214, which have been written down by Baptist in the Dutch spelling; in these the author has inserted hyphens according to the system adopted in this work.

Short sentences from which nothing new can be learned, have not been included in this work, and as a rule the Appendix does not contain such words etc., as have already been mentioned elsewhere in this volume.

§ 193. A few words of Sm., S. or B. they did not understand, or called them antiquated; a few of the words collected on this occasion, do not occur with the older writers. The pronunciation approaches very nearly that of Sm.'s vocabulary (in which not all Arawak sounds can tell to full advantage, because Sm. does not use any special phonetic signs; also the Moravians persistently write *p*, where nearly all other authors recorded *f*).

The following deviations from the language of the bible-texts have been met with:

a) The words are often abbreviated, for instance *to* ~ B. *toho*. The following is often heard:

-n ~ B. *-mun*, *-nro* ~ B. *-muniro*, *-ron* ~ B. *-robuin*;

-m-bia, *-m-bena*, *-m-bo* ~ B. *-n-bia*, *-n-bena*, *-n-bo*;

-sa ~ B. *-sia*;

-kona ~ B. *-koana*, *-dona* ~ B. *donwa*;

-(n or *-(ŋ* ((means: indistinctly articulated) ~ B. *-n*;

b) *ma-či*, *ma-tho* ~ B. *mi-ci*, *mu-tu*;
mihira ~ B. *mahera*, Sm. *meherên*;
ka-yara and *ka-raya* ~ B. *ka-raia*;
kapása (sword) ~ B. *kaspara*;

c) In the stories *bia* (§ 39) and *fa* (§ 5) are often used where the English does not use the future; *ya* ~ B. *ia* is also very often used;

d) Very often the suffix *-da* is used, probably for the sake of emphasis (comp. § 47A). Also *thada* is often met with: perhaps this expresses: *th*, it, *a*, is, *da*, emphasis. The end-point pronoun, however, always comes at the end of the sentence;

e) The word *baikia* which is frequently used, possibly means "there happened", or "there was";

f) As an end-point pronoun III f. *no*, as well as *n* or *ŋ* is used.

§ 194. As much as possible the accent has been marked and indicated by ´. Let us, however, not lose sight of the fact that the words, sentences and texts have been pronounced under abnormal conditions, whereby the accentuation may have been influenced. Probably this is the cause that in words that have been separately given, the accent often falls on the first syllable, even if this is a pronominal prefix (the same is the case in Sm.'s vocabulary). Apparently the accent never falls on suffixes such as *-či*, *-tu-*, *-li* etc.

II. VOCABULARY, ETC.

In these lists of words, the following abbreviations and signs are used:
cr. creole (Surinam "taki-taki" or "negro-English");
Sp. Spanish;
r) regional word;
s) sound-imitative word;
u) origin (etymology) uncertain.

§ 195. **The body**

blood (as a part of the body)	*ü-thena*
.. (outside the body)	*ü-the, úe-ti*
my heart beats	*da-lóa dṑda*
.. pulse ..	*d-akubo-ŋ dṑda*
vein	*ü-the boná* (blood-path)
nerve	*dá-üküra* (roots ?)
bone	*ú-bona, dá-buna*
marrow	*da-bona-loko-do*
joints	*d-ándaka*
skin	*da-da, bú-ẹda*
nail (finger or toe)	*da-báda, dá-bằda*
hair on the skin	*da-bára-kona*
hair of the head	*da-bára, da-bála*
crown of the hair	*da-bára si-kéru*
a man with curly hair	*kakáliči*
eyebrow	*da-kúsa bóna bara, u-kuši bála*
eyelash	*d-akiti, d-ikiti*
moustache	*da-tíma*

beard	*da-tála-tīma*
the hair under the armpit	*bára-daná-ǫoko*
the hair on the pubes	*da-yó ǫo-roko*
flesh (of a man, an animal, a fish)	*široko*
fat	*d-ikihi*
saliva (in the mouth)	*úraroni, dā-urarun*
spittle (outside the mouth)	*da-kûi*
to spit	*a-kúĭdi-(n*
tear	*d-ikira*
I perspire	*hadufuči ka de*
urine	*éhĕ*
I pass water	*da-daká ka, da-daháka* u), A. M. § 182, 149C)
I go to stool	*d-ikiá ka*
matter, puss	*t-ŏkō̆*
a wound that matters	*šúbuli*
head	*da-ši*
forehead	*da-šiba-roko*
brain	*da-ši-toko*
eye	*d-akuši*
eye-ball	*d-akúši káleme* (my-eye-shine)
ear (the lobe)	*d-ádikĕ, d-adiki*
earlap	*d-adikĭ yodo-n* (my-ear hanging)
ear (organ of hearing)	*da-kúyuko*
ear-hole	*da-kúyuko hólai*
nose	*da-širi*
nose-hole	*da-širi hoolai*
nose-interior	*da-širi-lóko*
cheek	*da-oála-ši*
upper lip	*da-léroko-ú-da*
lower „	*da-léroko-ú-da únabo-maria*
corners of the mouth	*d-imi-roko*
upper jaw	*ayumú maǫia tála*
lower „	*da-tála-bona*
chin	*da-tála-bóloko*
opening of the mouth	*da-lé-roko*
tooth	*d-ári, b(ŭ-āri*
fronttooth	*d-ári-šibo*
backtooth	*d-ár-ina*
tongue	*da-yé*
uvula	*da-matabára* u)
larynx	*da-yúlĭ*
throat	*by-yurĭ-roko*

neck	*da-nólo*
breast	*dá-lua, da-ló-bana*
rib	*d-ádura*
pap (man or woman)	*dyó, dá-dyo*
belly	*d-adibéyu*
back	*d-ābo*
lower back	*dá-iri*
backbone	*d-ādo-būna*
collar-bone	*da-rẹ-sáλi*
hip	*da-tába*
buttock	*iná-sa*
anus	*d-éna-ko-léroko* (my-behind-mouth)
lunge	*da-thúla*
breath	*d-ākubo-η*
heart	*da-wášina*
stomac	*da-té-firo*
,,	*ū-tē-hū̆*
liver	*da-bána*
milt	*da-dabắ(η*
bile	*da-kúlira*
bowel	*ū-te-ibera, da-té ibira*
kidneys	*da-bū́λiu* u)
bladder	*d-ēkĭ*
penis	*d-iwisi*
testicle	*b-iwisi loko-do*
sperm	*da-kχẹ*
pudenda	*dá-roko*
womb	*da-sá-kĭ*
embryo	*da-té-loko-koan-ši*
amniotic fluid	*le-ñále* u)
amnion	*l-éke*
placenta	*ló-ba* u)
navelstring, navel	*kóyo*
to cohabitate	*nánika* (they do ?)
she menstruates	*kači-nanika|n* 1)
,, ,,	*tō čikoá-ka to hiáro* (at the house is that woman)
he keeps the couvade 2)	*lo-mayaudo* (he keeps quiet)
shoulder	*d-adŏna-ina, d-aden-éna*
arm	*d-adŏna*
biceps	*da-kuliyĭ*

1) According to the ancient Arawak belief, the moon is cohabitating with the woman; see also § 134 *f*) 1), and R. 19a, Sect. 198.

2) If a man did break the couvade, the child would be ill.

arm-pit	*d-adõna-lóko*
elbow	*d-adõna sále*
cavity under the elbow	*d-adõna-kuyule-roko*
wrist, lower arm	*d-aχabo-kóto*
palm of the hand	*d-akhabo-róko*
I have a wound in the palm of my hand	*d-akháb-roko kakóloko-ka*
I make a hollow of my hand	*d-akhábo o-lokotoá*
the lines of the hand	*d-akhábo-roko th-üyada-ŋ*
back of the hand	*d-aχabo-dyáko*
finger(s)	*d-akabo-ibira*
I thumb	*da-kóna* (my instrument ?)
II index	*da-kõlõka-kóna, da-kiλika-koana* (my-stretch-forth-instrument)
III	*anakabó-koro d-akabo ibira* (middle my-finger)
IV	*da-khóle denãn-koro* (my little finger arm-thing)
V	*da-khóle, da-kúle* (my weak)
thigh	*da-bukõ*
knee	*da-kóro*
hollow of the knee	*d-adana-kuyõlé-roko*
lower leg with foot	*ú-turu*
lower leg	*d-adâne, d-adâna*
shin-bone	*d-adán-siri*
calf of the leg	*d-ibito-n-a* u)
ankle	*da-sále*
heel	*da-iána*
foot	*da-kuči*
sole of the foot	*da-kúti-roko*
upper part of the foot	*da-kúti-áboroko*
toe(s)	*da-kuti ibira*
I—V	same names as the fingers
mouth of a horse-fly	*tu-lẽroko*
a bird's bill	*kudibyi iširi*
fish-bone	*hĩme búna*
skin of an insect	*th-éke*
horn	*ó-koa, to-koá*
comb of a cock	*kálina sepére* u)
crest on a bird's head	*tu-kúlise, kalina kuliši*
tail (of a monkey, a bird, a fish)	*ihi*
wings of a fly	*tú-dena*
legs „ „ „	*tu-kuti*
fin	*hime u-wádawáda*
pincer of a crab	*to-kóna, kua-kóna* (its-instrument ?)

egg of a butterfly	*kambána-uesa*
white ant-hill	*kumučiri*
the white ant-hill emits foam	*kumučiri kúta, ká-kuta-či-ma-ru árara*
cow-milk	*baka udyūre, baka udyo ura*
honey	*mába*
wax	*makório tika* (bee excrement), *fīntyika* (airily excrement), *mába fé* (honey rubbish)
bird's nest	*kudibiyu tiboko*
daylitter of a stag	*kuyála bitóla, ts-ibitúla* [u])

§ 196. **Man**

Some names of Arawak families:

Uraši
Uraši yúbutá-na } (belong to a group of 7 families)
Káluafu
Kabubú-na
Uralike-na } (belong to a group of 8 families)
Šiwana-no
Atyukána-no } (form a group)
Arámuküito
Besoä (§ 224)
Hayáwafo
Máratákayu
Nikériyu
Kabolefu or *Kabólena*
Sábayu: these people are said to be descendants of a group of Indians who are neither Arawaks nor Karibs, who in the disturbed times when these tribes were continually at war, have left their abode at Saba, and mixed with the Arawaks. Saba is said to be "an island in Central America" (the Dutch island Saba ?).

§ 197. **The household**

village	*ašikwá-hǒ*
(my) house	*da-šikwa*
house	*báhü(ǒ*
house of the medicine-man	*tokai* [Brett *bo-tokaini*, thy closet, *lo-tokaini*, the (his) secret chambers (Mt. VI, 6, XXIV, 26: [r])? Kaliña *tokai*, Tupi *tokaya*, a hiding-place where one lies in wait when shooting game, a poultry-house.]
" " " "	*ká-takára t-a báhü* (§ 104 [e])

temporary shelter	*bána-bo*
deserted village	*bahŏ ŏdiki* (house-trace)
thatch	*th-ádá* (§ 109 Sm. *adu*, parasol)
Indian bench	*hála*
(my) hammock	*da-kūra, da-kúla*
canoe (coorial)	*kuliála*
paddle	*nálihe, nāle*
steering-paddle	*bokódo-kona*
a ship's rudder	*mīyo bokodo-kona*
(my) pole	*da-čirikidi-kuána*
a ship's sail	*miyu wéla-n. thŏ-wīla*
" " anchor	*miyu ŏ-dīlĭ*
bow	*simárabo*
arrow	*simála*
" with bamboo or iron lanceolate head	*siparáli*
arrow with iron point	*wayakáši* (§ 117 b)?)
" " three prongs	*sárapa*
" " wooden barbs	*širita*
" " loose iron point	*hotómo* u)
" " blunt head	*mároa*
" " " "	*t-abolokó-do*
the feathers of the arrow	*šimal-o-koáma* (arrow-hat ?)
poisoned arrow	*urali* (§ 182, 2)
blowgun ; arrows for blowgun	*súdi*
club	*múši*
broad wooden sword	*sapakána*
European sword	*kapása*
cutlass	*kasipáǫa*
old stone axe	*ǫóli* u)
axe	*báǫo, bálu*
knife	*yadoála*
gun	*arakabúsa*
gunpowder	*kúlabáǫa*
cartridge	*arakabúsa o-lokó-do*
I will charge the gun	*arakabúsa da-lokóto ſa*
scissors	*ili-kóana*
razor	*dri-koána*
nail	*pátátáli*
needle	*akósa*
bell	*kampána*
watch	*kasákabo č-ikisi* [day-time (signal)]
telephone	*ſaleto üdya-kóna* (stranger-speak-instrument)

telephone	*kalĕ-loko (-koro?) th-üdyá-kona* (quick its speak-instr.)
bycicle	*fáleto to-koná-kona* (stranger its-go-instr.)
automobile	*kále-kóϱo faléto akoná-koná* (quick stranger go-instr.)
chain	*kaϱéna*
padlock	*šilótoϱo wayurĭ* [lock (resembling a) tick]
lock, key	*šilótoϱo* (cr., from Dutch slot, sleutel)
„	*tẹ-tatade-kắno* (its-securing-instr.)
pair of pincers	*ardĭtĭkĭtĭ-kona* (bite-cause-instr.)
airplane	*aiumún-di koná-koro faléto kanan* (high go-thing stranger instr.?)
steamship	*ikī-bo koná-koro mīyu* (fire-with go-thing ship)
man-of-war	*kaimá-ϱin mīu* (wrath-stop ship?)
telescope	*adŏ̈kŏ̈-kona* (see-instrument)
fish-trap	*tambo* (bowed, § 73 b) 9)?)
bait for a fish-hook	*búde ména*
field	*kabúya*
my field	*da-kubaŋ*
cassava-bread	*káli*
European bread	*brĕde* (cr.)
„ „	*fáleto kháli* (stranger cassava)
farina	*kuák* r)
starch	*háϱu*
tapana, fermented drink	*kaširi*
strong paiwaru	*kari-tu ü-ta-hü* (painful beverage)
„ „	*tata-tú* „ (strong „
rum	*sópi* (cr.)
strong rum	*kari-kóro sópi* (painful rum)
kassiripo, pepperpot	*kĕri*
salt	*pâmu* r)
barbecue, rafter	*yúϱada*
fan	*wáliwáli*
earthen pot	*duádo*
big earthen pot	*kána* (cr.)
earthen dish	*kárubu*
spatula, stirrer	*hálalu*
cassava grater	*samaʎi*
„ squeezer	*yóro*
„ sieve	*mánali*
mortar	*háko*

pestle	*háko-ére-či* (mortar-husband)
knapsack	*wăyali*
basket, trinket-box	*bórodi, bólodi*
cotton	*yáho, yahu*
cotton-spindle	*kirōdoli*
silk-grass	*ŏkŏli, öŏkili*
a ball of cotton thread	*kunulima* r)
tobacco	*yūli*
a cigar that is ready for use	*yūli siribidá-sa*
covering of a cigar, made from the leaf of the manicole palm	*wūina*
cigar used by the medicine-man	*sīribi*
European cigar	*yūλi a-maǫitá-sa*
comb	*bálida, balída*
mirror	*dikī-kuana, adekŏ-kona* (see-instrument)
crab-oil	*kalába-kihi* (crab-tree fat)
painting of the face	*úmbali* u)
down for adorning the hair	*mólise* r)
feather headdress	*kárusa*
hat	*kuâma, kwa(uma*
nose-feather	*na-širi-loko-do*
garter of the Kaliñas	*to-kolo-loko-do*
woman's apron	*kiwéyu*
clothing	*bokóloko* (cr. or Dutch "broek", trousers?)
shoe	*sapátu*
bamboo flute	*bēyuka* u)
" "	*baladakor* u)
" " (small)	*tilili* s)?
" " , a kind of sliding-trumpet	*sĕnde* u)
panpipe	*λēru* s)?
tortoise-shell, musical instrument	*héruhéru* s)?
rattle of the medicine-man	*maráka*
church-organ	*faléto béyuka* (stranger flute)
" "	" *aikitá-kona* (str. music-make-instrument)
map of a country	*hólolo ūiya* (earth-picture)

§ 198. Nature

sky, heaven	*hayûmu*
cloud	*uraro, ulálá*
haze	*ulálo-tikidi-ŋ* (cloud falling)
fog	*uraro-u-kili* (§ 130 a))

rainbow	*yauále, yáwali*
”	*oni simalábo* (rainbow)
rain	*ūni*
it rains hard	*uni kyâ masoŋ*
drizzle	*uni uribita* (rain dirt ?)
thunder	*kúlakani* s)?
lightning	*bélebeliru*
sun	*hadáli, hádali*
eclipse of the sun	*hádali ōdo-n* (sun dies [1]))
the sunlight	*hadáli kŏndŏ-n*
” ”	*hadáli kumolokoto-n*
the sun shines	*te-kŏnda-tĭ hādaλi*
the sun shines in the house	*hádali kuindá-te bahŭ o-loko-nro*
moon	*káči*
eclipse of the moon	*kači ōdo-n* (moon dies [1]))
full moon	*kači kóroboda*
waning moon, dark moon	*kači ulikada-kâ* (moon darks)
new moon	*kači ka-iára* (moon appears)
star	*wīua*
Milky Way	*wâya-naka-či bonaha, waya-nake-či bona.* (clay-carriers path) [2])
Pleiades	*wīwa yó-koro* (star many-thing ?)
Hyades	*kama-tâle* (tapir-jaw)
Orion	*ma-buhkŭ-λi* (without-thigh-person)
belt of Orion	*katâlu-kuya* (tortoise star-spirit)
Scorpion(?), lower part	*warubuši* u)
” upper ”	*kasóroa-kuya* (fish Anableps st.-sp.)
Southern Cross	*hitsi-kuya* (currassow st.-sp.)
Great Bear	*ánula-kuya* (heron st.-sp.)
morning-star, evening-star, Venus or (and) Jupiter	*wálukuma* r)
Halley's comet, 1910	*wīwa k-ī-koro*
one month	*ába kači*
” week	*aba Sondaka* (one Sunday, cr.)
” day	*ába kasákabo*
dry season	*makarellike* u)
long dry season	*hádali-ka* (sun-when)
short rainy season	*šo-koro uni-ka* (small-thing rain-when)
” dry ”	*awora-dá-li-te* (§ 161 : *awora*, a certain palm)
long rainy ”	*firo-koro unébera* (great-thing swamp)
” ” ”	*firo-koro ūni* (” ” river)
morning	*mauča*

[1]) An eclipse arises from a conflict between sun and moon; see also R. 19a, Sect. 195-202.

[2]) The way spirits went; R. 19a, Sect. 205; B. 5d, 107; D. 8, 343; Pen. 17a, I. 105.

noon	*wá-n-dali, wa-n-dáli* (*wa-mun hadalı,* § 161 [d]))
afternoon	*bakílama*
evening	*kasákoda*
midnight	*kasákod-anáka*
fire	*ikihi*
spark	*ikihi tháro* [u])
smoke	*kuλéli*
charcoal	*budálilisi*
ash	*bálisi*
fire-wood	*ikihi o-kódo*
„ ; my f.w.	*imehe ; da-ime kódo*
the air around us	*má-u-kili* (§ 130 [a]))
wind	*awadúli*
water	*oni-abo*
river	*firo-to úni*
a small river, a creek	*oni-khaŋ*
tributaries of a small river	*th-údaku* [u])
a source	*hóǫoǫo koboǫokwá-ǫi to oni-ābo u-bunáha* (earth among-thing the water's path)
high water (in the river)	*wuini-ábu hēda-ka* (water very when)
the water of the river flows to the sea)	*to oni-abu oni loko-área mála bára-nro*
current of a river	*wuini-abo maladi-n*
strong current	*malali*
rapid	*wuini-ábu sórokodo-n* (water spouting)
high waterfall	*firo-to wuni-ábu sórokodo-n*
„ „	*málali-dókoto* (fall-grandfather)
whirlpool	*tẹ-káikai*
the small waves caused by a waterfall or by a moderate wind	*sibá-šibá-ru*
the bend of a river	*thẹ-debó-loko* (its-waterside-inside)
water-side	*un-élebo, th-élebo*
landing-stage	*amudü-kíle*
mouth of the Surinam river	*Sulináma iima-loko*
upper „ „	„ *ši-roko*
swamp	*un-ebera*
swamp or pool	*kiraha*
pool or puddle	*kulisa* [r])?
sea	*báǫa*
sea-shore	*balá-lebo*
the sea has waves	*bára oǫomurida-(n*

the sea is rough	*bára k-áima-n*
„ „ roars (surf?)	*bára kaλŏkakŏdo(n. kalŏkalŏdoa(ŋ* (sea curling. § 134 [cA])?)
spring tide	*t-ifhirota-n* (*ifiro*, great)
neap „	*t-ušukuta-n* (*isogo*, small)
incoming tide	*bára kodó-no* (sea entering)
outgoing „	„ *kuyo-na* (sea returning)
island	*kairi*
the ground	*unabo*
mountain	*hololo*
mountain-top	*holólo ši-n*
rock, stone	*šība*
sand	*motóko*
clay	*wáya, uáya*
quartz	*halira-to šiba* (white stone)
a crystal of quartz	*sibŏ kalĭmĭ* (stone shine)
forest	*konóko*
savanah	*kaláo*
a bridge	*abonáta* (bone, or path become ?)
a ditch	*háčia* (B. aciga)

§ 199. **Animals**

animal (four-footed)	*kuta, kutá-hŏ*
howling-monkey	*ituli*
couata-monkey, Ateles	*hádafe, ádafĭ* (tree-decay ?)
monkey, Cebus	*fudi* (§ 182, 78, quick-one ?)
„ , Chrysothrix	*kaboaši* (§ 182, 78, with-abnormal-head?)
„ , Pithecia leucocephala	*húa* [u])
„ , „ chiropotes	*bisa* [u])
„ wanaku, Pithecia sp.?	*hóloe* [u])
„ Nyctipithecus	*wisęwisę* or *wi-wála* [s])
sackewinki monkey, Hapale	*siǫiǫe* [r]) or *ŏsüĭtŏ* (French ouistiti)
bat	*buĭri, búhüri* (§ 182, 79)
„ ,big species	*waǫu-maká(nre* [u])
jaguar	*aróa* : *kabadáǫo* (with nails): *mabúledan šibo-ro* (un-pointed face)
puma 1.	*kuyáǫa u-ǫuá-te* (deer tiger)
2.	*kaboánama u-ǫoá-te* (monkey Crysothrix t.)
tiger-cat 1.	*kuli-ǫua-te* (rat t.)
2.	*laba-roá-te* (paca t.)
3.	*abúya-roá-te* (bush hog t.)
4.	*dódole aǫoá-te* (bush hog t.)
5.	*firobéru aǫoá-te* (tapir t.)

6.	*háka-ǫoa* (aira-t.)
7. (hunting in herds)	*warakabe aǫoa-te* (trumpet-bird t.)
dog	*péro* (Sp.)
savanah-dog, Ictyon	*ualiro* (§ 182, 81)
aira, Galictes barbara	*háka* u)
otter	*asiro* r)
1., big species	*aširu firobéro*
2., small „	*saǫóǫa* u)
Procyon cancrivorus	*krabu-dágo* (cr. crab-dog), *koa-péro(η* (crab-dog)
coati, Nasua socialis	*kibihi* r)
squirrel	*kálio, káǫiu* u)
rat, mouse	*kúli, kulihi*
porcupine	*aǫóǫo*
acuchi	*hadúǫi* r)
aguti	*fukuléru*
paca	*lába*
capybara	*kibiwâǫa, kibiola, kibiole* r) (§ 182, 86)
sloth	*uthábo* u)
„ 1. Bradypus tridactylus	*háu*
„ 2. Choloepus didactylus	*walimédu* u)
armadillo, 1. giant do.	*baǫakatá-yu* (small a.-mother) or *waǫoǫóima* r)
2.	*yese-érĭ*
3.	*yési* (§ 182, 87)
4.	*báǫakata* u)
5.	*kayudúkuli* u)
ant-eater, 1. big species	*tamanoa* r)
2.	*waliti* r)
3. Cycloturus didactylus	*wáliti maka(ηro*
opossum	*yawâǫe* r)
horse	*ási* (cr.)
deer, 1. Cariacus rufus	*kuyâǫa*
2. „ savannorum	*béyu* u)
3. „ simplicicornis	*wiribisiri* u) (the word implies "small", "quick")
goat	*krabita* (cr., Sp.)
sheep	*skápu* (cr.)
cow	*báka* (Sp.); *kakoáro* (with-horns); *kayulēru* (with-larynx or throat)
tapir	*kama*; *firubéru, fürẹbéru, pirubéru* (big belly ?); *katóroro* (with-feet); *kainako* (with-rump), *kúlihi* (rat, § 183)
tame pig	*porku* (Sp.)

bush hog, peccary, taitetu	*abuya* or *matúla* (§ 182, 89)
„ „ , taiasu	*kēerun* (stinking, or navel-thing ?) or *dódole* (stampeding, § 184 ?)
manati	*koyumóǫo*
dolphin	*kásekuya*
bird	*kudibiyu*
parakeet, 1.	*širiširi* [u]) [1])
2.	*šikišiki* [u])
3.	*kirekire* [r])
small parrot, 1.	*solisóli* [u])
2.	*kúǫiakúǫia* [r])
3.	*yaleyaléro* [u])
4.	*kayakāya* [u])
5.	*bálīsi* [u])
green parrot, Amazone, 1.	*kulewáke* [r])
2.	*salāma* [r])
ara, 1. red	*kāro* [r])
„ 2. blue and yellow	*kāλaλa* [r])
3.	*kúyali* [r])
„ 4.	*aléru* [u])
„ 5.	*wāyewāye* [u])
toucan, 1.	*buǫádi* (bill-strong ?)
2.	*širo* [u])
3.	*yánakáli* [r])
Coccyzus, 1.	*hikaǫuāna* [u]) [2])
2.	*hikanúǫi* [u])
Crotophaga major	*húye* [u])
kingfisher, 1.	*sakasákali* [r])
2.	*kalasúli* [u])
3.	*unitibiǫi* [u])
goatsucker, 1.	*wākoláyu* [r])
2.	*kokobéru* [u])
3.	*sipio* [u])
4.	*kakuádabayo* [u])
humming-bird	*bimiti* : (furthermore each sort has its particular name)
woodpecker	*hodódi* (hanging, § 122 [e]) [2]), or [s]) ?): there are six sorts, each of which has its particular name.
eagle	*hau bagiǫi(a* (*hau*, sloth)
caracara, Ibycter aquilinus	*búlitata* (§ 166 [f]))

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1) Probably many names of parrots are sound-imitations: the reduplication either imitates the repeated screams, or it describes a pair, or a flock of these birds.

2) This bird produces two different sounds, and so presages good or evil.

condor	*anuanǒ̃ áǫoko* (η u)
vulture, Cathartes	*anoāne, anoána*
owl	*moǫokódi* r)
„ , 1. big species	*áǫǒ̃* u)
2.	*kaiháiǫo* u)
3.	*maláro* u)
(there are several other species)	
rice-bird	*tiǫiǫiáne* s)?
kiskedee, Tyrannus	*itiki* s)
mocking bird, Icterus, 1.	*búiña* u)
2.	*bokcǫoli* u)
3.	*asáwako* r)
4.	*iábani* u)
swallow, 1.	*solóya* r)
2.	*samália* u)
bemtevi, Lathria cinerea	*fayefáye* r)
Cotinga sp. (?)	*ǒ̃ǫikako* u)
pigeon	*wakukuá* r)
1., big species	*yabúλe* u)
2.	*wakúkua* r)
3.	*wiǫu*
4.	*adiri* u)
5.	*mâlia* u)
partridge, Odontophorus guianensis	*dolokwálu* r)
fowl	*kalina, karina* (Sp.)
curassow	*hiči* (§ 182, 94)
marudi, Salpiza	*marúdi* r)
„ , 1. big species	*marúdi firẹbéru*
2.	*kolók* u)
Ortalis motmot	*káloba* r)
Penelope pipile	*koló* r)
maam, Tinamus	*mâmu* r), or *kasáleru* (with-elbow, because in a sitting posture they, as it were seem to rest on the elbow)
frigate pelican (?)	*wárakána* u)
flamingo (or red Ibis?)	*kórokóro* r)
Ibis infuscata, 1.	*koǫokóǫobudyiro* u)
2.	*kaléo, kaléu* u)
Mycteria americana	*jáuru* r)
heron, 1.	*anula*
2.	*sâumaru* u)
3.	*wakála* r)
4., bittern, Tygrisoma	*hónoli*
5., bittern	*tókoli* u)

trumpet-bird	*waǫakába* u)
sun-bird	*wáyakoya* (clay-shy animal: it makes a nest of clay)
water-hen, Aramides cayanea	*kótaka* r)
duck	*ífa*
tortoise, 1. sea do.	*katálu* r)
2.	*hikúli*
3. small bush do.	*alásu* (stool-form ?)
caiman, 1. big species (not found in Surinam)	*arára* r)
2.	*kaĩkúči*
lizard, 1. Thecadactylus rapicaudus	*sóko-sóko aǫakwairu* [cut off the root of its tail (which is supposed to be venomous)]
2. Polychrus marmoratus	*yēmoǫo* u)
3. Tupinambis nigropunctatus	*marắ(nro* u)
4. iguana	*iuwana* r)
5.	*sararẹ* u)
6.	*lobo* (§ 182, 99)
blindworm, 1., living in ant-hills	*kúseúyu* (*kuse*-ant mother)
2., living under the ground	*unábuse* (ground-worm)
snake	*ūri, wūri*
venomous snake	*ka-kári-to ōri*
land-boa	*mahṓléru* (not-rapid), or *khólekonáru* (weak walker)
water-boa	*kamódo, kamudu*
Coluber corais	*fukuléǫu úǫia, fukuléǫuǫia* (aguti-snake, because its tail is yellowish, like an aguti's)
Oxybelis acuminatus	*yawokayorĭ* (? -snake)
Elaps	*makúǫakúǫa* u)
rattlesnake	*kasikì(nro, kasakéru* (with-egg-shell-snake ?)
bushmaster, Lachesis	*wadibéru* (big-belly, or long snake ?), or *konokosĭ́* (bush-worm)
labaria, Bothrops atrox	*laba-uria* (paca-snake)
parrot-snake, Bothrops bilineatus	*kuliakáǫia* (parrot-snake)
toad (there are many sorts, each of which has its particular name)	*šibéǫo* (§ 182, 100)
big toad, Pipa americana	*arabáyu* u)

frog, 1.	*walekĭ* [u])
2.	*ádaba* [u])
(there are many other species)	
fish	*hīme*
Acanthicus	*wátawáta* [r])
eel	*ihiri*
electric eel	*šimodo, simadâ*
Erythrinus Erythrinus	*waǫápa* [u])
,, Unitaeniatus	*yaǫáu* [u])
Macrodon Aimara	*ayumúǫa* [r])
Mugil brasiliensis	*kweriman* [u])
perai, Pygocentrus, 1.	*úma* (§ 182, 104)
2. small do.	*kaliáši* [u])
Rhamdia sebae	*káši* [u])
Sciaena amazonica	*bášia* [u])
shark, 1.	*morokáimõ* [u])
2.	*maruári* [u])
Silurus callichthys	*kaǫiwáǫu* [u])
,, Parkerii	*wiǫokotóǫi* [u])
sting-ray	*dúbuǫi*
Torpon allanticus	*kumúǫęda* (bright skin ?)
iridescent beetle, Euchroma gigantea	*kamayoli* (bright, § 129 f) ?)
sawyer beetle, Macrodontia cervicornis	*adũĩrõ̆* (strong ?)
fire-fly; also: Fulgora lanternia	*yuλíwi* [tobacco (burning cigar) luminous point]
wasp, bee	*makóǫio* [u])
1. umbrella-wasp	*budaléhe* (its nest has the form of a cassava-baking pan)
2.	*búǫišiǫi* [u])
3.	*buraburádo* [s])
4., bumble-bee	*ânãnâli* [s])
queen of bees	*kấyâ* [u])
ant	*hâyo*
1. Ponera clavata	*muniǫi* (§ 182, 106)
2. hunter-ant	*hâuǫére* [u])
3. sauba-ant	*kóse* (§ 182, 107)
4. ,, ,, , other sort	*hârakúli* [u])
5. the ant which is used for the ant-test, § 210	*yóko* (strike, § 123 e) 1)?)
6. ant living in the Cecropia	*fukę* [u])
7. ant, the nest of which is used for tinder	*foŋko-óyo* (tinder-mother)
8.	*walumúli* [u])

9. small black sugar-ant	*kásisi* (§ 182, 107)
10.	*kúlebéli* [u])
11.	*mautī* [u])
butterfly	*kambána* [r])?
caterpillar	*kumakáti* [u])
pupa	*titibadona* (§ 90 [f]))
gnat, 1.	*yuwáw* [s])
2., Anopheles	*kašiọiọo* (with snout that stings)
3. grey do.	*kathúliọo* (with-dust)
mapire, Simulium	*maọiu* [u])
horse-fly, Tabanus	*alimúlimu* [u])
fly, 1.	*mabúọi* [u])
2.	*mapáọawa, máparoá* [u])
3. (this sort stings)	*hánuba* (§ 124 [b]))
4.	*kabáuru*
jigger	*mibiki* (§ 58)
dragon-fly	*bibīri*
white ant, termit, 1. (which makes a sort of hollow passages)	*aọáọá* [u])
2. (lives in decaying wood)	*haọáọa* [u])
queen of the *aọaọa*	*tíseŋ* [u])
cockroach	*hokóko* [u])
locust	*kuọatáka* [u])
grasshopper, 1.	*sikisiki* [s])?
2.	*fúti* (quick ?)
cicada	*lialia* [s])
louse	*uyīhī*
centiped	*báyabo*
scorpion	*ananáka* [u])
„ , 1. big species	*emenáli*
2.	*muláto* [u])
spider	*aráia, aiára* [appears (suddenly) ?]
bird-spider, Mygale	*koáta* [u])
tick	*wáyurī*
ticks, just hatched from the egg, in a heap	*maibúli* [u])
bete rouge	*kuléme*
lobster, 1.	*isáọo*
2.	*sále*
crab, 1.	*koá* [r])
2.	*saọáọá*
any worm	*üséhī*
periwinkle	*kuluboále*

§ 200. Plants

the stem of a tree; tree; wood	*ada*
the core of a tree	*thó-koba*
the wood between the core and the bark	*tho-mâ-koba*
bark	*úda*
root	*thŏ̆-kŏ̆ra*
„ of cane	*tiriti-duli*
buttress	*ada událĭ*
sprout	*t-išíri-loko mó̜gomó̜go* (§135 d) 2))
thorn	*yu̜gua*
straight thorn	*tŏ̆-kŏ̆tŏ̆ka*
branch	*ada dinabâ*
leaf	*to-bâna*
flower	*tó-tokoro, to-thokólo*
fruit	*č-íwi*
seed	*t-iši*
a grain of maize	*mariš u-kuši* (maize-eye)
„ „ „ „	*mariši ari* (maize-tooth)
resin	*th-ŏ̆kŏ̆*
sap of a tree	*th-éloko*
a plant, a shrub	*abuĭne̥karâ*
a maize-plant	*mariši daya*
a tobacco-plant	*yūli dâya*
liana, bush-rope	*mibi* (§ 58)
ananas	*nâna* r)
annatto, Bixa orellana	*širabuli* (flesh-paint ?)
avocado	*avokáti* (cr.)
bamboo, 1.	*hīwa* (§ 182, 127)
2.	*kamoáti* u)
banana	*manikina, mánikini* u)
Bauhinia	*hikúli múdi-kona* (tortoise-mount-instrument)
bean	*kumáta* r)
breadfruit tree	*bredeboŋ* (cr.)
bullet tree, Mimusops balata	*búlue* (coloured ?)
cactus, Melocactus	*ka-kŏ̆tŏ̆ká-tu* (with thorns)
calabash-tree	*iwida-bali* (fruit-skin-*bali*)
cashew	*merei* r)
bitter cassava	*kali*
sweet „	*bosali* u)
red cedar, Cedrela odorata	*akúyali* (resembling a deer ?)
Clusia	*kofá* (§ 215, 17)
cocoa	*kakao* (cr. or r))

copaiva	*kopáiwa*
cotton	*yáhu*
silk- cotton tree, Ceyba pentandra	*kúmaka* [r])
crabwood, Carapa guyanensis	*kálaba*
Bignonia Chica	*kalawiru, koläíro*
fishpoison, 1. Clibadium surinamense	*kunali* (instrument, § 120 [a]) [2])?)
2. Euphorbia cotinoides	*kunapálu*
3. Longocarpus (liana)	*hayáli*
4. Tephrosia toxicaria	*yóro-kona-ŋ* (employed for a fish called *yoro* or *yarrau*, R. 19*b*, Sect. 212)
grass	*kaọáu*
sharp grass	*yiroka* (shave ?)
greenheart	*wasiba* (very stone ?)
guava	*máliaba* [u])
hyawa, incense-tree	*hayáwa*
lana, Genipa americana	*lána* (§ 182, 121A)
leaf of life, Bryophyllum	*kála-bana* (scar-leaf)
letterwood	*buọĭ kóọo* (speckled ?)
lime	*lémone* (Sp.)
Long-John, Triplaris surinamensis	*yekuna* [u])
a sort of love-vine (Quamoclit pinnata?)	*kalubákulĕ* (coiler, § 108A)
Macrolobium acaciaefolium	*manäli-báli* (sieve-*bali*)
maize	*mariši*
Mammea americana	*mámi* [r])?
mango	*māña*
masusa, Renealmia exaltata	*masusa* [u])
Montrichardia arborescens	*yulika*
mushroom, agaric	*kamalasána* [u])
okra	*okru* (cr.)
orange	*arānsu* (Sp.)
paddlewood	*ayálolo* [spatula or stirrer (-wood)?]
palms: 1. Astrocaryum segregatum	*awara* [r])
2. Euterpe oleracea	*manaka*
3. Geonoma	*dáli* [u])
4. Ireartea exhorrhiza	*buba* (§ 182, 125)
5. Mauritia flexuosa	*ité, ītí* (§ 182, 123)
6. Maximiliana Maripa	*kokoliti* [u])

papaya	*papáya*
Para-nut, Bertholletia excelsa	*tútuka* r)
pea-nut	*pīnda* (cr.)
Cayenne pepper	*háči*
plantain	*puǫatana* (Sp.)
wild plantain, Heliconia	*háliči-bana* u)
sweet potatoe	*halitsi*
purpleheart	*kóǫobcǫéli* (red colour ?)
arrow-reed	*ihi*
basket-reed. 1.	*itiriti* (§ 90 f)
2.	*mokóǫo* u)
rice	*alési, rési* (cr.)
..	*káǫau-wi* (grass-fruit)
ricinus	*melona* u)
sapodilla	*sapatiya* (cr.)
silk grass, Bromelia	*uhikili, ŏ́kili*
Spondias dulcis	*pom siteri* (cr. or French pommier de cythère)
.. lutea, hogplum	*hobu* u)
sugar cane	*sikalu* (cr. or Sp.)
taro	*taya* (cr.)
tobacco	*yuli*
tonka, Dipteryx odorata	*kumaru*
trumpet-wood, Cecropia	*uanasoro* u)
vanilla	*kamaye*
wallaba	*wálaba*
yam (cr. "napi") Dioscorea trifida	*himikona*
.. (cr. "jam") Dioscorea cayennensis	*dolokwaru*

§ 201. **Old forms, genteel forms, salutation**

come here ! (old)	*b-akó-the yáha*
(modern)	*mira-ba-te*, or *mihira-ba-te yáha*
(very polite)	*mihira-ba-te yá-mara*
(when addressing a child of five years)	*kó-the*, or *kó-the yáha*
wives (genteel)	*iréi-no-či*
(ordinary)	*iréi-to-be*
give us this ! (old)	*bu-báto wa-ne*
(modern)	*b-ŏ́kŏ̆lŏ̆ka-te wá-di*, or *b-okói-ba-te wá-di*
fetch that thing ! bring it here (old)	*ba-thé|no*
(modern)	*bú-kŏ̆lŏ̆ka-te|no*, or *bú-šika-the|no*

come, and welcome them ! (old)	*b-ákobā-the ye*
(modern)	*b-o(hodidá-té ye* (from cr. *odi*, good-day)
greeting on arrival	*mayáukwa b-á bo* ? or *mayáukua b-a bú* ?, pl. *mayaukua h-a bú* ?
answer :	*mayáukwa d-á bo* !
greeting when meeting	*sa-u-ka-kwa-bó* (§ 130 a))
greeting on arrival	*d-andá-bi-the*, or *d-andá-ya-bi-te*
answer :	*b-anda-ra-bi-te-khān* ?
greeting when meeting early in the morning	*himili-wábu súwe* (very cold, friend)

(when addressing a person older than yourself, *da-lŏkŏnči* is used instead of *suwe* : when the person is younger, *sá-či* is used)

the younger one answers the older one :	*hadiá-ke|t-a himili-wabu dúku-či* (indeed, cold very, grandfather)

§ 202. **Sentences**
(Dutch spelling)

good-day !	*sa-wo-ka-kowa-bo-teh !*
how are you ?	*halika-dja-khan-koba ?*
good evening !	*sa-wo-ka kowa-bo bakkelaman !*
where are you going to-day ?	*halonro b-ose fa tanoho ?*
I 'm going nowhere to-day	*halonro khoro da-osa-ja-fa tanoho|da*
I should like to visit you	*hadjake da tiena to osa-tie-n b-iebitjiro*
where have you been to-day, I have not seen you the whole day	*haloron b-osa-bi tanoho, toh kasakabo m-addekhi-n da|ja d-a|bo*
you are a virtuous man, that is why I like you so much	*bji toda sa-tjina wadili da, kijadoma hadjake|d-a k-ansie-n bo*
will you come with me a moment to the waterside ?	*h-osa-the da-ma sjo-khanie onie rlebonro?*
where have you been so long, I have been waiting for you a long time	*halonro b-a|khana kebenan|da, d-aobada-ja mebenan khoro bo-bora*
listen I have something to tell you	*b-akanaba-teh amathali d-a ti-ka bo-moen*
I like you so much	*hadjake|da k-ansie-n bo*
I have not seen you for a long time	*wakharo khoro m-addekh-n da|ja d-a|bo*
I have been hunting, but I have seen nothing to shoot	*da-osa jokha-nro barlie-n, to-mora amah-khoro d-adekha da-jokho-n bija daba*

I am so hungry	*hadja kha-ke|da-hammesja-n*
I want to drink	*da-tha-ti-ka*
I want to eat	*da-khota-ti-ka*
I am going to play	*da-bira-ꞙa*
I shall go with you	*da-osa-ꞙa ho-ma|kowa-n*
you are a deceiver	*bji ammrlida arlien* (§ 141)
you are also a liar	*bji mrlieka-tsi kie daba*
I cannot understand foreign languages	*ꞙarletho dja-he khoro da-kanaba-ma*
I am so poor	*dai hadjake-ma kammenika*
men and animals are not alike	*khotah ma-thji kakhitsji khoro herreke-ka* (§ 104 b) 2))
what nice shoes you have	*wakhathora toh b-sapato-n daba*
the tide has come in	*barla kodowa-ja|da*
how wicked you are	*halimoro b-a wakhaja-n*
the sun is so hot to-day	*tanoho hadjake|tha hadalie there-n*
what bad weather this morning	*hadja|thaja abo-w-ka toh mawtsja*
men and women	*wadili-no ma-thsi hijaro-no*
the dog barks	*pero simaka*
the children cry	*na-simama-ka iebilie*
what do you talk the whole day	*hamaha-ron b-dja ka toh kasakabo*
I bore you	*hadja d-a-ja|da miteh tien b-iekiradie*
I have been ill	*kari-tsia koba da de*
what is your name ?	*hama b-ierie ?*
my name is difficult for you to pronounce	*mienka-kho ꞙarletoh d-ierie hessa-n-bija no*
I am going for a walk	*da-jadowa-ꞙa*
my foot hurts me	*da-kotti kari-ka*
the plant grows quickly	*tho abennekaraha borlo-ka* (§ 69 d) ?) *wabbedien*
I was out hunting and saw a big tiger advancing on me	*jokha-nro aba-ka* (one time ?) *da-ose-n kenda ꞙiero-tho arlowa osa-teh d-iebitsji*
where is your gun ?	*halon-ka khana b-arrakabosa-n da ?*
have you also brought arrows with you ?	*b-siemarla abo ma-n-tsji kiekhana da bji ?*
we have caught much fish	*wa-othsjika-ja joho-ro hieme*
why do you want to stay here ?	*hama bija khana jaha ti-ka|da bo ?*
where is your right hand ?	*halomarija khana b-sa-marija b-khabo ?*
we shall see how it happened	*wa-dekha-ja ꞙa-khana aba halika|th-a-n-ꞙa balie-n*
he is still living	*kaki-kwa l-a-ja*
no, he is already dead	*manien l-oda-ja hibie-n*
I'm sorry	*kari-ja th-andi-n da-khonan*

walk a little quicker	*bo-kona kale sabo khanien*
the water flows	*oni abo mala*
the water is sweet (fresh)	*oni abo seme-ja*
I pass	*da-bali-ka-teh*
I go away	*da-osa-teh*
the birds fly in the air	*torah kodibijo-be moroda-ka ajomon-die*
I have no clothing	*ma-bokorlo ba da de*
have you already dined ?	*bo-khotho bie da ?*
I am going to town	*th-ojo-sikowa-nro da-osa-bo*
the trees bear fruit	*toh ada-be k-iwi-ja*
the fishes swim in the water	*toh hime-be tiema oni rakho-die*
do people act like fishes ?	*naha kakhitsji hime dja-ma|ma kikhana daba ?*
I am going fishing	*da-bokoto fa hieme-be*
are you not afraid ?	*m-amaro-n-ka khanada bo ?*
I am afraid of nobody	*hama koro boro hamaro-ka de*
I go hunting	*jokha-nro da-osa-bo*
where are you ?	*halonro ba bie da ?*
I have been nowhere	*halon-khoro da-ose bie*
come and see me	*bu-ddikhe ba-teh de*
I have heard of you	*dai kanaba-ja bu-khonan*
he lied when he said he would go	*ousoro l-a-ja da-ose-fa ma-n|da*
oh, what a liar he is	*ma, hadia l-a-ja merlieka-n|da*
we shall go thither	*wai ose-ja-fa jonro*
who goes with us ?	*halikan ose-fa wa-o-ma ?*
we have seen him there	*wa-dikkha ja jon|da ie*
a snake has bitten him	*orie otoka ie*
what is the matter ?	*hamah ron khan tora ?*
you deceive everybody	*bu-mmerli da|ja*
it is not true, what you say	*kidia tahja khoro, hamah bu-ddia-sa*
I have been so glad that day	*dai kiaja kasakabo hadiake ma-koba halikhebe-n|da*
I shall come back again	*da-anda-bo-teh kida ba*
I like my parents	*da-a-marlita-kona-tsi da-ansi-ka*
can you tell me anything ?	*b-akka koma amathali da de ?*
I have seen two men there	*da-uddikkha-ja bijanma-no wadidie jomon*
what has that woman in her hand ?	*hamaron tho-khabo-roko tho hijaro ?*
she has a knife in her hand	*jodowala tho-khabo-roko ka*
I have had a dream	*ka-tobon ka|de koba*
I am going to dance with you	*da-bieni-fa bo-ma*
he has died	*l-oda-ja da*
no, he is not dead	*manien, l-oda-ja-khoro da*
I squeeze a lemon	*lemona da-samogodá* [u])

§ 203. Proverbs and mottos

(1 a), 1 b), 2, 3 a), 4 Dutch spelling.)

1 a) *Jarah-ki wiribisiri adeda-fa*
there deer spring-shall

1 b). *Jarah-diki tho wiribisiri akona-fa da*
there the deer walk-shall

2. *Hebe-tho arowa tho-mora th-berleda khoro tho brle-wa*
old tiger but it-lose not its colour-own

3 a). *Ad-o-ba a-tikida oni-rakon, toh-mora to-khona-khwa khoro kholo-ka|n*
tree-leaf fall water-in but sink yet not soaked it

3 b). *Kā-tho adá-bona abárakoná úni-rakó(ŋro abāre thákoro akónom*
when tree-leaf throw (?) water-in at once is-not go (?)

4. *Awadoli a-foda ade-be-ro-toh ada, toh-mora ada ina khoro toh-roko-sa.*
wind blow high trees but tree stump not it-shakes

5. *Kχ há-to awadúli fúdi(ŋ to hāū koná-ka.*
when wind blows the sloth walks

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1. There the kariaku-deer (Cervus simplicicornis) will spring (is said, if anyone has done evil, and Nemesis is awaiting him).
2. A jaguar may be old, but it does not lose its colours (the fox may lose its hair, but never its tricks).
3. When tree-leaves fall into the water, they do not sink at once (an evil deed is not soon forgotten; punishment may still follow).
4. The wind blows against big trees, but tree-stumps it does not shake.
5. When the wind blows sloth walks (people are going to exert themselves only when they are obliged to; R. 19a).

§ 204. Letter, dated Mata, March 20th, 1928

(Dutch spelling.)

1. *Mynheer, Jaha da-sikita fiero-tho akoba-he b-iebithi-ro.* 2. *Toho b-oso-n-koba Paramaribo o-khonaria hadiake d-a nekamon bo-nani, da-koborokowa towa-ka bo-kani.*
sir here I-give-cause great greeting thou-to this thou-go-past P. from very I-am sad thou-with (?) I remember continually (?)

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1. Dear Sir, I send you kind greetings. 2. When you departed from Paramaribo, I was very sad [because you have treated us kindly]. I have continually thought of you.

3. *M-aneki-n b-a kaima bia|no kidian|toh mani d-a-n joho-ro*
not-take thou-do wrath it true that not my-doing much

a-berleti-n b-iebitsiro. 4. *Da-anika abakhan amathalie b-iebitsi*
writing thou-to I-bring one-small thing thou-to

a-mikodo-n da.
sending

5. *Jaha b-onaba toho, da mon-tsi a-sikiti-sa akohba-he b-iebitsiro da.*
here thou-answer this me-with-person send-thing greeting thou-to

6. *Dai a-thikita|bo, kia, kha-toh da-sikitie-n b-iebitsiro aba mathalie*
I advise thou that when I-give-cause thou-to other thing

a-berleta-djaro, n-ani koma kha aba-no kaketsi manthan addikhe-tsi
write they-do may some man all (?) see-person

mekhebo o-khona da-berleti-n da? 7. *Kidia da a-koborokwatowa-ni.*
work concerning my-writing such I-remember

matie da|badia mani.
not-willing also not

8. *Bo-berleta-lie da-mon kwan ama-ha b-ansi-sa da-ani-bia bo-mn.*
thou-write! me-to yet what thou-like-thing I-do-to be thou-for

halikhebe lokho-di da-ani-ti-ka bo-mn mathalie.
joy in I-do-wish thou-for thing

9. *Aba khan-o-ma k-emekhebe thia khan d-a ba, da-sikitie-n bia*
one small-with work small I-do again I-give-cause to-be

joho-ro b-iebitsiro.
much thou-to

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3. I beg your pardon that I have not written much to you. 4. I have, however, done my best to send you something [1]).

5. Receive also greetings from my family [specially from Alphons, who accompanied me].

6. I tell you, that if ever I should again send anything, it would be better if some other person, or rather an overseer, were to control my writing. 7. Because it does not turn out as I desired it.

8. Write to me whatever you still wish that I should do for you; I will gladly do whatever you desire of me.

9. At present I am doing some small work; therefore I have not the time to send you much.

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[1]) The stories given in §§ 212 and 222, and a few sentences (§ 202), accompanied this letter.

§ 205. In former times — perhaps even yet in a few places — there were real, able medicine-men *(semeči)*: Baptist has known one in his youth. The Kaliñas have not exactly the same medicine-knowledge as the Arawaks, and that which they practice (— see the detailed description by Pen., 69f —) is said to have been partly of Arawak origin.

A course in medicine-knowledge is as a rule attended by several persons. First they construct a small house for their study (*na-oroá-kona*; I am studying for medicine-man, *da-orowá-ka*). Each pupil digs a hole in the ground, and is obliged to keep this hole moist for forty days [1]) by continual vomitting. During this time his whole food and drink consists of tobacco-balls and tobacco-water.

Then a pot is placed outside the hut, filled with the juice of the takini-bark, and the pupil inhales the fumes arising from it (see for tobacco and takini, §§ 167 a) 4), 169 c) 2), and D. 8, 285). Now visions appear to the pupil, and the medicine-man explains their signification.

Afterwards the novice is allowed to shoot humming-birds with a blunt-headed arrow; he may only eat the heart and the head of these birds, one bird per day, divided over three meals. After this, he may eat Trogon viridis. And then crabs, and so on.

§ 206. When anyone is seriously ill, and the aid of the *semeči* is called in, the *semeči* examines him in the evening, and concentrates his thoughts on him. After that the *semeči* goes to sleep, and in a dream the sort of the disease is revealed to him [2]). On the second evening the *semeči* blows tobacco-smoke over the patient, etc. (presumably he now enters into communication with the rattle-stones-spirit, the water-spirit, bush-spirit, etc.).

Singing by which a spirit is called up:

bo-kóna-thĭ da-múni yúλi-no, come to me, tobacco-spirit (vocative).
adóŋko-ro|dá-fa-do bu-burá-di, thou shalt find me sleeping,
ānda-thu|bá-te-kána, I request thee earnestly to come,
dá-muŋ yúλi-nu d-adiá-ka bú-konaŋ, I request thee earnestly to come to me.

The *semeči* now sends a good spirit *(lĭ-sémehe)* to find out what evil spirit, or what human spirit, has caused the illness. If he finds it, he brings it to the *semeči*, who asks it, why it has done that, and moreover he asks the good spirit to punish the evil one.

§ 207. A child receives its name eight days after birth. The parents or the family consult the *semeči*. The latter examines the child, and in a dream the sign of the child's future appears to him. According to this sign the name is given (*li-sémici a-ribirita-ya da|i*, or *lŏ simiči a-šiká-ya l-iri-wa*, the medicine-man has given him a name). If the child received a wrong name, it would be ailing all its life.

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1) "Forty days", comp. R. 19a, Sect. 276, quoting Gumilla.
2) Dream: see also §§ 174 c), 207, 211, 220.

A few names:

clan	Arawak name	baptismal name
Káluafu (his mother was a *Kaluafu*, his father a *Śiwena*)	*Sásanáli* (*sa*, good)	*Johannes Baptist*
Úraši	*Sibanáli* (*siba*, stone, possibly the pebbles in the rattle)	*Alphons*
—	1° (seldom used) *Mâọakeli* 2° *Tokódi* or *Tokódo* (the lovely one; flower?)	*Evelina Josephina*

§ 208. In former times, when a chief had to come to town in order to visit the Governor, he first rubbed himself with the bulb of the peace-plant (*sāika-bina*, §§ 29 e), 58 d) 2)). Whoever must appear before the judge, does it also (*kirtyádu-bína*, white-people-charm, § 164 j) 2)). For similar purposes a Kaliña will rub his body with red paint (from Bixa Orellana), in which the charm is mixed. Presumably the old Arawaks did this too, see Q. 18, 239 and R. 19a, Sect. 240A).

§ 209. A swollen place *(ahé-kuna:* my hand is swollen, *da-kabo ákoa)*, is treated with the plant "touch-me-not" *(ayákü(h)*, in powder form. As the leaves of this plant can shrink, its properties must cause a swelling to shrink or decrease.

§ 210. A girl having her first menstruation, is isolated by the parents for three weeks in a hut. All this time there is feasting. Then a piece of matting is prepared, in the mashes of which ants of the species *yóko* are caught. An old man or an old woman applies this mat (*ná-rabāioda-n*, § 104 c)) to the skin of the girl. By this means the girl will become quick and industrious like the ants. After this, she is adorned (comp. R. 19a, Sect. 269).

In the same manner they also have children bitten by ants: "this is good for them".

§ 211. An Arawak chieftain went to town and there received presents from the Government. Some Kaliñas askẹd his wife to give them some of the presents, but the woman refused, whereupon the Kaliñas by magic power sent an evil spirit to that chieftain. He became ill, and died on the way to his village.

The people of his village became suspicious of the brother-in-law of the chieftain, a medicine-man living in an adjacent village. That man had requested to accompany the chieftain to town, and when his body was brought home, he had said: "look here, brother-in-law, before you went to town, you were not ill; how is it, that you have come back as a corpse *(a-udó-či abúdia-či)*?"

They prepared a beverage, and invited the inhabitants of other villages to a feast; two youths were appointed as executioners.

The spirit of that medicine-man had told him everything *(lẹ-séme|tha*

hakâ-ka|da|i). The messenger said that no evil would befall him. That night the spirit appeared to him in a dream *(lẹ-seme|tha a-yárato-sa-yamun|da|i*, or *l-ẹtẹ́buŋ lokoá|tha le-séme a-káya|de)*, and said to him : go, but some evil will befall you. Thereupon he went with the messenger.

He was kindly received, but when he drank his third gourd [1]), one of the executioners stabbed him with a sword (which had been presented by the Government to the chieftain) in the abdomen, and after that the other beheaded him. The blood bespattered everything, also the vessel containing the beverage.

The feast was stopped, and the beverage poured out. The two executioners immediately began a tobacco-fasting-cure for him, *(na-uroá-fa|tha lẹ́-diki)* in the same way as the medicine-pupils do (§ 205). Afterwards they buried him.

But the man knew the Arawak medicine-knowledge, and also the medicine-knowledge of other tribes, which he had learned on the Orinoco : if he wished, he might transform himself into a tiger. His inspiring spirit had left him : had that not been the case, he could not have been killed. After his death, the spirit returned *(lo-ódo-n-bena|thá lẹ-séme ânda)*. And then the man caused the death of one of his executioners as soon as the new moon appeared ; and he caused the death of the other a month later. The population were visited by sickness ; the remainder was scattered ; the place was forsaken. Baptist himself has seen the vestiges of that village.

"This is a true story, which happened when my (Baptist's) grandfather was young (14 or 15 years)".*("t(k?)idyán-tho a-báli-ŋ-koba, de-kuthú|da bikidólia-th-a-ŋ-ka")*.

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[1]) "Three times" ; also in §§ 212, 213, 219 and in many other Indian tales.

IV. MYTHS, ETC.

§ 212. The story of the founder of the medicine-art.

Dutch spelling.

(§ 166[d, f]), and comp. v. C., Ant III, 485, R. 19a, Sect. 3—8, B. 5e, 18, 5*d*, 401.)

1. *Aba ukkha koba toh m-aithie-n kowa m-a-n-kha semetsie khonan ;*
one time was not-know yet being med.-man concerning

jon koba aba wadilie tah, a-sikithi fa djan-tsi, atenowa bia kidia
there was a man give-cause like first to-be thus

th-a-n fa|da. 2. *L-ieri tah lie aurokot-arlien lu-ssakhotah*
shall his-name he med.-art-learn-cause-artisan he-call-cause

Harliwanlie. 3. *Harliwanlie tah ussa kaki-n lo-jono o-ma : ukkha tah*
H. H. good live his-family with time

n-aka-n lokho-die, jawahe koba tah ka-here-ka koma kakhitsie o-ma da ;
they-say in devil was friendly may man with

4 *kidia tah wadia djaro aba hereke jawahe sa-be aba amathalie*
thus by and by about one company devil children a thing

wakha-tho th-anika naha kakhitsie da. 5. *th-ani-ka tah hadian-tho*
bad they-put those men they-put such

ballihie-n amathalie keben-toh ietika wabo thu-rlanta n-abojo-n-a
certainly thing very excrement exceeding they-mix their-food

o-ma nah kakhitsie da. 6. *Kiadoma kida, nah kakhitsie mienkhoro*
with those men therefore those men very

aimato-n-a kidian-tho o-balie-n o-khonan, toho th-ani-sa na-ma da :
angry suchlike pass concerning that its-doings they-with

7. *ken khoro nah kakitsie adia-fa n-abokwawa da, hali th-a-n-fa o-balie-n*
then those men speak among each other how shall pass

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1. There was a time when the art of the medicine-man was not yet known; there was a man who as the founder, did it for the first time. 2. The name of that founder was Harliwanli. 3. H. lived in peace with his family; at that time — so people say — the devil was on friendly terms with man ; 4. later, some children of the devil played a dirty trick upon mankind, 5. they behaved very badly, and even mixed excrement with the food of man. 6. Therefore the men were very angry on account of the things they had done to them 7. and the men considered what was the

kidian-tho. 8. Ken toho iebiro-be wakhaja-be-ro ma-iebowa-tie-n
suchlike then those little ones wicked ones not-cease-wish

tho-malokonia da, naha kakhietsie a-bokoto-n bia|tah be|da|no, nah-fari-
its-with-in-continual those man catch it they-kill

n-bia be da|n, 9. kiadoma tho-marli t-akona|tho be toho wakhaja-be-tho
it therefore its-parent it-walk those wicked-ones

iebi-ro-be mienkhoro aimatowa-sabo-ren baikia naha kakhitsie o-khonan.
little-ones very angry-very-being those man concerning

10. Ken tah tho jawahe adia-n bia fa o-balie-tho-fa amathalie khonan|da.
then that devil speak occurrence-future thing concerning

11. tho-makwa amathalie hikorlie-hie bia-wo, kari-hie khonan, ma-tho
all thing lameness to-be we (?) sickness like with

amathalie sabo ande-tho fa kakhitsie diako-n. 12. toho jawahe adia-n
thing more come-thing future man upon-at that devil speak

bena da kidien tho|ma-jarado-n-a-bia|tah abakharen tho-makwa|da, nah
after thus it dis-appear suddenly all the

kakhitsie m-adikkhi-n sabon bia tho jawahe da. 13. Ken baikia jawahe da,
man not-see more the devil then devil

a-jorlathi-n bia nah kakhitsie ansi|da, 14. kia doma khoro lie
disturb those man peace therefore that

wadilie, da-ussa-bo-kilie, adia-fa lo-ma-n-tsie kakhitsie o-ma, halika
man I-named-person speak he-with-persons man with how

n-a-n-fa toho jawahe o-ma da. 15. Ken khoro liehie Harliwanlie na lie
they-do-shall that devil with then that H. they he

mn adia-ka|tah da, 16. jawahe-be o-ma wa-fara-li, hadia wa farokha
at say devils with we-war thus we-do if

a-ibie-n toho amathalie harlaja-fa wa-ma-sido-n-a ahdon. 17. Ken
leave that thing appear-shall (?) we-beheaded (??) then

lu-ddia kika da ba bija-nieno l-okiejotsie o-ma, aba tokai wa-marlita-
he-says again two his-brothers with a medicine-house we-make

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best thing to do. 8. As these children did not leave off playing their dirty tricks, the men caught them, and killed them; 9. therefore the parents of those wicked children became so very angry with men. 10. Then the devil prophesied: 11. all accidents, diseases etc. will come upon mankind; 12. after the devil had spoken thus, they all disappeared, men have seen them no more. 13. Then the devils began to vex men; 14. therefore the man I have just mentioned, told the people what they should do with the devils.

15. H., as he is called, said: 16. let us make war on the devils, for if we tolerate this, we all shall perish.

17. He said to his two (younger) brothers, let us make a medicine-house,

teh 18. *lo-koborokwatowa-n lokho-die da, kia tah na owrowa-n bia,*
he-planning in that they medicine-art-learn

halika n-a-n fa a-feliedo-n-a toh amathalie o-loko-waria ande-tho
how they-doing-shall loose that thing in-from come-thing

fa-the na-diako-n, tho-jomede-sa-koba toho jawahe tho-bora-di-wa.
will they-upon it-prophecy that devil it-before

18A. *Kiadiki jorlie-sie l-unneka, lo-bona tah|no, wa | tha-khoro*
thereafter tobacco-seed he-take he-plant it long was-not

borlondan: atenowa-tho tah tho-bana tho jorlie l-unneka, woinatah
(furi, sprout?) first its-leaf that tobacco he-take (beginning,

olo lu-ssiribidie-n bia tah da no.
sprout?) he-roll up it.

19. *Ken baikia iewida n-aneki-n bia kibona ourowa-kona bia,*
then calabash they-take that-past medicine-art-instrument to-be

jo-waria tah aba-lokho-die-kho mathalie kidaba, toho m-aithie-n
there-from different thing again that not-knowing

d-a-sa ussa-n aka bia kida. 20. *Kidiatah koba a-inato-n-a, halika*
my-do-result well speak again thus was beginning how

n-a-n-koba nah loko-no seme-tsie aitie-ni.
they did those men medicine-man knowing

21. *Lihie, na-sa-kili Harliwanlie tah, a-inati-n-fa|tah osa-ren*
he they-name-person H. begin go-stop

l-ani-ti-sa-fa da: 22. *l-onnaki-n bia tah naha bija-nino l-okiejotsie*
his-do-wish-result-future he-take those two his-brother

lo-ma-wa, kia lo-ma nah-ouwrowa-n-bia.
he-with-own that he-with they-medicine-learn

23. *Aba kha koba kakke ka tah toh hiaro be o-ma da ie ussa-n:* 24. *Toh*
a time was live that women with he well that

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18. his purpose being that men should learn (be initiated) how to be delivered from the things that were going to happen to them, as the devil had prophesied.

18A. After that he took tobacco-seeds and sowed them, and they grew quickly: first he took the leaf of the tobacco and enveloped it with a leaf of the manicole-palm [thus it was formed like a cigar].

19. Then he took also a calabash to serve as an instrument to work with, and other things which I am not able to repeat. 20. Thus was the beginning of men (Arawaks) knowing the medicine-art.

21. He, the so-called H. began to attain his purpose; 22. he took his two brothers also to study the medicine-art with him. [After having put everything in order, he took two women as his wives].

23. Some time he lived in peace with his two wives. 24. But the fire

hiaro be|da a-inata-fa iekihie a-kojakoto-n 25. wakhaja kakke-he abo.
women begin-shall fire collecting evil life with

wadia kida toh bijan-be hiaro da a-inata-n wakhaja-tho o-loko-n na-ma
soon those two woman begin wicked-thing in-at they-with

nah bija-nino lihie wadilie okijotsie.
those two that man brother

26. *Toho wakhaja da, nah ani-sa, kebena sabo jamada khoro*
that wickedness their doings short time very (*maga*, public ?) not

aitha-n-bia da|no. 27. *Okojoko loko-n th-itikidie-n bia tah, kiadoma tah*
know it ear in-at it-whisper therefore

l-iematowa-koba mienkhoro lihie wadilie, l-iematowa-sabo ka tah masowan
he-angry-was very that man he-angry-more very

l-okijo-no o-khona-n. 28. *L-ieri tah lihi Harliwanlie abalie l-okitsie :*
his-brothers against his-name that H. one his-brother

Orlowama, l-ierabo l-okitsie ieri kho da-aitha ; 29 *kabi-nino*
O. his-second (§ 104c)) his-brother name not (?) I-know three

Harliwanlie erejonotsi n-aito balien, bijan-be wa|tah toh l-erejonotsie
H. wives they-heed indeed two own that his-wives

koba. 30. *N-ieri-be tah nah bija-nino hiaro-be|da. Orliro. Sibarlojen.*
were their-names those two women O. S.

31. *Harliwanlie tah aithsie fa|da|no halika n-a-n wakhaja-n l-erejonotsi.*
H. know it how they-were wicked his-wives

kiadoma kidia l-a-koba lo-monowa a-koborokwatowa-n, halika l-a-n-fa
therefore thus he-did him-for-self planning how he-do-will

na-ma o-balie-n fa|da. 32. *The ibokota-n bia tah da l-ajarlodokoto-n bia fa*
them-with pass shall ? punish he-enslave-cause

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of discontent began among those women : 25. they began to lead a bad life with the two brothers of that man.

26. The wrong they had committed, could not remain hidden. 27. It reached the ear [of H.], and therefore that man was very angry [with his wives] and he was more angry with his brothers. 28. The name of H.'s first younger brother was Orlowama, the name of his second younger brother I don't know. 29. it is said also that H. had three wives, because he had two wives for himself only [1]). 30. The names of those two women were Orliro and Sibarlojen.

31. H. noticed how wicked his wives were : therefore he made up his mind, what should happen to them. 32. In order to punish his brothers, he exercised his medicine-art at night.

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[1]) The meaning of this may be, that a man is not fully the master over his first wife, because she is protected by her clan.

l-okijotsi, orli-ka|tah lo-marlakada-n-bia. 33. atenowa-lie l-okitsi|tah aba
his-brother night he-rattles first-one his-brother one

ka m-awso-ni aba-nro, ken khoro baikia koba bahi-n l-a-n-kha|da,
time not-going one-at then house-at he-was-when

aba sjoko-tho kodibijo khan andi-n-bia|tah l-iesikowa kiradi|tahda,
a little bird come his-house round-about

th-omoromorodi-n bia fa tah, jaha-n, taha-bo-n man ansentowa-n|da. 34.
it-fly-fly-ing here-at there-at all warbling

Ken kia kodibijo-khan ajento-n-owa-bia|tah, akanabi-n-bia th-ejento-n-a
and that bird-small singing hear it-singing

kidaba k-akaneki-n lihi Orlowama ieri a-sa-farokha dia-tsie-n 35. hama !
again loudly this O. name call-if like what

l-a|tha liehi wadilie, bjie sjoko-tho kodibijo, bjie tatarleko da|dien teh
he-do that man thou little bird thou strong thus

da-ieri loko ussa-n|de. 36. Kharoho|da l-a|tha da-unneka-fa da-simarla-wa
my-name in call me now he-do I-take-will my-arrow-own

da-fare-n-bia a-jokho-n bia|bo ; 37. tho-morodo-n-bia a-sifodabo-ren.
I-kill hunt thou it-fly turn about

38. *ken l-unneki-n-bia tah l-iesimarla-wa* 39. *lu-bbenati-n-bia atenowa*
then he-take his-arrow-own he-be after (?) first

tah lo-koboda|tha da|no l-iebijantehdo-n-a lo-koboda kika da ba|n, kabinnie
he-miss it his-second he-miss again it third

lo-bonate-n | kida, l-unneke ka fa lu-ssima, lu-ssifeda-n-bia lu-jabomaria.
he-be-after (?) again he-take will his-arrow he-turn about his-back-side

lu-ddeki-n-bia|tah firo-tho onie ebera barlaa da kidian-tho amathalie
he-see great swamp sea thus-thing something

a-bali-tho lo-ma, aboka-n bia l-uja. 40. *Ken da lu-ddekhe fa tha*
happening he-with boiling his-life-spirit then he-see

firo-tho oniabo akhausa-tho da ie, lo-bokona-n bia tah mienkhoro|da.
great water surround-thing him he-boil very

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33. His first brother once not having gone out to any other place, and being at home, a little bird came near his house and began to warble. 34. When that little bird began to sing, it was as if the sound of his song called the name of O. 35. What ! said that man, you little bird, are you so insolent as to call my name. 36. Now, he said, I will take my arrow to kill you ; 37. then it flew to and fro ; 38. then he took his arrow; 39. after that the first time he missed, the second time he missed again, the third time he shot, and as he intended to pick up his arrow, he turned round and saw a big lake, and was amazed at the things that happened to him. 40. When he saw that big water which was round about him, he became greatly

m-aithie-n l-a-n-bia|tah halika l-a-n-fa da. 41. *Jomon, jon-tho*
not-know he-doing-to-be what he-do-shall there the place

lu-ddinamo-n, sikowah koba|tah, atako-tho abalokho-die tah kho tiebokili
he-stand house past covered-thing different shrubbery

abo da kia horloro. 42. *Kia hororo koba tah, halon toh kobibijo sjoko-tho*
with that country that country where that bird little

o-kojaha kakki-n: 43. *kia|tah sjoko-tho kodibijo toh lu-ddekha-ro da.*
spirit-place (§ 167) that little bird that he-see

kia tah khoro kodibijo ja|da|no, ujja-he ron tah. 44. *Kia adiba-thie-n-*
that was not bird it spirit only that apparition-per-

tho kodibijo ussa kidian-tho lo-ma amathalie iebira-ka, kiadoma.
son-being-thing bird go thus he-with thing mock therefore

lihi thojokilie nah-bokintsi a-jorlateke-ti-n mienkhoro
that (family-chief, § 164 k) 3) 7) their-older brother stir-cause-wish very

l-ansi. 45. *Kidien|tah, jomon koba hajarlo-tsie dien iebara-ni.*
his-peace thus there past slave like remain

46. *L-iebijanteh l-okitsi kitah da Harliwanlie mansowa k-aima-loko*
his-second his-brother also H. very wrath-in

a-jarlodokota. 47. *kenkhoro l-ossokota koba jowaria a-majaradi-n*
enslave-cause then he-go-cause past there-from disappearing

aba wakhaja-tho sikowa-nro da ie, jon-tho haliman-tho ukkha hadien
a evil place-at him there how-long time thus

mansowan k-amenika-ni. 48. *ken khoro baikia toh sikwa-he jawahe-be*
very suffering then that place devils

ron m-abena-be-tho da, kakhitsi dian-tho tah. 49. *Ken da jon atenowa*
only without-bone-things man like then there first

l-andi-n bo, jon-khondo-be tah, a-bokoto-n bia da ie, tho-roboti-n-bia
he-come there-persons catch him it-extract

lo-bona l-iesiroko koboroko-waria lo-kona-sabo ka khoro wadilien
his-bone his-flesh among-from he-walk-more was not (*mamarin*, not at all)

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alarmed and did not know what to do. 41. At the place where he was standing, there was a waste, covered with all kinds of wild shrubs. 42. That was the country where the spirit of that little bird dwelt; 43. so that little bird which he had seen, was not a bird, but a spirit. 44. That wonderful bird had played with him, because his older brother had wished to trouble him. 45. So he remained there in exile.

46. H. also severely punished his second brother; 47. he caused him to disappear to a desolate country, where he had to suffer heavily for some time; 48. it was a country of spirits which had no bones; they were like men. 49. When he came there at first, the inhabitants extracted all the bones from his body; he could not walk any more, because he had

m-abena-ja ie sabo khana da. 50. *Ken baikia naha ka-hoketsi kakke*
without-bone-being he more and those brethren live
kowa-ma-ja hajarlo loko da.
still-may slave in

51. *Naha biaja-nino hijaro authika|tah n-ajarlodo-n-a bia kida ba.*
those two woman find they-enslaved to-be also
52. *Aba-kka tah lie-dia-n Harliwanlie l-erejonotsi bija-nino o-mon.* 53.
one-time he-say H. his-wives two to
wa-ossa-lie kieraha-nro, da-dikkha koba hime mienkhoro jo-ni. 54. *kidia*
we-go lake-to I-see past fish very much so
n-ah koba auso-n jo-nro, ken hime sabo-ren mienkakhoro n-ahothikie-n da.
they-did go thither and fish very very they-find
55. *ken khoro iekihi firo-tho na-marliti-fa, kidia tah adia-he, kidia tah*
then fire great they-make thus word thus
a-marlito-n-a|n. 56. *Nah ienate-fa toh a-jabodi-n.* 57. *aba|tah toh*
done it they begin that broil one that
hijaro da Sibarlojen tho ieri kia tah hadofethi-ka toho iekihi a-theretie-n
woman S. her name oppressed (§ 109) that fire heat-cause
da; 58. *Kidia|tah fa adia-n th-ieretsi mon, da-ukka-fa banja:* 59.
thus speak her-husband to I-bath-will first
kenkhoro th-oso-n oni rako-n thu-ttimatimada-bo. 60. *Jowaria l-osa|ba*
then she-go water in-at she-swim-swim thence he-go again
adikkhi-n lie Harliwanlie th-iebitsiro, lu-ddia-n bia tah tho-mon, tora
see this H. she-at he-speak she-at that
hadja-ro b-a-lie l-a-n-bia tahda. 61. *kha-ki|tah abakharen toho lie-dia-n*
so thou-be he-do time-this! suddenly that he-say
o-ma ki. hime bia th-ebesowa da toho hijaro Kasekojah bia.
with this! fish to-be she-change that woman porpoise to-be

62. *toh-rabo hijaro addikkhe kidian-tho a-balie-n toh-bokowa uja.*
the-other woman see thus pass she-boil life-spirit

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no bones. 50. So both brethren lived in bondage.

51. The two women also got their punishment. 52. One day H. said to his two wives, 53. let us go to a pond, I have recently seen a lot of fishes there; 54. so they went thither and caught many fishes, 55. and he said: make a big fire; no sooner said than done. 56. They begin to broil those fishes. 57. One of those women, S. was her name, became oppressed by the heat of the fire; 58. Thus she said to her husband, I will take a bath; 59. when she went into the water, she began to swim. 60. After that H. came to look at her and spoke to her: thus you will be transformed. 61. At the same moment he spoke, the woman was changed into a porpoise.

62. When the other woman saw this, she was seized with fear, 63. she

63. *tho-khojabi-n bia tha lihi th-ieretsi-wa tata-n, amaha th-ani-sa-koba*
she-beg that her-husband strongly what her-doing-past

amathali wakhai-tho, lu-ssikie-n-bia ussa-loko|no. 64. Ken baikia sa-thie
thing evil he-give good-in it then good

l-a-fa adia-n tho-ma da 65. d-ani-fa khoro wakhaja-tho amathali
he-do speak she-with I-do-will not evil thing

bo-ma l-a|tah. 66. kia diki da, a-bira-tsi l-a-n-bia tah tho-khona,
thou-with he-said that after mock he-do she-at

th-imithamithada k-akkaneki-n. 67. Ken khoro toh hijaro da akhojaba-
she-laugh-laugh loudly then that woman beg-again

re-ma barlie-n da ie, l-ienati-n bia tah abalokho dien khoro toh-mon da, kia
indeed him he-begin different like thing her-to that

tah a-mithadakotho-n bia da|no tatta-sabo-n, aikasia-thi thana th-iefiro-wa
laugh-cause her hard-more forget her-body-own

ma-ibo-tie tah a-mithada-n da. 68. Halika mo-tho adi-he-ron|tah lie-dia-sa
not-cease laugh whatever word-only his-saying

tho-mon th-iebowa-ti-ka-khoro a-mithada-n ; 69. kenkhoro baikia l fa
she-to she-cease-wish-not laugh then he will

adia-n : mitha|da b-ansi-a hadien, haliman|bo-fa a-mithada-n bu-kkakke
speak laugh thy-wish so how thou-shalt laugh thy-life

man. 70. Kia diki lie-dia-n bena kidien, th-ebeso-n-a-n-bia kodibijo
whole that after he-speak after thus she-change bird

dien. 71. Ken kia kwan kodibijo kharo-ren-man bia n-aithie-n da. 72.
like and that bird now they-know

T-ah koba toho l-iereitho iebijanteh Harliwanlie|da kodibijo-bia a-beso-n-a
it-was this his-wife second H. bird changed

koba. 73. Th-ieri tho l-iereitho|da th-sa-kho : Orliro, ken toho kodibijo
her-name that his-wife it-call O. and that bird

th-ebeso-sa koba loko-n th-ieri|da : Beletatta. 74. Kidia l-a koba
she-change-result past in-at its-name lame-strength (?) so he-did

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begged her husband to pardon her the sin she had committed. 64. Thus he spoke with kind words to her, saying 65. I shall not hurt you. 66. But after that he begins to tell her all sorts of jokes, and then she laughed loudly. 67. When the woman begged him again, he began to say many talks, so that the woman forgot herself and started laughing again, and could not cease laughing. 68. At every word he said to her, she laughed incessantly : 69. then he spoke thus : you like laughing and so you shall laugh your whole life long. 70. After he had said that, she changed into the shape of a bird. 71. And to this day that bird is well-known. 72. Thus H.'s second wife was transformed into a bird. 73. The name of that wife was Orliro, and the bird whose shape she took is

Harliwanlie l-erejonotsi bija-nino a-jarlodokoto-n, na-wakhaja
H. his-wives two enslave-cause their-wickedness
khonaria n-anie-sa-koba.
for the sake of their-doings-past

75. *D-aakah ki-fa Harliwanlie khona kowan.*
I-tell further H. concerning yet

76. *Toho tah da, naha bijanino l-iereitho-be l-ebesokoto-sa-koba,*
those two his-wives he-change-caused
atenowa-ro tah kasekoja bia-koba da, th-ibijanthe tah l-ireitho da, beletata
the first porpoise became the-second his-wife caracara
bia koba kharo-ren da.
become now

77. *Naha tah bijanino l-okijotsie l-ajarlodokota-koba no, lo-joo tah da,*
those two his-brother he-enslave-caused plur.? his-mother
a-khojab-n bia tah da ie, lo-robeti-n bia jowaria, jon-tho koba
beg him he-extract from thence place
l-iemikodokoto-n da je. 78. tatta-n doma tah lo-joo a-khojab-n da ie,
he-send-cause them strongly because his-mother beg him
l-onaka koba kidaba je. 79. Naha tah bijanino l-okijotsie ieri|da:
he-took again them those two his-brother name
Orlowama ma-thi Hiwanaka.
O. and H.

80. *Hiwanaka tah da ma-bena-li-jo mamn-thsi koba, mawadilija*
H. without-bone-spirit there-person *mamari*, impossible
aba-nro l-oso-n tho-rija-be|da, belle l-a-nnada ma-bena-n doma da ie.
other place-at he-go they-from lame he-was without-bone because he
81. *Lo-wa wabo|tah, l-onake-fa l-okitsie-wa.* 82. *Kenkhoro baikia*
he-self very (?) he-take his-brother-own then

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called Beletatta (caracara-falcon). 74. In this way H. punished both his wives for the sin they had committed.

75. I shall now continue the story of H.

76. Well then, he had metamorphosed his two wives, the first into a porpoise, the second into a caracara-falcon.

77. His two brothers, whom he had banished, had sighed in exile for a long time already, when on a certain day his mother came to him, and begged that they might be released from their place of exile; 78. because she entreated him so strongly, he made up his mind to release them. 79. The names of the two brothers were Orlowa and Hiwanaka.

80. Hiwanaka was exiled into a country of boneless people (spirits?); he could not walk any more, because he had no bones in his flesh. 81. He went there himself, in order to deliver his brother. 82. Before he

lo-maraka da fa lie dikowa|tah l-oso-n-bora jomnro da. 83. Waboroko
he-rattle he after he-go-before there path

lokko tah l-otsikie-n-bia ma-benalijo-be da, a-jokhatho-bo firobero
in he-find boneless people hunting tapir

kanbanna-ron tah, th-ifirobero-n doma tah no. 84. lo-jjoko-n-bia|tah.
butterfly-only tapir because (?) it he-hit

tho-bora be da|no; kia doma toho kanbana firobero kharo-ren th-a-n-bia
it-before it therefore that butterfly tapir now it-being

ballalla thsi-dien kerouwakowan anekebo da. 85. Lo-bali-ka|tha
round as § 108 A midst he-pass

th-iesikowa-nro da, lu-ddikkhe-bia tah, l-okitsie wa, kawa-u-ka tha jomn da,
the-house-at he-see his-brother own absent-were (?) there

kia doma tah, lu-dkhi-n jon-tho da ie, lo-bena tah leta leta ba-n tho bahe
therefore he-see there him his-bones put-put the house

khona|da. 86. l-unneki-n-bia tah da|no, lu-lletadi-n-bia lo-mn kida
at (?) he-take them (Sm. a-ltadū-, to put on) he-at again

toho lo-bena, abaren tah tattabedi-n bia da ie. 87. L-onaki-n bia tah da
that his bones forthwith make stiff him he-take[?]

ie. th-ujjafidi be toho mabenalijo da. 88. Ken khoro baikia. l-osso-fa
him they-were out (? § 69) the b. p. then he-go

l-okitsi abo|da a-tede-ni. wa|tha khoro-tha-i th-a-n l-a-wa|da, kiadoma
his-brother with flee long is not being himself (?) therefore

tho-kojo-wa bahe-nro, addikhe-ren kawa wa kolan.
they-return house-to after (?) each other (?) swift (?)

89. *Ken na-wso-n bena da, toho mabenalijo-be. awso fa na-ienabo.*
and they-go after those b. p. go they-after

Th-osa|tah abenan da je. kija doma tah, nah-osabo-ka. 90. Toho
they-go moment (?) them therefore they go-very (?) those

---

went, he practised his medicine-art. 83. On the way he met the boneless people, who were on the hunt; a butterfly as big as a tapir went before them [they were hunting for a butterfly ?] 84. He shot it with an arrow, and the place where he shot it may be seen to this day: a circular spot [on a rock, or in the wood ?] 85. He passed by and came to the place where his brother was. He saw his brother, having no bones at all: other people he did not see; his bones had been extracted from his body by the inhabitants; 86. he took the bones and put them again in his brother's body. 87. Then he took him along with him, whilst the inhabitants were still from home. 88. After that he fled with his brother; when the inhabitants came home, they perceived it.

89. The boneless people pursued them, therefore they ran swiftly. 90.

mabenalijo-be osabo-ka tah na-ienabo, t(?)-ohtsika tah nah khona, aba
b. p. go-very (?) they-after they-find they concerning an

jesi sikowa loko-nro nah-kodon-a-n bia tah da. 91. Ken khoro baikia,
armadillo hole in-at they-enter then

th-a-n|da be jomn kia jesi sikowa lokowaria tah, l-dena-wa, lo-fetikitie-n
being there that armadillo hole in-from his-arm he-put forth

bia teh lu-kkabo-wa|da, orie dien tah th-iebitsiro.
his-hand snake as they-to

92. *Kenda Harliwanlie l-okitsi o-ma toho jesi sikowa loko l-a-*
then H. his-brother with that armadillo hole in he-

n-kha, jon-kowa tahtha kia mabenalijo-be da, abaren tah korlijaka bia
being there-yet b. p. suddenly parrot to be

l-ebbesokoto-n lo-ma wa l-okitsi da. 93. Kia diki da, nah-moroda koba
he-change-cause he-with own his-brother that after they-flew

korlijaka-dien tho-rija-be. 94. Harliwanlie awonaka koba l-okitsi tah toh
parrot-as they-from H. took his-brother those

mabenalijo-be oria. 95. Nah-jonatho tah abarlitaja da|je mienkhoro,
b. p. from their-mother wait (?)| them very

m-aithie-n th-a-n doma amaha balie-n nah-ma. 96. Nah-morodo-n
not-knowing she-do because what pass they-with they-flew

koba toh jesi sikowa lokowaria, nah-osa-koba nah-sikowa-ron,
that armadillo hole in-from they-went their-house

bahjorl-adiako tah nah teni-n-bia da.
house-tiebeam-upon they tread (?)

97. *Kia diki kida, Harliwanlie adia-ka lo-jo ma-tsi lo-jo-no o-mn da,*
thereafter H. say his-mother and his-family to

n-iesado-n-a bia tah. 98. Aban diaro tah, korlija-be a-moroda-fa nah
they-prepare one time parrots fly their

The boneless people hotly pursued them, and they found an armadillo-hole and entered it. 91. When they were in the armadillo-hole, he put forth his arm and his hand was changed into a snake. 92. When H. with his brother were still in that hole, and the boneless people were waiting for them, he suddenly metamorphosed himself and his brother into parrots. 93. Thereafter they flew away from them, as parrots. 94. H. had brought back his brother, and delivered him out of the hands of the boneless people. 95. Their mother had been anxiously awaiting them, because she did not know what would happen to them. 96. When they had flown out of the armadillo-hole, they went back to their house.

97. After that, H. said to his mother and to his family, that they should prepare themselves. 98. One time parrots flew past their house; they

sikowa adi-ren, hijarlie tah iewi abo bierakhatowa-loko toh. 99. *Ken*
house upon takini-tree fruit with play-in and

bierakhatowa th-a-n-kha th-abo da th-etikidie-n bia thoria liehi
play being it-with it-fall that-from he

Harliwanlie ren sikowa sibo, abaren tah lu-kkarati-n bia lo-koti abo da|n.
H. house before suddenly he-bury his-foot with it

100. *Hadia th-a-n a-tikidie-n o-ma kida tho thokho bia aba korlijaka da.*
thus being fall with it descend one parrot

th-dia-n bia tah lo-ma a-khojabi-n tah da ie. 101. *Tho-kojaba tah da*
it-speak he-with begging him it-beg

ie tatta-n bo-ssika-li da-bierakha da-mn kidaba tha tah lo-mn, lo-kona
him strongly thou-give! my-play I-to again he-to his-thumb

abo tah lu-kkarete-sa-ja da n. Barlien baikia tho-khojabi-n da ie th-osa
with he-bury it really it-beg him it-go

lo-rija da. 102. *Wa-tha-koro borlo-n toh hijarlie da fata katsie dikhidi-ron*
he-from long is not sprout (?) that takini-tree moon after-only

baikia firo-ja|da|n, k-adenabo ka|tah da|n. 103. *Ken wai lu-ddia-fa*
great it with-branch is it then he-speak

nah mn da wa-ossa-li jahari toho horloro bana ria wa-robeto-n-a-n
they-to we-go! here this earth surface from we-extract-ourselves

ajomn ron wa-oso-n-tsi. 104. *Jowaria kida nah ossa-koba a-medi-n toh*
heaven we-go-person therefrom they went climb that

hijarlie iesie-nro nah-makowa-ren koba, kidia nah koba ajomn ro. 105.
takini-tree top-at they-all thus they did heaven-to

Toho Hijarlie a-doladowa-koba nah abo da. 106. *Kidia l-a-koba*
that takini-tree uproot (take root ?) they with thus he-did

Harliwanlie ajomonro lo-jo-no abo awso-n.
H. heaven-to his-family with go

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flew to and fro and played with a takini-fruit (§§ 167a) 4), 205). 99. Whilst playing, the fruit fell on the ground, just before the house of H., who at once put his foot upon it and buried it in the soil. 100. Directly the fruit had fallen, one of the parrots flew down, and spoke to him and besought him. 101. It begged him that he should give it back its toy, but he pressed it with his thumb deeper and deeper into the soil. Its begging was of no avail, and so it left him. 102. The takini-fruit grew quickly; after a few months it had become a big tree with many branches. 103. Then H. said to his family: "let us go away, in order that we may be delivered from this world." 104. Thereupon they all climbed up that tree; they all went up. 105. The takini-tree had uprooted itself from the earth. 106. So H. with his whole family went heavenward.

107. *Kia doma wakili be-koba toh hijarli da, mienkakho nah-kisida-n*
therefore formerly the takini-tree very they-esteem

da|no.
it

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107. For this reason all true Indians in ancient times have always considered the takini-tree as being holy.

§ 213. The children of the sun; one of them becomes Orion

(§ 166 $^{v.\ g}$), and comp. v. C. 7e Ant II, 682, Pen. 69e, R. 19a, Sect. 29ff. 142, 303, D. 8, 259, 339, B. 5e, 29, Koch-Grünberg 45d, n°s 35, 38, 64, 79, 80, 102, 106.

The sun was a man, who, every dry season, went to a creek where fish was plentiful. At that place there lived a man who had a beautiful daughter and the sun fell in love with that daughter and took her to wife.

The woman became pregnant with twins. She went to seek for her husband, but she lost her way. She came to a spot where there were many flowers, and the children in her womb said to her: "Mother, gather those flowers for us, the best of them". The mother carried many flowers with her in her hands. Then they came to a big bees nest, and the bees stung her. And the mother became very angry with her children, and scolded them, and the children grew angry also.

There were two ways; the woman chose the wrong way [1]); the children, who knew the right way, would not say anything to her. So the mother came into a desolate country, inhabited by cannibals. These put her into a cage, and there she gave birth to two boys.

These cannibals were vulture-spirits, for the vultures (carrion-crows) are (creole: *opete,*) eaters. The common vultures now said: if it is possible, we shall help you, for these people are bad; if they kill you, they will not give us anything of your flesh.

Then, on a certain day, the mother was killed and eaten. But the children were with an old woman in a hidden place. Then the other vultures said: "what is this we hear? is it the child of that woman?" But the old woman answered: "it is only a piece of intestine that I am cleaning, and this is what you hear as the sound of a child".

The old woman brought up the children, and these cared well for her. But when they were grown-up, they would not stay any longer with the old woman. For they said: these are no real people, but eaters; and they resolved to kill the old woman. They said that they had seen fruits in the wood, and that the old woman should go into the wood to gather those fruits. And there they have murdered her.

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[1]) In a Kalina version: the path of the moon.

6. *Toho amátalĭ a-bále-to lo-má|da sẹku-diáro l-a|tó|koro|da*
this thing pass he-with § 116 d) ? § 140 c) he-do that not (?)

l-iimato-n-a a-dokotú-n|da : kiadomá|da l-iretú-dyaro ú-maŋ|kóro|da lu-
he-angry show therefore his-wife § 140 c) to not (?) he-

masémedoána|koró|da. 7. *Kiadóma-kóro|da l-iiretó|da l-iimato-n-a*
not-sweet-be not therefore-not his-wife he-angry

aithána|da.
know

8. *Ki-adiki|tháda kasákabo balĭ-m-bena kĭ(ŋ bena w-adóŋka-bá-te*
that-after day pass-after then let us sleep

l-a-bo|tha to l-iréito mún|da. 9. *Kiadóma tháda th-osá-kuba lo-má|da*
he-say this his-wife to therefore she-went he-with

konoko-nró|da adóŋka-ŋro.
forest-at sleep

10. *Kidiančina baikiada|i a-yukháyukádi-(n.* 11. *Lo-yokhá-ka tháda*
custom, § 88 c) he hunt-hunt he-hunt

kuthá|tada abálokodikó lo-fará|da. 12. *Sa-m-bená|dẹ ka-dibáli-(ŋ bena|*
animal all-kinds-of he-kill good-after with-roast-after

da|i, kienbáikiáda aba(ŋ-fá|da itiriti|tha l-ŏrŏká|da. 13. *L-ilẹsá-ka|thada|(ŋ*
he then other basket-reed he-gather he-split it

kéke-bia lo-dorá|da. 14. *Má-ibi-kwa|ta|(n kha|táda b-ikisitóa-*
basket-become. § 171 he-plait not-ready-yet it when thou-try

te a-bira-lokó-či|di(n thu-múïn|da. 15. *Kienbáikiáda lo-balẹtŏkŏta kiawai*
joke-in-person as she-to then he-sit-cause § 48

lo-doro-sá-bo ó-loko|dá|no. 16. *Kidia l-a-n-béna tháda|no t-ohsa|kīka*
his-plaited-thing in her thus he-do-after her she-go(again)

thó-lokoária dába. 17. *M-ībi koa l-a-sána|da(n á-doro(n-bó|da|(n*
it-in-from again not-ready yet his-work (§ 30) plait it

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6. He did not show for a moment that he was angry on account of what had happened to him : therefore he did not show a wry face to his wife. 7. So his wife did not know that he was angry.

8. Some days later he said to his wife : let us go and sleep in the forest. 9. Therefore she went with him to the forest and slept.

10. As his custom was, he went hunting. 11. He hunted and killed many animals and other things. 12. After he had sufficient, and had smoke-dried it, he gathered basket-reed (Ichnosyphon gracile). 13. He split it and plaited a basket of it. 14. When the basket was not yet ready, he said as if in jest to her : try. 15. And he made her sit in the thing he had plaited. 16. After that she went out again. 17. He had not yet finished his work, when he called her again. 18. She went again into

yu-wária|ki|tháda(n͡ l-išimaka kikada ba(ŋ l-ibiči-wa. 18. *T-oso(ŋ-bia|*
there-from he-call again her he-to-own she go

kidaba to ó|da lo-dóro-sá-bo kiwéke o-loko-nre kidaba. 19. *Th-aitána-*
again that his-plaited-thing basket into again she-know-not

kóro amaha balli-n-fá-n|da|no.
what pass-shall her

20. *To-osoŋ|ki|táda tó-loko-nro|da m-aithó-n-a|t-a-ŋ|ka l-osa|mokodó-n-*
she-go it-into not-knowing he-go swallow (?)

bia toho kĭkĭ|da m-ībi-koan-tó|da abakári(n. l-ękŏrŏ-m-bia thada
that basket not-ready-yet-thing suddenly he-bind

t-ęšibo|da kiá|da kéke-lokó|da. 21. *Tano|d-áučiká|da|bo l-a-m-bia thá*
its-face that basket-in now I-get thee he-says

to-muĭn|da k-aimá-loko-di|da. 22. *L-ŏkŏrŏ-n-doma t-išibó|da hálika|t-a-sa-*
she-to wrath-in he-bind-because its-face how (§ 30)

bó-ya ma koró|da a-bóratu-n-á|da. 23. *Báǫi-ya baikadę thu-kúyabuĭ(n*
can not deliver really she-beseech

da|i a-yē-n|tha lo-muĭ(n balīn. lę-kŏna-sa-bó-ya kóro thę-kuyabuĭ(n
him weep he-to indeed he hear-result not she-beseech

koná-n|da.
at

24. *Kienbáikiáda kakŏ-iya lę-dibaledá-ya-fa|da(n yom-báikiada.* 25.
then living he-roast her there

Yóǫada-bána th-á-n-ka|da kákŏ-kwa t-a-ŋ-ka|da adakwathá-ya kóyabŏ-in
barbecue-on she-being live-yet she-being ask beseech

balī-n|da|i. 26. *Lo-khóto-m-bia|ta ikihi th-a-bó|da.* 27. *Kientháda*
indeed him he-collect fire she-with then

th-ōdo-m-biá|da. 28. *Th-odó-n-bena tháda lo-dókoda kiénbiadaba to*
she-die she-die-after he-loose that

keké|daba tháwa. 29. *Kiŋ kóba kiáda lo-kholobetá-da|ŋ kutá-di(n.* 30.
basket § 120 a) 3) then he-cut up her animal-like

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the basket, which he had made. 19. She knew not what was going to happen to her.

20. When she had entered into it, without her knowing it, he suddenly closed up the unfinished basket, and tied her inside. 21. Now I have got you, said he to her in wrath. 22. Because he had tied her, she could not free herself. 23. She besought him weeping, but he gave no heed to her prayers.

24. Then he roasted her alive. 25. When she was on the rafter, and still living, she was asking and beseeching. 26. He collected firewood. 27. Then she died. 28. After she had died, he untied the basket. 29. He cut her up like an animal. 30. After he had cut her up, he roasted

Lo-kólebeti-m-benā|da|no l-edibalede-fa|da|(n. 31. *Sá-wabo l-edibale*
he-cut up -after her he-roast her good-very he-roast-

di-n-benā|da|no lo-lokhóto fa wáyali lokó|da|no abā-bĭ l-edibalĭ
after her he-put-in knapsack in her others his-roasted

kothá-široko ó-mą a-hęrękędę(n. 32. *Kie(nwāida lę-koyo-fá|da yuwária-to*
animal-flesh with gather it then he-return from-thence

thé|da|i l-ĭšikwaă(nro.
flee he (?) his-village-at

33. *L-ande-fa|tháda bahō̆ü|n|da, l-iréitu o-yóno ámuŋ.* 34. *Na-malitha|ta*
he-come house-at his-wife family at they-make

a-tá-hōü lo-borā-n da. 35. *L-andā|tha nā-mun|da.* 36. *L-andi-n-kona|*
beverage he-for he-come they-at He-come-when

tháda ná-šika náha bahū-n-či lę-táña wa|da. 37. *Le-thá|ta|no*
they-give these house-at-person his-drink he-drink

méra-loko-či-di(n. 38. *Lę-ti-m-bena|thá|no yuǫa-či l-a kikataba*
haste-in-person-as he-drink-after it disturb he-do again

anší|da|ba. 39. *D-aúsa kika thédaba l-a-m-biá|ta na-múĭn|da.* 40.
peace I-go back-again he-say they-to

Da-onaká-fa tūraha ú-ma l-a-m-bia|tá na-múĭn-da. 41. *Hadiaki|tháati*
I-take-will her with he-say they-to So

kúdu-ni l-a-m-bia|tá a-moλidá-n|da|ye. 42. *Kianthāda lu-kúyua kikádaba.*
heavy he-say deceiving them then he-returns again

43. *L-idiki-(nrĕn|tháda na-kóloǫoso-(ŋ bia lo-woyáli-á|da.* 44. *Lo-*
he-after they-shake out his-knapsack his-

woyáli-a ú-šibo|baikiáda l-išiká-ya too|da l-iréitu o-banā|da. 45. *Funáša-*
knapsack face he-put this his-wife liver Hungry-

(n-doma tháda|yĭ aredábo|kená|da kutá-bana-bia n-ikisi-ká|da|ná
because they bite then animal-liver they-think it

(smoke-dried) her. 31. After he had roasted her thoroughly, he put her into a knapsack with the other dried meat, and tied it together. 32. Then he returned from thence to his village.

33. He comes to the house, to his wife's family. 34. They make tapana for him. 35. He came to them. 36. As he came, the inhabitants of the house gave him to drink. 37. He drank hastily. 38. After he had drunk, he made haste again. 39. I go back again, said he to them. 40. I shall fetch her, said he to them. 41. She has a heavy load, he said, deceiving them. 42. Then he returned.

43. After he had gone, they emptied his knapsack. 44. Uppermost in his knapsack he had put his wife's liver. 45. Because they were hungry,

to-bánná|da. 46. *Kienbaikiáda n-ekei-ya to to-baná|da.* 47. *N-iki-m-*
that liver then they-eat that her-liver they-eat-

bena(ŋ sá-wabo to kakŏ̃-tó o-bána, na-kólogosó-m-bia to wáyali-loko-
after good-very that human liver they-shake out that knapsack-in-

ária|da. 48. *Adęχkę́-re|n-a-m-bia|tádę to kakhŏ̃-to|da to-mákwa*
from see they do that human being all

th-ánikō|da to-kóti-dibaledá-sa má-tho the-kābo|de hara(n t-ūši
her-things, § 78 [e]) [2]) her-foot-roasted-thing with her-hand complete her-

kowái l-ędebalidi-sa to-mákwa th-ūyédi. 49. *Kiatá n-adękę́(n*
head § 48 [b]) roasted-thing it-all her-necklace, § 112 [e]) they-see

domá|da n-ewedá-ti-ka-tí tatá-loko to na-mŏ̃kŏ̃dŏ̃-sá-wa bali-n. 50.
because they-vomit-wish strong-in that they-swallow, thing-own indeed

A-thŏ̃|ibaikia na-thá-ya báli-n n-ewedī-m-bia|thá|no. 51. *Kiaki|tháda*
beverage they-drink indeed they-vomit-tobe it then

to amáhtali bali-tó|da aimata(n bia na-kobóroko n-ausó-m-bia báikia
these things reality (?) angry they-among they-go

wádi(n l-ibiči da.
seek he-for

52. *N-áucika-sá-bo-ya|kóro|da|i; firó-to|tha adé-be-ra-tú-ši áda*
they-find-result not him great high top tree

lu-mudá-ya a-yakatú-n-a bali-m|báikia. 53. *Audá-bia diá|na a-wádi-(n*
he-mount hiding indeed mad thus seek

l-ibiči. 54. *N-aučiká-ya kóro|de.* 55. *To-moróa tháda ada ši-waria*
he-for they-find not but tree top-from

yóŋ-koro lū-yakatú|n-a, yuwária tháda l-ędękę-ša-kathída|ye. 56. *Balī-n|ta*
place he-hide from thence his-see-result-hide them indeed

n-awádi-n l-ibiči-ro|da, ná-iboa lo-konáriaa|da. 57. *L-aiči-(n ná-ibo-n-oa*
they-seek he-for they-cease he-for he-know they-cease

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they bit the supposed animal-liver. 46. Then they ate that liver [the mother of the family ate first from the liver]. 47. After they had eaten well that human liver, they shook out the remaining contents of the knapsack. 48. They saw all the things of that female: her dried feet with her hands complete, her head which he had dried, all her necklaces. 49 As they saw that, they strongly wished to vomit out that which they had swallowed. 50. Tapana they drunk in order to vomit it out. 51. Then they were very angry and went to search for him.

52. They could not find him at all: he had mounted upon a high tree and was well-hidden. 53. Frantically they sought for him. 54. They found nothing. 55. But from his hiding-place on the top of the tree, he spied all. 56. Really they sought for him, they stopped. 57. When he

lo-konária lo-thókodá-koba únabo-(ηró|da yuware|ki|da(n lŏ-tŏ(ūdá-koba
he-for he-descended ground-to from thence he-fled
ába šikoá-(nro.
other village-to

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knew that they had stopped searching for him, he descended, and fled to another place.

§ 215. The man who killed the bush-spirits

[In the corresponding Warau tale, recorded by R., 19a, Sect. 19ff.; the hero is called *Kororomanna* (this volume, § 166 e) 2)]; comp. also D. 8, 188.

1. *Abá|t-a lokó|da.* 2. *Kónoko-n tháda ilasá-či-bu|da|lira l-ityirityá-*
one it-is man forest-at splitting he his-cane-
wa, áda tháda firó-tho diáko balákoa l-a-bó|da. 3. *A-hilasá-m-bo, kĩ(n-*
own tree great upon sitting he-did splitting then
kita lẹ-kânaba lilĕsa-η dĩ(n čikišikišidi-(n-bo|da. 4. *Kiadóma tháda*
he-heard splitting as (split-cane-sound) therefore
l-ẹdẹká-bó da : hamá-ro(n ikisida(n|da|i. 5. *Biâmbĭ wa|tháda ibiro-bé|da*
he-look what imitate (?) him a couple little ones
kiá áda ká-loko-tu o-lokó-ya-bó|da. 6. *Konóko-kúya ūsa-be-wá-ya*
that tree hollow in-being bush-spirit children-own
tháda|no. 7. *Kiadóma thāda ló-dobada-thé|da to ibiro-bé-da*
they [1] therefore he-pull out those little ones
thó-lokaaria to firó-to áda lo-fáro-m-bia|thá to ibiro-bĭ|dẹ kónoko-kúya
it in-from that big tree he-kill those little ones bush-spirit
ūsa-bé dẹ. 8. *Uráli th-a-bó|da lu-čāda-ka tu-báda-lóko-di-a th-ódo-m-biá*
children curare it-was he-prick their-nail-in they-die
da. 9. *Kié(nbená lo-fára-be(n-domá|da|(η ló-modẹ-(n bia tháda*
thereafter he-kill-just now-because them he-mount
aiómu(n ada-ši-nró|da th-idiki|da.
high tree-top-at it-after

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1. There was a man. 2. In the forest he was splitting basket-reed, seated upon a big tree. 3. As he was splitting, he heard as it were the sound of splitting made with the mouth. 4. Therefore he looked to see what could be imitating him. 5. Two small children were in the hollow of that tree. 6. They were children of a bush-spirit. 7. Therefore he pulled them out of that tree to kill them. 8. Poisoned (curare-) arrow-points he pricked under their nails to make them die. 9. Then, because he had killed them, he afterwards climbed a high tree.

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[1] § 178, nature-spirits are regarded as belonging to the class of non-rational beings (nature).

10. *Ki(n kúbaikiáda k-ireákata th-ánde-n|tu kónoko-kuyahá|da.*
then married-couple they-come those bush-spirits

11. *Th-ẹdẹke-m-bia|da t-ũsa-be á-udo-n da.* 12. *Kiádoma baikiáda*
they-see their-children dead therefore

to-boná-ka|da|i. 13. *Lo-ũya|tháda th-ẹ́dẹkẹ́-m-biá|da kulisá-črakó|da.*
they-follow (§ 64) him his-image they-see pool-in

14. *Aiomó-ro ta-ko|dẹkẹ-thó-na-ma dá|no má(nsoa(n dóma|thada k-akúsa-*
high-at not see-can it very because with-eye-

boná-n|da. 15. *T-ẹdẹkẹ-n-doma|tháde úni-rakó l-oyá|da th-aithá|da|i*
surface they-see-because water-in his-image they-know him

áiomu(n ada-ši-n|da|i. 16. *Kiadóma tháda thu-múdẹ-fa tho wadili-*
high tree-top-at him therefore it-mount that male

koró|da th-áboloka-nro thó-mode-fá|de l-ibitsi-ro|da to áda khón-di|da.
§ 176 c) 2) the-top-at it-mount he-to that tree-on-person

17. *Ká-šitódai-tõ|tha thú-mudi-(n-bó|da : či-tora-(nró da th-inaloko|tháda*
upside-down it mounting head-foot-at its-hind parts

kufá-iwi-abó|da lo-yoko-ŋ-biá|da č-iwiši dyako-ri(ŋ th-ódo-m-bia|dẹ.
kufa-fruit-with he-strike its-testicle upon it-die

18. *Mă-mudi-(n koa|t-á-ŋ-ka tohó|da kónoko-kuyá|da l-ibitsi-ro aiomó-*
not-mount-yet it-do-when that bush-spirit he-at high-at

ro, kia-bóra-kwá-n|da to-soká-ti-ka|tá to áda l-a-bó da. 19. *To-sokó-m-*
that-before-yet it-cut-wish that tree he-was it-cutting

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10. Then came the couple [man and wife] of bush-spirits.

11. They saw their children dead. 12. Therefore they followed him. 13. They saw his image in a pool of water. 14. They could not see upwards, because their forehead protrudes over their eyes (do. R. 19a, Sect. 23, 99). 15. Because they saw his image in the water, they knew him to be upon the high tree. 16. Therefore the male bush-spirit began climbing to the top, to get at the person that was on the tree. 17. Upside-down it was climbing ; when he was upside-down, the man hit his testicle (see R. 19a, Sect. 99) with a *kufa*-fruit (creole *abrasa*, Clusia sp. [1])), and he died. (Nos 18—27 form part of the history which the narrator had omitted).

18. Before the bush-spirit climbed towards him, he wished to cut down that tree on which he was. 19. When cutting, the axe got loose from the

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[1]) D. 8, 267 ["The nest of the humming-bird is a marvel of strength, lightness, and beauty. It is skilfully plastered throughout with the clammy part of] the *cuffa* or wild onion, the seeds of which resemble canary seeds, and afford food to some birds. An Indian will avoid treading on an unripe fruit of the cuffa, dreading from its acridity a sore called "stone bruise". At the risk of the stone bruise, the toes rubbed with the cuffa are said to be safe from bat bites." See also R. 19a, Sect. 168.

bo ki l-a-bó|da tho-baró-n|da a-fúlido-n-á-bia tho-daya-konária kin|to-
he-was (?) its-axe loose its-handle-from then it-

tóbadoa to-baǫó|da úni-rakó-(n. 20. Kĩŋ kúbakiáda wadi-thó|da
falls its-axe water-in then long

bokhóroná|da t-ęthękękę-fa th-ęnęka-ki-m-bia|to tho-baró-ña wá|dę. 21.
creeper it-pulls it-take-again that its-axe-own

Bári-ka tháda abároko bokhórona(n t-ęthękędę-n|da. 22. To ibi-n-doma
though several creeper it-pulls it thin-because

to-bokórona|da iera|tháda uni-rakó|da ka-úgudáratha-ya-bo
the-creeper there. § 45 c) water-in coming in a heap together. §§ 122 d) 2), 108 A

k-alebétu-n-a uni-rako toh bokóroná|da. 23. Kiadomá|da mintóko tulá-ŋ
coiled water-in that creeper therefore very deep

to oniábo morothá-ga. 24. Kialokó|da ibóro|th-a(n-bia to-báro-n-
that water think that-in remain its-axe-con-

kona|diá|da. 25. Tóho yawo-báro(ŋ na-gomi(ŋ álaso; to|
cerning thus This devil-axe they-call (§ 139 b, c) 7) tortoise it

tháda konok-uyá-kuba o-báro-(n thóra thó-tobádi(n koba|tháda|no
was bush-spirit-former axe that it-lett fall long-ago it

thu-baǫo-ña kulisá-rako-(ŋro kia|tháda to aláso bia-kobá|da. 26.
its-axe-own pool-in that was the tortoise to-be-past

Khaǫó-bia|da iawohṍ baró-(ŋ n-á(m-bia to-múñ|da.
now devil axe they-say it-at

27. *Tó(a áiomu(ŋ kasáko o-loa-bána uyáro-n-wa th-ędękhá-na|da*
the high heaven heart-surface reflecting it-saw

míntoko tholá-n|toho t-a-m-biá|da a-ibī-n|da|no.
very deep it-did-to be leave it

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handle, and fell into the water. 20. Then he tore off a long creeper (*bokhorona*, Arum sp. ?[1])) for measuring the depth of the water. 21. He tore off a great quantity of that creeper. 22. Because that creeper was very thin, in the water it came together in a heap in coils. 23. [He did not perceive that, and.] Therefore he thought the water was very deep. 24. He let his axe lie in it. 25. "Devil's axe" they call the (a certain species of) tortoise; it was the bush-spirit's axe which he let fall into the pool which became in ancient times the tortoise. 26. To this very day they call it "devil's axe". 27. He saw the blue sky reflected, and fancied that the water was very deep, and left the axe.

1) D. *bucuruma*, sarsaparilla; a similar name in Sm. *bukkurúmana hatti*, a species of very thick and long Cayenne pepper; comp. with this D. 8, 184, R. 19a, Sect. 103, the bush-spirit having peppers on its head, and Koch-Grünberg 45c, II. p. 148: the pepper plant on the head of Piaima.

28. *Th-ódo-m-bená|da č-iriči|da, č-ireitó|da wade-fá|da ibihi|da*
it-die-after the-husband the-wife seek-will charm

č-ibidi-(n bia líhida lokó|da íiidiki. 29. *Atõnoa|tháda m-ausó-ŋ-kwa|*
she-practices magic that man footstep first not-go-yet

t-á-ŋ-ka ibĩ-bia wadá-(nro lũ-dikita th-ánaká|dẹ t-ẹdikiti-ŋ bia
she-was-when charm-to be seek-at his-footprint she-take she-envelop

tháda adẹ-bóna lokó|da|(ŋ. 30. *Kie(n th-óso-n|da uwáda-ro ibi ibitsi-*
tree-leaf in it then she-go search charm for

ro|da th-aikašia-ŋ-bia thá-to t-idikiti-wa. 31. *Th-óso-m-bena|tháda*
she-forget that her-package she-go-after

lũda lóko kilí|da a-tokodó-m-bia onabó(nró|da lo-dokodó-m-bia|tha tó(ho
that man § 176 c) 2) descend ground-at he-loose this

dikitá-sa|da. 32. *Lũ̆-diki-wa : th-õ̆nakõ̆-sa ká-lokothó-n-â da*
package his-footprint-own its-take-result within-put

kiadoma|tháda l-ialókota l-idiki-wâ|da th-oáya|tha to kónoko-kúya
therefore he-changes his-footprint-own its-own that bush-spirit

idiki|da l-ẹnẹkẹ-(m-bia l-ẹdiki ũyalokodówa.
footprint he-take his-footprint instead

33. *Thu-makwá-ro-m|báikia ad-ubôna ty-ikidi|tho yúliwihi.* 34.
all tree-leaves she-envelop this fire-fly

Tho-máliti-sá-na to ts-íbiwá|da. 35. *To th-ânde-n|da li(hi bá(ha lóko*
she-make-result this her-charm-own this she-come this perhaps man

idiki-koán-to mórothá-fa|ba th-oăya kwa(ŋ a-bido-n-á da. 36. *Kĩŋkóbaikiáda*
footprint think herself yet practice magic then

lihi lokó|da lo-modá ki kádaba aiomó-ro ada-sĩ-nro. 37. *Yu(ŋ ada-si(ŋ*
this man he-mounts again high tree-top-at there tree-top

koa|l-á-ŋ-ka|tháda th-ánde-m-biá|da. 38. *To-khóta|ta ikihi|da firõ-tho*
yet he-is-when she-come she-collects fire great

---

28. After the husband had died, the wife sought for a charm in order to practice magic with the man's foot-prints. 29. Before she went to seek a charm, she took his foot-prints and wrapped them in the leaf of a tree. 30. Then she went to look for a charm, and forgot the packet. 31. After she was gone, that man came down and opened the packet. 32. He took his own foot-prints and put the bush-spirit's foot-prints in their stead.

33. All [the magic things she used] were tree-leaves and wrapped in them a fire-fly [which has the habit, if there is a fire, of flying into it]. 34. From these the charm was made. 35. She thought that it were the foot-prints of the man, but on herself she practiced magic. 36. Then the man climbed again up the high tree. 37. He was still up that tree, when she came. 38. She collected fire-wood and made a big fire. 39. If I

ikihi máliti(n. 39. *D-ibidi-faroká|i l-ẹtikidi-fa-té áiomu(nária toho*
fire make I-practice magic-if him he-fall-shall high-from this

iki(hikolóko-(nro moro|thába|da ; d-ibida | i muŏthána|da. 40. *Th-oăya-*
fire-in think I-enchant him she has said (§ 35) she-self-

šia-ro|th-a-nbia|thada iki(hi kolokó-nro adalidi(n|da a-bitú-n-a. 41. *Kiyatá-*
result it-do fire in run burn this

koba-thára to konóko-kuya eréito ōdo-n-koba.
was that bush-spirit wife died

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practice magic on him, he will fall down into the fire, she thought ; I practice magic on him, said she. 40. It was herself that ran into the fire and burned. 41. So the bush-spirit's wife died.

§ 216. The tortoise, the thrush and their mother-in-law; the great flood

Dutch spelling

(comp. R. 19a, Sect. 162C ; B. 5e, 10, Koch-Grünberg 45d nos 41, 49, 107)

1. *Lokoh khona th-a-n-ka|tha hikorli ma-tho korlasiri, kaboja tha*
man like being tortoise and thrush field they-

tho-soko-fa th-mikketehnatho o-bora. 2. *Kasakabo-noma|tha a-mekhebo-n*
cut-will their-mother-in-law for day-all work

ro ose-fa-be-n : 3. *Kenda th-mikkethnatho, bahe-n ka|tha obada-n*
go and their-m.i.l. house-at when wait

tho-bora-n-be : korlasiri tha mehra andi-n, hikorli tha ajowa-
them-for thrush quick (§ 104 b) 1) II)) come tortoise late-only

ron anda bah-m, kijadoma tho-mikketeh k-ansi ka tho hikorli, mika-kho,
come house-at therefore its-m.i.l. loves that tortoise hard

l-mekhebo-n mn thana.
his-work [1]) at

4. *Aba ka|tah korlasiri koro|kahlin bahe-n andi-n, ken baikija ka-tha-n*
other time thrush not quick house-at come then with-drink

---

1. When the tortoise and the thrush were still men, they prepared a field (plantation) for their mother-in-law. 2. Every day they went to work. 3. Their m.i.l. waited for them at the house ; the thrush returned early, the tortoise returned late, therefore the m.i.l. loved the tortoise, because it worked so well. 4. Another time, the thrush did not return so early ; the m.i.l. had tapana for herself, and she gave diluted tapana to

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1) The pronominal prefix of the male class has to be used here, because the mother-in-law speaks of her son-in-law.

th-oja th-mikkethenatoh, th-fa-te-sa rontah th-asiekie-n-bija korlasiri
herself their-m.i.l. her-do-future-result mixed she-give thrush

mn. 5. *Hamakhoro l-mekhebo-ka mn thana korlasiri amon;* 6. *Hikorli*
to. nothing he-work at thrush to tortoise

koro rontah th-keleke ti-n-bija th-imikketeh usa-tho th-era-wabo ataha
not mixed she-reach-cause [1]) its-m.i.l. good its-juice-genuine drink

da. 7. *Kija tha-khoro a-mekheboto-hja toho hikorli. awsoron-tho baikija*
that it was not working the tortoise idle

sabasabadi-n jaraha-di ma-mekhebo tha-ja. 8. *Aba-li tha ka-sa-tho kija*
trampling yonder not-work one having-child that

korlasiri da, th-usa baikija aka-n-bija th-ietsi wa amaha th-ikketeh
thrush its-child tell its-father what its-grandmother

adija-n a-mirita-djaron th-ietsi jaloko. 9. *Kijadoma|tha th-imawtowa koba*
say reviling § 140 c) its-father against therefore it-became angry

korlasiri th-mikketeh amoni. 10. *Korlasiri tha, a-hibida-tho kaboja a-soko-n.*
thrush its-m.i.l. at thrush finished field cutting

11. *Th-ibita tah tho kaboja hibien kiba.* 12. *Th-mikketeh a-kasirida*
it-burn that field already also its-m.i.l. prepare kasiri

kikaba, kija emelija-tho kaboja bana, 13. *firo-tho tha samako o-loko*
again new field on great pot in

th-siki fa|da|no, tho-sonko-n-owa-bija, 14. *kija-tho tho-sonko-n-owa*
she-put it it-pour that this her-pouring

koba|tha tho barla bija da. 15. *Amaha a-tendo-tho-koba, kija|tha|to*
past the sea become what sunken was that the

orijo bija koba.
water-spirit became

---

the thrush. 5. "He has done no work, the thrush". 6. To the tortoise the m.i.l. did not give diluted tapana, but good pure tapana. 7. The tortoise, however, had not been working, but had idled, trampling on the grass. 8. The thrush had a child, and the child told its father how its grandmother was reviling him. 9. Therefore the thrush became angry with its m.i.l. 10. The thrush finished cutting the field. 11. It had already burned it too. 12. Its m.i.l. had again prepared kasiri on that new field, 13. in a big jar she put it. [She came to look at the field and collided with a big tree, which had not yet been cleared away; the vessel containing kasiri touched that tree, and the kasiri] ran out, 14. that spilled kasiri became a big lake. 15. The m.i.l. sunk and became a water-spirit.

[At that same moment a koata (Ateles) was planting a bixa-fruit (Bixa

---

[1]) The mother-in-law has the tapana given to the tortoise by a child; she may not do so herself, see § 165.

Orellana, red paint): when the great flood came, the koata not knowing what to do, rubbed the bixa-fruit on its forehead, after which it fled to the forest; ever since that time, the koata has a red spot on its forehead. The m.i.l. had many things with her, among others a cassava-squeezer and grated cassava; a cylinder of grated cassava which came out of the squeezer, then became the fish *kwériman* (Mugil Brasiliensis)].

§ 217. **The vain trogon and the industrious colibri**

Dutch spelling

1. *Wakili-be-koba* (or *wakili-koba*), *loko khona th-a-n-kha, tho-*
long ago man like being all

makowa-ron khotah ma-tho kodibijo, bokolawro ma-tho bimiti kha-koba.
animal and bird trogon and colibri were

2. *Da-marliti-ba|do d-a|la-nnijawa firo ba da-jakhoro, a-baleta-ti-rro*
I make, § 60 b) my-bench-own great also my-soul (?) sit-wish-only

da-ja-fa|do, n-ahla-n o-lokko, tah tha bokolawro adija-n, akanabokota-n
my-soul (?)-will their-bench in said trogon speaking hear-causing

tha bimiti da. 3. *Kasakabo-man tha, bokolawro da, amarli-amarlida-ka*
colibri day-whole trogon make-make

th-la-nnijawa.
its-bench-own

4. *Kidija th-a-n doma bokolawro adija-n|da, bimiti da, arleke-fa adija-*
thus because trogon speak colibri move(stir) word

he bokolawro adi|da. 5. *Bimiti baikija da akobantowa-ron mana, kija thada.*
trogon upon colibri field-make only being

---

1. Very long ago, when all animals and birds were like men, there were a trogon [1]) and a colibri. 2. I will make a bench [2]) for myself; not only am I great, but I will also sit on a bench, on the people's benches, said the trogon, so that the colibri heard it. 3. The whole day the trogon was occupied in making its bench. 4. Because the trogon spoke so, the colibri spoke in proverbs (a side-hit) to ("upon") the trogon. 5. The colibri

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1) The trogon (Trogon viridis) is a sacred bird, a medicine-bird. The trogons sit with their backs to each other, when eating, and after that example the Indians formerly also sat with their backs to each other when eating; they might not look at each other (comp. R. 19a, Sect. 223).

2) In several tales and customs an Indian bench appears as a sign of distinction. D. 8, 264 "The *hahlah* was the divining stool used by Piai priest-doctors during their incantantions, ornamented with fanciful designs of animals, chiefly the tortoise and the alligator. It is now one of the few ordinary articles of furniture in every Indian household."

6. *da-soko-ba do da-koba-nijawa si th-a-n bija to bimiti adija-kien daba:*
I-cut, 60 b)? my-field-own § 179 become the colibri said again

7. *amaha dokho da-sa-be eke-ja-fa da-moni, awosoro da-be-ja ka-sa-*
what ? my-children eat-shall I-by idle I-am (§ 59 a) 3)) having

nie, mawadilija d-a-dekhi-n nah khona.
children *mamari*, not at all I-look they-for

---

was preparing a field, and said 6. I cut my field, 7. nothing shall my children get to eat from me, [if] I cannot look after them.

§ 218. **The tortoise and the opossum**

Dutch spelling

(comp. R. 19a, Sect. 159).

1. *Hikorli ma-tho jawarle tha, a-kisidowa koba halika-n djaro tata-sabon-*
tortoise and opossum tried which ever strongest

fa hammusia mn; 2. *kijadoma tha hikorli, jawarle tha a-kkere-fa|da|n*
hunger at therefore tortoise opossum tie it

hobo abon|da|no. 3. *Ts-ikien ka-tokorlo-n bo-ren baikija tho hobo*
plum under it moment blooming (just begin) this plum

t-ekkera|no jawarle tho hikorli da; haliman|thatha tho hikorli k-ebena-n
it-tied it opossum the tortoise so the tortoise long time

jomn hobo abon ma-khoto-nia, kijaron kakke kowa|th-a-n tha. 4. *Tho*
there plum under without-eating live yet being that

hobo da, ka-tokorlo-ja hibien, k-iwi-ka badijan, kijadoma thokololon
plum blooming already set-fruit also therefore fallen unripe fruit

abo tha tho-bojowa-ja. 5. *Wadja wai tha|da th-dekhi-n-bija the tho*
with it-feeds-self afterwards very it-look the

jawarle da|nno. 6. *Awothiki-ren baikija|da|no tho hikorli kakke ren-tho|da.*
opossum it find it the tortoise live still

7. *Kijaloko hebe-tho hobo iewi th-mn, tho th-ikie-n bija th-tata ansi-*
next-time (?) ripe plum fruit it-at it-eat it-strengthen-self

wa|da, ma-odo-n th-a-n-bija.
not-die it-to be

---

1. The tortoise and the opossum once tried which of them could best stand hunger. 2. To this purpose, the opossum tied the tortoise under a plum-tree (Spondeas lutea). 3. At the time the tortoise was tied up by the opossum, the plum-tree was only just coming in bloom; so the tortoise had to stay a long time under the plum-tree without food, yet it remained alive. 4. So the plum-tree bloomed and bore fruit, and then the tortoise fed upon the unripe fruit which had fallen off. 5. A long time afterwards, the opossum came to look at the tortoise. 6. It found the tortoise still alive. 7. Next time, the plum-tree had ripe plums, and through eating them, the tortoise had regained its strength.

8. *Ken baikija th-odokodo-n bija tho jawarle tho hikorli da:*
then it-loose that opossum that tortoise

th-jalokhota-n bija baikija be, hikorli tha a-kkere bija jawarle kidaba
they-change tortoise tie opossum again

th-jalokhodo-wa karowa|da o-toro. 9. *Th-ikhien ka-tokorlo-n ren bo|da|*
its-stead agava foot moment blooming (just begin)

no, tho jawarle a-kkera-ka jaraha iebara-n. 10. *Ken bena|da, joho-ro*
it the opossum tie there remain thereafter many

kasakabo idiki|da, hikorli adekke-fa-teh tho jawarle|da. 11. *Athenowa|tah*
day after tortoise see the opossum first

awnobo-wa khan kowa thatah tata-noma kha-toh tho hikorli a-sa-
answer being yet strong-with (?) when the tortoise call

nnoma|da|n. 12. *Kijaloko ki|tha kholen-bija th-dja-n khon|da.* 13. *Aba-*
it next time weak it-speak other

ka|tha tho hikorli adekhi-n kithe-sa|ba no, th-sa-ka th-erie tho hikorli da
time the tortoise see again it it-calls its-name the tortoise

mawadili sabo-ka|tha th-onabo-n-a tata-sabo|n. 14. *Jowarija ki|tha*
mamari, impossible more it-answer hard-more it from thence

kasakabo-be balie-n bena, th-anda kikatha tho hikorli tho jawarle amn da,
days really after it-came again the tortoise the opossum to

tho-oda-ja koba hibien: mabberie ron tah awnaba-n-bija. 15. *Kijadoma*
it-died already flies only answer therefore

tho hikorli mienthokho tata ansi fenasia mn tora.
the tortoise very hard living-force hunger at that

---

8. Then the opossum untied the tortoise, and they changed places, and the tortoise tied the opossum to the foot of an agave. 9. At the time when it was just coming in bloom, the opossum was tied up to remain there. 10. Many days afterwards, the tortoise went to look at the opossum. 11. In the beginning, when the tortoise called it, it answered with a strong voice. 12. Next time, its voice was weak. 13. Another time when the tortoise went to see it, and called its name, it could no longer answer loudly. 14. Many days later, the tortoise came again to the opossum, it was already dead: the carrion-flies only answered. 15. And that is why the tortoise can stand hunger so well. [It may do three months without food].

§ 219. **The girl and the goatsucker (whip-poor-will)**

Dutch spelling

(comp. Koch-Grünberg 45d, n⁰. 67).

1. *Wakilie koba|tha, abah-ka aba bikidolija-tho hijaro, bakkelama khan*
long ago one time a girl female evening

ansa-n-bo. 2. *Kenkhoro baikija, wakorlajo a-moromoroda-bo waboroko*
grating then goatsucker fly-flying path

siri warija. 3. *A-joroda th-a-n-kha baikija, waboroko-sirie-n|da kakkih*
begin from squeeze she-being path-begin-at making

rethajabo wakorlajo. 4. *Kijadoma|tha iekihie josie tho hijaro|da*
noise goatsucker therefore half-burned firewood the female

a-bborle-borleda-bo th-ibitsi to wakorlajo; 5. *bijama-ka|tha tho-borledie-n*
throw-throwing it-at the goatsucker second time she-throw

to hijaro th-iebietsi|to hijaro. 6. *Ken baikija th-kabinteh okhoni da*
the female it-at the female then third time

th-oso-n-bija|to hijaro waboroko-sierie-nro th-ienabo to wakorlajo. 7.
she-go the female path-head-at it-after that goatsucker

abakharen|tha to wakorlajo a-beso-n-owa bija aba loko wadilie dien|da.
suddenly that goatsucker transforming a man male as

8. *Kijadoma|tha to wakorlajo da adija-n-bija to hijaro o-ma;* 9.
therefore that goatsucker speak that female with

kakkehitsi bija a-beso|tah|na. 10. *Dai ronnija|da hijaro ussa.* 11. *Da-sie-*
living man become transformed it I only woman good I-love-

n-doma|bo hadijaken da-jarratowa-bo b-mon. 12. *Khiddowahni bija*
because thee with desire I-appear thee-to verily

baikija bikidoliatsi loko wadilie dija th-a-n a-beso-n-a|n. 13. *Tho-ma to*
youth man male as being transform it it-with the

---

1. One evening, long ago, a girl was grating cassava. 2. Then came a goatsucker and flew round and round the place where the road from the village begins. 3. As she was squeezing the cassava, the goatsucker made a great noise at the beginning of the path. 4. Therefore the girl threw pieces of half-burned fire-wood at the goatsucker. 5. She threw a second time. 6. The third time she went to the beginning of the path after the goatsucker. 7. Suddenly the goatsucker was metamorphosed into a man. 8. And the goatsucker spoke with the girl; 9. it had become a living man. 10. It is only I, good woman. 11. Because I love you, I appear thus before you. 12. Really he had become a young man. 13. The

wakorlajo da kijawai hijaro. 14. *Th-eben loko wadilie dija|thana baikija*
goatsucker that woman its-full man male as

ussa-n dikkih-ni th-iereitoh khona.
good looking its-wife like

15. *Wahdijarontha kebenan disijan | to hijaro tho-ma;* 16. *Tete-*
afterwards long time accustomed the woman it-with mother-

khanni d-adikkeh fa banja, b-ossa-li da-ma th-a-n-bija koba|tha to
small I-see for a time thou-go I-with said the

wakorlajo anmrlidie-n to hijaro tho-ma-wa. 17. *Kenkhro baikija|to*
goatsucker deceiving the woman it-with-own then the

hijaro osa-koba tho-ma tho-jo mamonro adikkhe-ren baikija to tho-jo da.
woman went it-with its-mother to see that its-mother

18. *Kija tha th-kerre adijakema k-ansie-n da no, abalokhodie thako,*
that her-mother-in-law thus-very love her all kinds of things

aklekatsidija, th-tiejo o-mon.
reach her-daughter-in-law to

19. *Aba-ka tha aba dnaroko rethan th-ietyo mn iekihi-khodo a-sikie-n,*
one time a armfull her-d.i.l. at fire-wood give

kija|tha khoro iekihi-khoda wabo-jada|n, odo (owdo-tsi)-bona ron wa|tha.
that was not fire-wood genuine it dead bones only

20. *Aba-kka|tha ata-he (kasiri) th-iesikie-n th-ietijo mn kiba, owdo-tsi*
one time drink (kasiri) she-give her-d.i.l. to again dead

urraro-n ki|tha|da|ba, 21. *ma-thi-n thatha|da|no, mienka khoro da-te-loko*
liquid again not-drink said she very my-bowels

karie-ni kijadoma da-tha makhoro t-ah da. 22. *th-ieretsi wa|tha*
aching therefore I-drink nothing she-said her-husband-own

a-ttekeda-ja da|no. 23. *Akkaratana-le ron nija baikija jomn da.* 24.
advise her burying only place

---

goatsucker took the girl to be his wife. 14. He was like a real man, and took good care of his wife.

15. A long time afterwards, when the woman had got accustomed to him, 16. He said: I will visit my little mother, go with me: so the goatsucker enticed the woman to accompany him. 17. So the woman went with him to his mother, and saw his mother. 18. Her mother-in-law loved her very much, and gave many things to her daughter-in-law. 19. Once she gave her d.i.l. an armfull of firewood, but it was not real firewood, they were bones of dead men. 20. Once she gave her d.i.l. kasiri, but it was the fluid from dead bodies. 21. She did not drink; "I have colic, therefore I cannot drink", said she. 22. Her husband had advised her to act in this manner. 23. [At the place where they were, there were no

kijadoma|tha|to loko-hijaro, th-ieretsie da a-sikaa koba toho hijaro-kon
therefore that man-female her-husband gave that woman-small

o-jo amonro|da. 25. *Kidija|tha koba|to loko hijaro tho-jo amn anda*
mother to so that man-female her-mother to came

kiendaba. 26. *Kija doma loko-no odo-tsi jalokko moro m-a-ssa | to*
again therefore men dead spirit think possibly (§ 30) the

wakorlajo mn.
goatsucker at

---

real men, but] it was a burial-place. 24. Therefore the husband of that human female gave that little woman back to her mother. 25. So that human female came back again to her mother. 26. And that is why the Indians call the goatsucker "dead man's spirit". [The narrator added: "superstitious people fear these birds".] [1])

§ 220. **The man and the goatsuckers**

In 1910 I was working in the balata-trade at the Wayombo, and slept in an Indian village. About half past nine, when everybody was asleep, I heard a goatsucker, and when he came near, I heard two. When they were very close, they shook my hammock as if a man was doing it. I felt as though I had been struck by an electric current: for a quarter of an hour I did not know whether I was alive or not. — I lighted a lamp, and asked the birds whether they were living men or spirits. Then I dreamt that they were two men. — The day after, I told this to the inhabitants, and then someone said: two persons, a man and his wife, have been buried here, at the place where you have slept.

§ 221. **The dead woman who became a deer**
Dutch spelling

1. *Wakilie koba, aba|tha loko wadilie, l-iereitho owda|tha, lu-karata|tha*
long ago a man male his-wife died he-buried

da|no: Na-wah kowan-tsi tah daba nara 2. *lu-kkarati-n bena|to lo-*
her they-alone (§ 120 ν) [3]), [4]) [2]) he-bury after that

bodija-wa|da l-ose-fa aba-nro|da th-idiki. 3. *Atenowa|tha l-osa konoko-nro,*
his-corpse he-go-will other-at it-after first he-go forest-at

---

1. Long ago, there was a man whose wife died; [when] he buried her. they (he and his dead wife) were alone. 2. After he had buried her, he went to another place. 3. First he went to the forest. 4. When evening

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[1]) Comp. also R. 19*a*, Sect. 103: a bush-spirit's brains were scattered, and from each piece there grew a *wokorai-yu*. *Yu* = spirit? § 167 *d*).

4. *ken kho baikijada, bakkelama khan jokha-waria l-anda ki-fa l-sikowa-n,*
then evening hunt-from he-come his-house-at

jon-tho bie wabbeka l-iereitho-wa lu-kkarati-n ; 5. *bakkelama wabo-*
where just now now his-wife he-bury evening very-

ron|tha konoko-sie-n-bo hadali da, lo-balie fa aba-nro da.
only forest-begin sun he-pass will other-to

6. *Ken khoro baikija, sjokhan l-a-n-bena oso-n|ki|tha ma-tato-n-a kowa*
then somewhat he-be-after 'go not-far-being yet

l-a-n-kha, lu-kkanabi-n bija|tha a-siemaka-he l-ienabo-wa|da.
he-be-when he-hear cry he-after

7. *Lu-kkanabana baikija, l-iereitho be-koba o-jorleroko dija-tsi|th-a-n*
he-hear his-wife past throat-in like

barlie-n. 8. *Amaha-ron b-ieba | de !! tah tha kakonon ben a-simaka-n*
indeed what thou-leave me said loudly calling

l-ienabo. 9. *Toho|tha lu-kkanabi-n doma tata-n th-isimaka-n kakhitsi*
he-behind this he-hear because hard she-calling living man

dien|da lu-ddarliedie-n bija tha da.
as he-run

10. *Wa-tha-khoro l-ienabo th-oso-n, lu-darlida|tha tata-n ken barlie-n,*
long-is-not he-behind she-go he-run hard very indeed

waa-ja-khoro baikja, th-ose-n l-ienabo. 11. *Homoni doma thee no, lo-*
long-not she-go he-behind near because she he-

borleda-ka|tha tho-bora-die, addekhe-ren baikija|no, hodo-hodo khoren ;
throw-away she-before see-distinctly her bowed very

12. *lo-joko-n bija baikija siemara abo|da|n, th-owda|kika th-a-sa-ba.*
he-strike arrow with her she-die again § 30

13. *Kojarla dijatsie-n a-beso-n-a|tha,* 14. *kentha lu-darlidie-n-bija*
deer as she transformed then he-run

lo-jono-mamonro, l-akka-n-bija tho-khonan 15. *nah oso-n-bija*
his-family-to he-tell her-concerning they go

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came, he intended to return home, where a short time ago he had buried his wife. 5. It was late already ; when he came to the edge of the forest, the sun went down, and he passed on to another place.

6. When he had gone a short distance and was not yet far away, he heard a voice behind him. 7. He recognised the voice of his late wife. 8. "Why have you left me !" cried she loudly behind him. 9. When he heard her crying like a living being, he began to run.

10. She followed him very fast, and the more he ran, the faster she followed him. 11. When he was close by, he went to the wayside and saw distinctly that she was bent. 12. He hit her with an arrow, and she died. 13. She was metamorphosed into a deer (see § 167 a) 1) II)). 14. He ran to his family, and told what had happened. 15. They went

th-iebitsi-ro. 16. *Kijadoma khoro loko-no wabo ieki-sa|n-a|to kojarla,*
she-to therefore not men genuine eat they-do deer

owdo-tsi jaloko mora nah tho-mon.
dead-person spirit think they it-at

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to her. 16. And that is why true Indians do not eat deer: they call it "dead man's spirit".

§ 222. The two bushmaster-snakes
Dutch spelling

1. *Aba-ka tah aba wadilie wakili koba a-jokha-ro ose-n.* 2. *ken baikia*
once was a man long ago hunt-at go then

orie o-toko fa|da ie. lo-kojowa tah bahhi-nro|da. wadili sabo-ka|tah
snake bite him he-return house-to *mamari*, impossible more

khoro|da ie, kari thana l-mn mienkhoro da no. 3. *Mawtsi djaro tah*
he pain he-at very it morning about

aba ose-fa jokha-nro kidaba. 4. *lu-ddikhi-n-bia tah bian-be kakkitsi*
other go hunt-at again he-see two men

djan-toh lu-rrabodikke-wa-teh. 5. *Ken khoro baikia ajakado-tsi th-a-n bia*
like he-encounter then hide

aba ada a-tikidi-toh koba waboroko-loko be ren-toh da ujjabo khona tal.
a tree fallen path-in just now behind

tho-jakado-n-a bia be; 6. *lu-ddikhi-n bia tah bianma firo-be-toh orie|da.*
it-hide he-see two big snakes

konoko-se-be|tah. 7. *Kia boro|tah kakkitsi dja|th-a-n lu-ddikkhi-n lu-*
bush-worms that before living man as being he-see he-

rrabodikke-wa be da|no. l-kanabi-n bia tah th-dia-diadi-n th-one-kwa be;
encounter just now them he-hear they-talk-talking among each other

awsa-n|da se th-abo adiadiadi-n tah th-onekwa-be. 8. *mijaka-bena*
going § 116 d) 10) them-with talk-talking among each other yesterday-after

a-tokota-ro d-a-ja|no, korlihi arlien-ron abo da-jokho-sa-ja da|no th-abo
bite-cause I-do it rat artisan-only with my-hunt-result it it-with

---

1. Once upon a time, a long while ago, a man had gone out hunting. 2. He was bitten by a snake, and returned home because he could no longer stand the pain the bite caused him. 3. Towards morning, another man again went out hunting. 4. he saw what he took to be male persons coming to meet him. 5. When he saw them coming, he hid behind a big tree which had just fallen in the middle of the path. 6. He saw two big snakes, so-called bushworms (Lachesis rhombeata). 7. Before he had seen them coming to meet him as if they were living men, he had heard them talking. 8. Yesterday I missed him, because I shot at him only with

tah aka-akadi-n th-iebia teh-wa|da. 9. *Lieh baikia miaka bna th-arrede*
tell-telling he yesterday past they bite

bena lie akah tho-jabo khonan|da. 10. *Lu-dikkhi-n doma tah tho orie-be*
after he tell it-behind he-see because those snakes

da lo-fari-n bia tah tho orie-be.
he-kill those snakes

---

an arrow which is used for shooting rats. 9. They talked about the man, who they had bitten yesterday [for the snakes had assumed bodies or shapes of men]. 10. Because he really saw the snakes, he has killed them both.

§ 223. **The man and the savanah-dog**

There was a man; his name was Long John. One day, when he returned from a *kaširi*-feast, about 3 or 4 o'clock in the morning, he heard cries as if coming from savanah-dogs *(oaliru)*. First one, then a second. The man was somewhat drunk, and when still another cried, he reviled against them.

A moment later he saw a man coming to meet him, who said: "what did you say just now, don 't you know who I am?" The man was not frightened, because he was drunk, and answered: "I did not speak to you, I only scolded the savanah-dogs. But where do you come from?" The other said: "I have come, because you have deeply offended me". Thereupon they wrestled. When both were exhausted, the man who had come to meet him, said: "I am stronger than you are; I go away now, but you must not abuse me any more".

The man did not know whether it was a man, or only had the shape of a man. But it was a spirit *(üyáhǒ-wa|thâyada|n)*: [*na-yáloko-wa|yathàda* would mean: that was the spirit of a human being].

§ 224. **The origin of the Besoa-family**

(comp. B5e. 176, v. C. 7e Ant III, 484.)

There was once a man who lived quite alone; he had no wife, but only a small delicate dog that remained at home the whole day. Every day the man went hunting, and when he came home, he saw the dog lying there.

It is a custom with the Indians, that when the husband comes home, his wife has prepared a beverage for him. Now, one day, the man came home, and saw a vessel with a beverage. He did not know who had prepared that, for only the dog was there.

He made up his mind to watch who had done that for him. He said to the dog: "I am going away for two days". But he came home earlier, and then he saw a woman baking cassava in order to make a beverage from it. He said: "what woman is that? I should like to know where she comes from". He walked softly behind the woman, and there he saw hanging over a beam, the skin of his dog. He took the skin secretly, and threw it into the fire. Thereupon he said to the woman: "you belong to me, and you will remain here".

The woman began to cry and said "why have you done that? give me my skin back". The man said: "I have burned it; if you want to be a human being, you should live like one." And so he lived with her ever afterwards, and she became the mother of the *Besoa-na*.

DIE ORAKEL DES HYSTASPES

VON

H. WINDISCH

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INHALT

CAPITEL I

Die Hystaspesorakel

Dies irae, dies illa
solvet saeclum in favilla
teste David cum Sibylla

Wenn Thomas von Celano im Eingang seiner gewaltigen Beschreibung des Weltgerichts „David samt Sibylle" als Zeugen für den künftigen Weltbrand anführt, dann gilt ihm David als Repräsentant der biblisch-alttestamentlichen Profetie, die Sibylle als die heidnische Profetin, die weil sie Heidin ist, die Wahrheit der biblisch-kirchlichen Lehre nachdrücklich bestätigt [1]). In der tat nehmen Weltbrand und Weltgericht in den uns erhaltenen sibyllinischen Orakelen einen grossen Raum ein. Und seit Justin dem Märtyrer haben viele Kirchenväter, namentlich in apologetischen, für die Aussenwelt bestimmten Büchern, die Sibylle als „Zeugin" für die kirchliche Eschatologie angerufen und ihre Verse zitiert [2]).

Neben der Sibylle nennen nun einige wenige Kirchenväter noch einen zweiten Repräsentanten heidnischer Profetie, der genau so wie jene den künftigen Weltbrand und andere Stücke der christlichen Eschatologie vorausverkündet hat, den König Hystaspes. Die Orakel des Hystaspes sind freilich viel weniger bekannt gewesen als die der Sibylle. Wir kennen sie lediglich aus den sehr allgemein gehaltenen Anführungen von vier Kirchenvätern: Justin (um 150), der sich in seiner ersten Apologie (c. 20 und c. 44) auf Hystaspes beruft; Clemens Alexandrinus (um 190), der in seinen Stromateis (VI, 5, 42) eine apokryphe Paulusschrift zitiert, in der die Hörer aufgefordert werden, die griechischen (d.i. heidnischen) Bücher, nämlich die Sibylle und den Hystaspes zu lesen; Lactantius (um 305), der in seinen Institutiones zweimal (VII 15, 19 und VII 18, 2.3) den Hystaspes nennt; endlich der Verfasser der „Theosophie" (Ende des 5. Jhdt.), der ihn gleichfalls kurz anführt [3]). Keiner dieser Zeugen giebt ein wörtliches Zitat; sie beschränken sich auf allgemeine Angaben der eschatologischen Themata, die sie bei Hystaspes gefunden haben. Es

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[1]) Vgl. hierzu A. Jeremias, *Jüdische Frömmigkeit*, 2. Aufl. 1929, S. 5.

[2]) Vielleicht ist Hermas der älteste Christ, der Kenntnis der Sibylle bezeugt: Vis. II 4; vgl. dazu D. Völter, *Apostol. Väter* 1904, S. 184 ff.; M. Dibelius, in: *Die apostol. Väter* 1923, S. 451 f. Dabei hat doch wohl nicht bloss das Aeussere der Gestalt (der Kirche) den Hermas an die Sibylle erinnert, sondern auch der Inhalt der von ihr übermittelten Schrift. Die Ankündigung der kommenden grossen θλῖψις und die Mahnung zur μετάνοια (2, 7; 3, 3) sind durchaus Sibyllenmotive.

[3]) Vgl. die Texte bei E. Schürer, *Geschichte des jüdischen Volkes im Zeitalter Jesu Christi*, 4. Aufl. III. Band 1909 S. 594 f.; bei E. Böklen, *Die Verwandtschaft der jüdisch-christlichen mit der persischen Eschatologie*, 1902, S. 95 f.

sind folgende: der Weltbrand (Justin); die Erscheinung des Sohnes Gottes, der Kampf der Könige gegen Christus und die Seinen und die Parusie (Ps.-Paulus); der Untergang Roms (Lactantius I), die Vernichtung der Gottlosen durch Juppiter (Lactantius II); endlich die Menschwerdung des Erlösers (Theosophie). Man sieht: auch der Inhalt der Hystaspesorakel ist sehr mannigfaltig; ja man fragt sich sofort: haben wir es hier mit einer einheitlichen Orakelsammlung zu tun? Es scheint auch hier, wie in den Orakeln der Sibylle, heidnisches, jüdisches und christliches Ueberlieferungsgut gemischt zu sein und die nähere Bestimmung der Herkunft der Orakel erscheint recht schwierig.

Dem entspricht der Dissensus der Gelehrten, die bisher über die Orakel des Hystaspes sich geäussert haben. Die einen betonen den jüdischen oder jüdisch-christlichen Charakter, die anderen ihren iranischen oder iranisch-jüdischen Ursprung. E. Schürer (a. a. O.) schwankt zwischen der Annahme jüdischer oder christlicher Abfassung, will sie aber eher für jüdisch halten, rechnet jedoch mit der Möglichkeit christlicher Ueberarbeitung. Und ähnlich urteilt A. Harnack [1]. G. Krüger meint in seinem ausführlichen Artikel: Hystaspes [2], dass ein sicheres Urteil schwer zu gewinnen sei, da in den Angaben Motive, die jüdischen Ursprung zu beweisen scheinen, mit Motiven sich mischen, die nur in einer christlichen Schrift möglich scheinen. Er betont aber, dass die *vaticinia Hystaspis* auf Reminiszenzen aus der persischen Religionsgeschichte und -lehre beruhen. Hierin folgt er dem Orientalisten E. Kuhn, der in seinem Aufsatz: Eine zoroastrische Profezeiung in christlichem Gewande [3] unser Apokryphon für ein in ziemlich frühe Zeit zurückgehendes Werk erklärt, das den Zweck verfolgte, unter den von hellenistischer Kultur beeinflussten Mazdayasniern für das aufstrebende Christentum Anhänger zu werben: der Verfasser sucht die ihm bekannten Profezeiungen vom Saošyas und die Verheissung des Messias mit einander zu verbinden. Kuhn wertet die Orakel also als Documente eines jüdisch-christlichen Synkretismus. Ihm folgt W. Bousset, der in den Fragmenten ein zu apologetischen Zwecken verfasstes Gemisch von jüdischer und eranischer Eschatologie erblickt [4]. Ganschinietz endlich, der den Artikel: Hystaspes für Pauly-Wissowa's Realencyclopädie geschrieben hat [5], vertritt die Meinung, der Verfasser sei ein mit der persischen Tradition wohl vertrauter hellenisierter Orientale, der die letzten Dinge dieser Welt

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[1] *Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur* I S. 863 *Chronologie der altchristl. Lit.* I S. 589. Vgl. auch O. Bardenhewer, *Geschichte der altkirchl. Literatur II*, 2. A. 1914, S. 713 f.

[2] In: A. Hauck's *Realencyclopädie für protestant. Theologie u. Kirche* VIII (1900), S. 508 f.; hier und bei Schürer s. auch die ältere Literatur.

[3] In: *Festgruss an Rud von Roth*, 1893, S. 217—221.

[4] *Die Religion des Judentums im neutestamentl. Zeitalter*, 2. A. 1906, S. 260; 3. A., herausg. v. H. Gressmann, 1926, S. 226.

[5] Bd. VIII, S. 541 f.

im wesentlichen der Avesta und der noch jetzt lebenden Volkstradition entsprechend schildere.

Die Meinungsverschiedenheiten der Forscher erklären sich natürlich in erster Linie hieraus, dass die Angaben der Kirchenväter, wie wir schon sahen, so gering an Zahl, so knapp und auch doppeldeutig sind. Eine besondere Schwierigkeit macht die Mitteilung des Lactantius (VII 18, 3), durch den Betrug der Dämonen sei in dem Buch des Hystaspes die Sendung des Sohnes Gottes verschwiegen worden: Lactanz kann somit die Orakel, auf die Ps.-Paulus und die Theosophie sich berufen, nicht gekannt haben, und diese Orakel unterliegen dem Verdacht, dass sie christliche Zusätze sind. Die Zeugen spalten sich also: neben einem christlichen Hystaspesbuch müssen Hystaspesorakel bestanden haben, die dann heidnischen, jüdischen oder jüdisch-heidnischen Ursprungs gewesen sein müssen.

Aber der Dissensus der Gelehrten hat noch tiefere Gründe. Ich denke an die grosse Verwandtschaft, die zwischen iranischer, jüdischer und christlicher Eschatologie besteht und die in Fällen wie sie hier vorliegen eine Entscheidung, ob ein Stück iranisch, jüdisch oder christlich ist, ausserordentlich erschwert. Die Aehnlichkeiten sind so gross, dass man vielfach gemeinsamen Ursprung oder gegenseitige Abhängigkeit der verschiedenen Eschatologien annimmt. Dass die jüdische Eschatologie in nachexilischer Zeit durch den Parsismus weithin beeinflusst und in ihrem Charakter stark verändert worden sei, ist eine Annahme, die sich grosser Verbreitung erfreut [1]. Gerade die fundamentalen Vorstellungen vom Weltbrand, vom Weltgericht, vom kommenden Gottesreich, von der Auferstehung, vom Welterlöser führt man auf parsistischen Einfluss zurück. Durch Vermittlung des Judentums wäre dann auch das Neue Testament stark parsistisch bestimmt. Aber das Christentum hat nicht nur jüdisch (-parsistische) Ideeen übernommen, sondern auch jüdische Apokalypsen, ganz oder in Fragmenten. Die Annahme, dass der Apokalyptiker Johannes neben der alttestamentlichen Profetie auch nachkanonische jüdische Dokumente in seiner Schrift verarbeitet hat, hat grosse Wahrscheinlichkeit [2]. Sicher ist, dass die reiche apokalyptische Literatur, die die alte Kirche überliefert hat, zum grossen Teile jüdischer Herkunft und nur in verschiedenem Masse christlich überarbeitet ist. Nur über das Mass der christlichen Ueberarbeitung gehen die Meinungen auseinander [3]. Das klassische

[1]) Vgl. von neuester Literatur: W. Bousset—H. Gressmann, a. a. O. S. 478 ff.; Ed. Meyer, *Ursprung u. Anfänge des Christentums*, II 1921, S. 95 ff. A. v. Gall, *Βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ*, 1926.

[2]) S. meinen Artikel: *Johannesapokalypse* in: Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart, 2. A., 3. Bd. (1929).

[3]) Vgl. E. Schürer a. a. O. S. 258 ff.; umstritten ist der Umfang der christlichen Interpolationen in den Testamenten der Patriarchen (N. Messel, in den Abhandlungen f. W. Baudissin, 1918, S. 355—374, hält diese Schrift sogar in ihrem ganzen Umfang für christlich) und im slavischen Henochbuch. — Wenn Th. Zahn, Die *Offenbarung des Johannes* I 1924, 139 ff. behauptet und zu beweisen sucht, die sogenannte syrische

Beispiel ist neben der Esra-apokalypse das Buch der Oracula Sibyllina. Hier sind heidnische, jüdische und christliche Orakel meist deutlich zu unterscheiden; aber oftmals ist es auch hier schwer, oder gar unmöglich zu sagen, was heidnisch oder jüdisch ist, wo die jüdische Grundschrift aufhört und die christliche Produktion oder Interpolation beginnt [1]). Heidnisch heisst hier zumeist: griechisch-hellenistisch; doch besteht die Möglichkeit, dass auch persisch-orientalische Orakel in das Buch Aufnahme gefunden haben, ist doch nach Varro die erste von den zehn Sibyllen, die bestehen, von den Persern gekommen (s. Lactant. Inst. I 6, 8) [2]).

So in die Geschichte der antiken Eschatologie und der apokalyptischen Literatur eingestellt, erhält das Hystaspesbuch symptomatische Bedeutung. Wir verstehen von vorn herein, warum die nähere Bestimmung der Herkunft der Hystaspesorakel nicht so einfach ist. Andererseits beleuchtet der Tatbestand die Zusammenhänge der persischen, jüdischen und christlichen Eschatologie. Schon die Tatsache dass die Kirchenväter den Perser Hystaspes als Profet anerkennen, bezeugt eine gewisse Solidarität zwischen christlicher und persischer Religion. Und in dem literarischen Problem, das uns aufgegeben ist, spiegelt sich ein bedeutsamer ideologischer Process, das synkretistische Zusammenfliessen von parsistischen, jüdischen und christlichen Zukunftserwartungen; ein Process, der indes nicht nur ein gewisses Solidaritätsbewusstsein zwischen den drei Religionen anzeigt, sondern noch mehr ihre gegenseitige Rivalität. Wenn die eine Religion Namen, Gedanken, Schriften von einer anderen übernimmt und sich so durch fremdes Gut bereichert, giebt sie damit zwar zu erkennen, dass auch die andere Religion Offenbarungen empfangen und die Wahrheit gefunden hat; das eigentliche Motiv solcher Annexionen ist indes das Streben, unter den Anhängern der fremden Religion für ihre Wahrheit Propaganda zu machen, durch das Lehngut gerade ihre eigene Ueberlegenheit zu erweisen, die fremde Religion sich dienstbar zu machen und deren besondere Ansprüche aufzulösen. Wie die heidnische Sibylle nur den Beruf hat, das Zeugnis „David's" zu bestätigen, so bedeutet die Annexion des Hystaspes durch die Kirchenväter, dass er nur noch die Function eines profetischen Zeugen für den Gott der Kirche, für den Christus der Kirche, für die kirchliche Eschatologie ausübt. Seine ursprüngliche Religion ist für die Kirche damit erledigt. Die Annektierung des heidnischen Profeten durch die Kirche ist ein Kampfmittel, das sie gebraucht, um sich der fremden Religion zu erwehren. Nur indirect erkennt

Baruchapokalypse sei ein christliches, kein jüdisches Pseud-epigraphon (er beruft sich vornehmlich auf c. 30 und c. 29, 5) so steht er mit dieser Meinung ganz isoliert da; immerhin beleuchtet auch sie die eigenartigen Verhältnisse der jüdisch-christlichen Apokalyptik.

1) Vgl. E. Schürer a. a. O. V. 555 ff.: Rzach in Pauly—Wissowa's Realenz., 2. Reihe II 2, Sp. 2117 ff.

2) Einige Hypothesen bei Rzach a. a. O., Sp. 2097.

die Kirche an, dass auch die falsche Religion auf Offenbarung beruht, dass zwischen ihr und dem Heidentum Verwandtschaft besteht, ja dass sogar das Heidentum auf sie nicht ohne Einwirkung geblieben ist.

Indem wir so das Problem der Hystaspesorakel in einen grösseren Zusammenhang einstellen, gewinnt es umfassende Bedeutung. Es handelt sich nicht nur um ein rein literarisches Fragstück. Die Untersuchung wirft auch Licht auf den grossen synkretistischen Prozess, der sich in der Religionsgeschichte des Hellenismus und der römischen Kaiserzeit abspielt. Selbst wenn wie zu keinem ganz sicheren Resultate kommen sollten, würde schon die Vergleichung der verschiedenen Traditionen unsere Einsicht in die Structur des orientalisch-griechisch-römisch-christlichen Synkretismus fördern können. Eine eingehendere Untersuchung der Hystaspesfragmente ist bisher noch niemals vorgenommen worden. Wir glauben, dass durch genauere Analyse der Texte unser Wissen über Inhalt und Charakter des Hystaspesbuchs in mancher Hinsicht erweitert werden kann. Von besonderen Interesse dürfte der Nachweis sein, dass die Hystaspesfragmente, namentlich die Testimonien des Lactanz, ihre schönsten Illustrationen in der römischen Literatur und zwar in der des Zeitalters Cicero's und der grossen Epoche des Kaisers Augustus finden.

CAPITEL 2

Hystaspes in der persisch-synkretistischen Ueberlieferung

Unsere erste Frage muss sein, wer denn der Hystaspes ist, dem die Orakel zugeschrieben werden [1]). Die Geschichte kennt zwei bedeutsame Träger des Namens: 1. den König Vištâspa, den Beschirmer des Profeten Zarathustra; 2. den Vater des Königs Darius I. Die namentlich für die Chronologie des Zarathustra wichtige Frage, ob diese zwei Personen auseinanderzuhalten oder zu identificieren sind, ist noch immer heiss umstritten [2]). Schon im Altertum sind beide Auffassungen vertreten. Wo man das Auftreten des Zarathustra in eine graue Vorzeit verlegt, hat man den Zarathustragläubigen Hystaspes natürlich von dem Zeitgenossen des grossen Kyros unterschieden. Diese Datierung von Zoroaster ist sehr verbreitet [3]). Dagegen scheint Ammianus Marcellinus (XXIII, 6. 32), wenn er von *Hystaspes, rex prudentissimus, Darei pater* spricht, die Identität der beiden zu vertreten, obschon er ihn erst nach Zoroaster auftreten lässt [4]). Ein späterer griechischer Schriftsteller, Agathias (6. Jhdt. n. Ch.), macht ausdrücklich auf das Problem aufmerksam und bemerkt: *Πέρσαι δὲ αὐτὸν (sc. Ζωρόαστρον) οἱ νῦν ἐπὶ Ὑστάσπου, οὕτω δή τι ἁπλῶς, φασὶ γεγονέναι, ὡς λίαν ἀμφιγνοεῖσθαι καὶ οὐκ εἶναι μαθεῖν, πότερον Δαρείου πατήρ, εἴτε καὶ ἄλλος οὗτος ὑπῆρχεν Ὑστάσπης* (II 24) [5]): bei seinen persischen Zeitgenossen war also keine Auskunft über Zeit und Person des Hystaspes zu holen.

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[1]) Die Nachrichten der griechischen und lateinischen Schriftsteller über Hystaspes, Zarathustra und die persische Religion findet man gesammelt bei W. Jackson, Zoroaster 1899, p. 226 ff., und vollständiger bei C. Clemen, Fontes historiae religionis Persicae 1920.

[2]) Vgl. die Literatur in Pauly—Wissowa's Realenc. IV 542, Artikel *Hystaspes* 2 von J. Miller; dazu aus neuester Zeit Joh. Hertel, *Die Zeit Zoroasters* 1924 u. *Die Methode der arischen Forschung* 1926, der sich für die Identificierung der zwei Hystaspes und für die Datierung des Zarathustra im 6. Jahrh. vor allem auf das Schweigen des Herodot über Z. (in seiner Darstellung der Religion der Magier) und auf den Charakter und Ton der Dariusinschriften beruft.

[3]) Vgl. über die Datierung bei den Griechen C. Clemen, *Die griechischen u. lateinischen Nachrichten über die persische Religion* (1920), S. 11 ff., ders. in Zeitschr. f Missionskunde u. Religionswissenschaft Bd. 40, S. 45 ff.

[4]) „*Saeculis priscis*" hat Zoroastres, der Baktrier, vieles aus den Geheimlehren der Chaldäer der Magierweisheit hinzugefügt, darnach (*deinde*) hat das getan *Hystaspes rex prudentissimus Darei pater*. Für Zoroaster hat also Amm. Marc. die übliche Tradition: dann liegen zwischen Zoroaster und Hystaspes Jahrhunderte und Jahrtausende.

[5]) Clemen, Fontes p. 101.

Von den Kirchenvätern, die die Orakel des Hystaspes zitieren, geben nur Lactanz und der Verfasser der Theosophie über seine Person Auskunft. Ersterer bezeichnet ihn (VII, 15, 19) als *Medorum rex antiquissimus*, der seine Orakel *multo ante profatus est quam illa Trojana gens conderetur*. Als Beherrscher von Medien wird Hystaspes auch bei dem Historiker Chares von Mitylene aufgeführt (bei Athenaeus XIII, 35 [1]). Wird das Alter des Hystaspes hier über die Zeit des trojanischen Krieges hinausgerückt, dann entspricht das der oben erwähnten Datierung des Zarathustra: von ihm sagt diese Tradition, er sei 5000 Jahre älter als die Generation des trojanischen Krieges gewesen [2]). Aber auch von der Sibylle wird überliefert, dass sie älter als Homer gewesen sei [3]). So will auch Lactantius sagen, dass Hystaspes an Alter den ältesten griechischen Schriftsteller überlegen sei. Dies hohe Alter des Profeten verstärkt natürlich das Gewicht und die Zuverlässigkeit seiner Profezeiungen. Nach dem antiken Grundsatz, dass Priorität auch Superiorität bedeutet — im Neuen Testament kommt er z. B. Matth. 19, 8 Parall. und Gal. 3, 17 zur Anwendung — ist damit die Erhabenheit der Hystaspesorakel über alle, etwa entgegengesetzten, jüngeren Orakel erwiesen. Die Identität mit dem Vater des Darius fällt bij Lactanz natürlich ausser Betracht. Die Uebereinstimmung seiner Datierung mit der üblichen Chronologie des Zarathustra erweist seine Zugehörigkeit zu diesem [4]).

Die Theosophie scheint wenig Genaues über Hystaspes gewusst zu haben. Sie nennt ihn einfach einen König der Perser oder Chaldäer, der sehr fromm gewesen sei und darum die Offenbarung göttlicher Offenbarungen empfangen habe. Sie bezeugt also einmal die für den hellenistischen Synkretismus bezeichnende Vermischung von persischer und chaldäischer „Weisheit" und Frömmigkeit; andererseits weist sie unverkennbar auf den Bekenner des Zarathustraglaubens hin, obschon sie ebensowenig wie die anderen drei Kirchenväter, die die Orakel anführen,

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[1]) Chares erzählt hier eine hübsche Novelle, deren Held Zariadres, der Bruder des Hystaspes ist. In Zeitschr. f. neut. Wiss. 1917/18, S. 73 ff., habe ich sie mit der synoptischen Erzählung von Herodes und Salome Marc. 6, 17 ff.; Matth. 14, 1 ff. verglichen; P. Zondervan hat sie daraufhin für eine der Quellen der evangelischen Geschichte erklärt, wozu kein hinreichender Grund vorliegt (Nieuw Theol. tijdschr. 1918, p. 131 ff.). Uebrigens bemerkt Chares, Hystaspes und sein Bruder würden von den Eingeborenen für Söhne von Afrodite und Adonis gehalten.

[2]) So Hermippus bei Plinius Sec. Hist. nat. 30, 1, 4 und Plutarch de Is. et Os. 46 (Clemen *Fontes* p. 42 u. 48). Bei dieser Datierung ist wohl zugleich vorausgesetzt, dass Zoroaster der Stifter der magisch-chaldäischen Religion ist.

[3]) Nach Augustin (*de Civit. Dei* XVIII 23 a. E.) gab es die Tradition, die Erythraeische Sibylle habe zur Zeit des Trojanischen Krieges gelebt. Weitere Traditionen bei W. Bousset in Z. f. neut. Wiss. 1902, S. 40. Vor dem trojanischen Krieg soll auch der Sidonische Profet Mochos gelebt haben, von dem Demokrit seine Atomenlehre empfing (Strabo XVI 2, 24); Is. Lévy, *La légende de Pythagore* 1927, p. 22.

[4]) Die Zeitangabe für Hystaspes ist wohl überhaupt aus der Zarathustratradition abzuleiten.

den Zusammenhang des Königs Hystaspes mit dem Propheten Zarathustra erwähnt. Die Theosophie kann diesen Perser- oder Chaldaeerkönig mit dem Vater des Hystaspes identificiert haben: doch ist das nicht angezeigt und an sich auch ohne Belang.

Was wissen nun Ueberlieferung und Legende von diesem Hystaspes? Hystaspes (Vishtāspa) ist der erste Fürst (in Ost-Iranien), den Zarathustra bekehrte und der dem neuen Glauben seinen mächtigen Schutz verlieh. Schon in den Gatha's wird er mehrfach rühmend erwähnt (28, 7: 51, 16 u. ä) Seine „Bekehrung" hat in der späteren parsistischen Legende eine breite Ausmalung erfahren: doch wird auch hier alte Tradition zugrunde liegen [1]). Ein jüngerer Traktat, Vištāsp sāsto, war vornehmlich seiner Bekehrung geweiht [2]). Er befasste Instructionen für den König, dann eine Beschreibung seiner Bekehrung, endlich die Ankündigung eines drohenden Kriegs und eine Anweisung für den König, wie er sich in diesem Glaubenskrieg des Feindes erwehren solle. Die Bekehrung war eingeleitet durch die wunderbare Erscheinung der Erzengel (Amesha Spenta): sie waren von Ahura Mazda gesandt, um dem König die Wahrheit und Güte des von Zarathustra gepredigten Ahura-Mazda-glaubens evident zu machen und ihm Ahura-Mazda's Segen für den Fall seiner Bekehrung zu verheissen.

Nach einer anderen Tradition, die sich im Zartusht Namah befindet [3]), hatte Vischtaspa vier Zeichen oder Gunstbeweise erbeten: (1) er wollte sein Endschicksal und seinen Platz im Paradies wissen; (2) sein Körper sollte unverwundbar werden; (3) er wollte umfassende Kenntnis erlangen, von Vergangenem, Gegenwärtigem und Zukünftigem und (4) seine Seele sollte bis zur Auferstehung den Leib nicht zu verlassen brauchen. Da alle vier Vorrechte für eine Person zu viel schienen, wurde ihm zunächst nur die erste Bitte gewährt. Nach seiner Bekehrung erschien ihm indes ein zweiter Erzengel, der ihn von der „Quelle des Lebens" trinken liess, so dass er einen Blick in die Geisterwelt und in die Herrlichkeit, die ihm später beschieden war, zu tun vermochte [4]).

Wir sehen, dass schon in der persischen Hystaspeslegende Erscheinungen und Offenbarungen eine grosse Rolle spielen. Vistaspa galt nicht nur als vorbildlicher Gläubiger und Beschirmer der Religion, sondern auch als Empfänger und Mittler von Glaubensoffenbarungen. Schon aus diesen Ueberlieferungen wird es erklärlich, dass dieser König auch zum Empfänger und Verfasser einer Apokalypse gemacht wurde, wenngleich das Avesta nichts davon überliefert.

Nur ganz selten wird Hystaspes in der griechisch-römischen Literatur

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[1]) Vgl. W. Jackson, *Zoroaster, the prophet of ancient Ira.* 1899, p. 56 ff.

[2]) S. die Inhaltsangabe in *Pahlavi texts IV (Sacred books of the East 37)* p. 23 f. und Dinkard VII 75 ff. (*S. B. of the East* 47, p. 67 ff.).

[3]) Jackson, l.c., p. 64 f.

[4]) Jackson, p. 66: Dinkart 7, 4 (*Sacr. b. of the East* 37, 24).

erwähnt. Das Wenige ist gleichwohl bedeutsam. Bei Ammianus Marcellinus erscheint der weise König Hystaspes geradezu als der zweite Stifter der magisch-persischen Religion [1]. Er unternahm eine Reise nach Indien und lernte von den Brahmanen die Ursachen der Bewegung der Welt und der Sterne, und die reinen Riten der Religion; er teilte einiges davon den Magiern mit, die diese Weisheit zugleich mit der Kunst, die Zukunft vorauszusagen, der Nachwelt überlieferten. Hystaspes wird hier geradezu zum Doppelgänger des Zoroaster selbst; denn in ganz ähnlichen Worten wird anderswo auch dessen Weisheit und Religion beschrieben [2].

Die selbe Ueberlieferung vertritt Joh. Lydus (de *mens.* 2, 4) wenn er berichtet: *ὅτι οἱ περὶ Ζωροάστρην καὶ Ὑστάσπην Χαλδαῖοι καὶ Αἰγύπτιοι ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ τῶν πλανήτων ἐν ἑβδομάδι τὰς ἡμέρας ἀνέλαβον.* Hier ist die parsistische Religion ganz und gar mit der chaldäisch-babylonischen Speculation zusammengeschmolzen und Hystaspes mit Zoroaster zusammen zum Begründer der orientalisch-hellenistischen Philosophie der römischen Kaiserzeit gemacht [3].

Von Apokalyptik ist hier nicht die Rede. Aber da der Parsismus ebenso wie das synkretistische Chaldaeertum auch eine Eschatologie lehrte, schliesst sich das Buch der Orakel des Hystaspes sehr gut an diese Hystaspesüberlieferungen an.

Schon aus der persisch-synkretistischen Hystaspesüberlieferung ist sonach wahrscheinlich zu machen, dass das Hystaspesbuch, das die Kirchenväter kennen, keineswegs eine freie jüdische oder christliche Schöpfung sein kann. Als Träger von Offenbarungen und als Hauptautorität der magisch-chaldäischen Religion neben Zoroaster stehend, war Hystaspes im synkretistischen Orient durchaus eine bekannte Grösse. Ihn auch zum Verfasser einer apokalyptischen Schrift zu machen, wird nicht erst einem Juden oder Christen eingefallen sein. Das Wahrscheinliche ist vielmehr, dass auch der Orakelgeber Hystaspes schon eine Schöpfung des orientalischen Synkretismus ist und dass „Orakel des Hystaspes" schon im nicht-jüdischen Orient in Umlauf waren. Für diese Annahme spricht auch die Analogie der Sibylle: auch da geht heidnische Ueberlieferung und heidnische Orakelproduktion der jüdischen und christlichen Produktion voran. Die Frage ist dann nur die, ob und inwieweit die Orakel, die die Kirchenväter zitieren, persisch-synkretistischen Ursprungs sind oder nach heidnischem Vorbild von Juden und Christen geschrieben worden sind.

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1) A. a. O. XXIII, 6, 32 f.: Clemen, *Fontes*, p. 84 f.

2) Vgl. z. B. Justin, epit. hist. Philipp. I 1, 9; Clemen 64.

3) Diese hellenistische Hystaspeslegende erinnert an die Ueberlieferung von einem gleichfalls uralten Perserkönig Kyranos, dem die „Kyraniden" zugeschrieben werden, Schriften naturwissenschaftlichen, medicinischen und astrologischen Inhalts, die sich z. T. mit hermetischen Schriften decken. Vgl. Ganschinietz in Pauly—Wiss.'s R. E. XII, col. 127 ff. Ob hier Zusammenhänge vorliegen, wage ich nicht zu entscheiden.

CAPITEL 3

Zarathustra in der synkretistischen Ueberlieferung

Wir sahen, wie in der synkretistischen Tradition Hystaspes neben Zoroaster gestellt wird, und müssen noch eben dieser synkretistischen Zarathustra-tradition nachgehen, da auch diese uns dazu dienen kann, das Milieu, aus dem die Orakel des Hystaspes entstanden sind, zu erhellen.

Eine wichtige Ueberlieferung finden wir bei Nikolaos von Damascus, dem Hofhistoriographen des Herodes, in seinem dramatischen Bericht von König Kroisos und seiner Errettung vom Feuertode [1]). Wie das Feuer durch gewaltigen Regenguss, der von Blitz und Donner begleitet war, ausgelöscht war, da erinnerten sich die Menschen mit einem Male auch an die Orakel der Sibylle und die Sprüche des Zoroaster *(καὶ οἵ τε τῆς Σιβύλλης χρησμοὶ τά τε Ζωροάστρου λόγια ἐσῄει).* Unter den *χρησμοί* der Sibylle sind die Warnrufe der zuvor leibhaftig erschienenen Sibylle zu verstehen. Auch die Logia des Zoroaster können orakelartige Aussprüche, Warnungen oder Vorschriften sein (vgl. die „Logia" Jesu) [2]). Uns interessiert hier vor allem die Zusammenstellung: Orakel der Sibylle und Sprüche des Zoroaster; ihr entspricht bei den Kirchenvätern das Paar: Sibylle und Hystaspes!

Für die hellenistischen Vorstellungen von Zarathustra ist weiter bezeichnend, dass zwei grosse Philosophen zu seinen Schülern gemacht wurden, Pythagoras und Plato. Damit ist nicht nur die Abhängigkeit der griechischen Weisheit vom Orient, speciell von Zoroaster proclamiert, sondern auch umgekehrt Zoroaster zum Philosophen, zu einem Pythagoräer oder Platoniker gestempelt. Das Jenseitswissen der Philosophen wird aus dem Orient abgeleitet und Zoroaster erscheint dem Griechentum als Offenbarer der Geheimnisse des Kosmos und des Jenseits.

Porphyrius erzählt in seiner Vita Pythagorae (c. 12): *ἐν . . . Βαβυλῶνι τοῖς τ' ἄλλοις Χαλδαίοις συνεγίνετο καὶ πρὸς Ζάρατον* (= Zoroaster) *ἀφίκετο παρ' οὗ ἐκαθάρθη τά τοῦ προτέρου βίου λύματα καὶ ἐδιδάχθη ἀφ' οὗ ἁγνεύειν προσήκει τοῖς σπουδαίοις, τόν τε περὶ φύσεως λόγον ἤκουσε καὶ τίνες αἱ τῶν ὅλων ἀρχαί.* [3]) Die Lehre, die Pythagoras von Zoroaster empfing, erstreckte sich hier-

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[1]) *Exc. de virt. et vit.* 29 (68); Clemen *Fontes* p. 30 f., *Fragmenta histor. Graec.* ed. F. G. Müller III p. 406 ff. Die Erzählung weicht von der bekannteren Fassung bei Herodot stark ab.

[2]) In der Fortsetzung heisst es: τόν γε μὴν Ζωροάστρην (wohl: was aber Z. angeht) Πέρσαι ἀπ' ἐκείνου διεῖπαν μήτε νεκροὺς καίειν μήτ' ἄλλως μιαίνειν πῦρ, καὶ πάλαι τοῦτο καθεστὼς τὸ νόμιμον τότε βεβαιωσάμενοι. Also war das Verbot der Leichenverbrennung eines dieser Λόγια Ζωροάστρου. Vgl. J. Hertel, *Die Methode der arischen Forschung.* S. 69 ff.

[3]) Clemen *Fontes*, p. 79 f. Vgl. W. Bousset, *Hauptprobleme der Gnosis* 1907, S. 374 ff.

nach auf Askese und Kosmologie: sie wurde als Geheimlehre aufgefasst, daher eine Reinigungszeremonie vorangeht. Nach dem selben Schriftsteller *(de antro nymph.* 6*)* vollzog Zoroaster solche Weihungen in heiligen Grotten. Damit ist Lucian's phantastische, aber auf Tradition beruhende Erzählung von der Hadesfahrt des Menipp zu vergleichen (c. 6). Von den Philosophen unbefriedigt beschliesst Menippos, nach Babylon zu gehen und einen von den Magiern, den Schülern und Nachfolgern des Zoroaster zu bitten, die wie er hörte, durch gewisse Zauberlieder und Weihen die Pforten des Hades zu öffnen vermögen und wen sie wollen, sicher hinab- und wieder hinaufführen [1]). Er giebt eine ausführliche Beschreibung der Reinigungszeremonien die hierzu erforderlich sind: es gehört dazu u.a. eine Taufe im Euphrat und eine Taufe im Tigris [2]); darnach ist Menipp reif zur Hadesfahrt, die er dann in Begleitung des Mithrobarzanes, des Magiers und Zoroasterschülers, unternimmt und auf der ihm alle Geheimnisse der jenseitigen Welt und der jenseitigen Vergeltung gezeigt werden.

In neupythagoräischen und in anderen synkretistischen Kreisen galt sonach Zoroaster als Stifter der Magierreligion und als Uebermittler aller Geheimnisse, die mit dem Hades zusammenhingen. Auf ihn wurde das Wissen vom Hades und die magische Kunst, in den Hades zu fahren, zurückgeführt [3]).

Aus der Platolegende ist vor allem interessant, dass in synkretistischer Zeit der Armenier Er, mit dessen Hadesfahrt Plato's Republik endet, mit Zoroaster identifiziert wurde. Hier hatte man also die Beschreibung der eigenen Hadesfahrt des Zoroaster in der Form einer Apokalypse. Die Identification wird wohl nicht auf etymologischen Zusammenstellungen beruhen, sondern auf dem Glauben der damaligen Zeit, dass der eigentliche Offenbarer der Mysterien des Hades Zoroaster gewesen sei [4]). Die Zeugen dieser Einsetzung des Zoroaster in den platonischen Mythus sind der

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[1]) Die interessante Ueberlieferung kann auch als Illustration des Jesusspruchs von der Vollmacht des Petrus, Matth. 16, 17—19, dienen.

[2]) Euphrat und Tigris sind heilige Ströme wie der Ganges, der Nil oder der Jordan. Für den Religionshistoriker versteht es sich ganz von selbst, dass Johannes im Jordan tauft, weil ihm der Jordan als heiliger Fluss, sein Wasser als heilkräftig gilt. Zufällig wissen wir das sonst nur aus der alttestamentl. Erzählung vom Syrer Naeman, der durch siebenmaliges Untertauchen im Jordan seinen Aussatz verliert (II. Kön. 5, 10 ff.) Wenn bei den Rabbinen das Wasser des Jordans für unrein gilt (Strack—Billerbeck, Kommentar z. N. T. I 109), so ist das eine andere, der Bibel fremde Tradition; vgl. R. Eisler *Ἰησοῦς βασιλεὺς οὐ βασιλεύσας* (Religionsgesch. Bibliothek 9) 1929, II 97 ff., dessen Ausgleichsversuch mir freilich nicht einleuchtet. Die Jordanspeculationen der Mandäer bestätigen die Vorstellung vom Jordan als heiligem Strom; s. M. Lidzbarski in Z. f. neut. Wiss. 1926, 70 ff. (Uebrigens erinnert auch die heilige Diät, die dem Menipp vorgeschrieben wird (c. 7) an die Speise des Täufers Matth. 3, 4; vgl. Eisler a. a. A., S. 29 f., der wie ich nachträglich bemerke, gleichfalls auf diese Zusammenhänge aufmerksam macht.)

[3]) Näheres in dem lehrreichen, aber mit Kritik aufzunehmenden Buch von Isidore Lévy: *La légende de Pythagore de Grèce en Palestine*, Paris 1927.

[4]) Vgl. C. Clemen, *Nachrichten*, S. 35 f.

Epikuräer Kolotes (3. Jhdt. vor Chr.), Clemens von Alexandrien (Strom. V. 14, 103) und der Neuplatoniker Proklos [1]. Clemens weist darauf hin, dass Plato im 10. Buch seiner Politeia den Er erwähnt: *ὅς ἐστι Ζωροάστρης*, und fährt fort: Zoroaster selbst schreibt nun *τάδε συνέγραψα Ζωροάστρης ὁ Ἀρμενίου, τὸ γένος Πάμφυλος, ἐν πολέμῳ τελευτήσας, ‹ὅσα› ἐν Ἅιδῃ γενόμενος ἐδάην παρὰ θεῶν.*

Es scheint, dass Clemens eine Recension der Politeia kannte, in der der Name des Zoroaster hineincorrigiert war; oder er kannte auch eine Zoroasterapokalypse, deren Text dem platonischen Mythos entsprach. Etwas anders ist der Tatbestand, den Proklos bezeugt. Er hat vier Bücher über die Natur gelesen, die dem Zoroaster zugeschrieben waren und deren Prooimion ungefähr so lautete, wie Clemens angiebt. Hier war also der platonische Mythos nicht als Abschluss, sondern als Einleitung eines grossen Werkes über die Natur verwendet, d. h. das ganze Werk war als eine Apokalypse des Zoroaster eingekleidet, und das Werk begann mit einer Beschreibung des Hades [2].

Hellenistische Philosophie und Hadeskunde ward somit vielfach als Geheimlehre des Zoroaster verbreitet, und es gab eine kosmologisch-apokalyptische Zoroaster-literatur. Celsus weiss davon (Origenes c. Celsum I 16): er führt in einer Reihe Linos, Musaios, Orpheus, Pherekydes, den Perser Zoroastres und Pythagoras auf, alles Männer, die Lehren in Büchern niedergelegt haben, die bis auf die Gegenwart erhalten sind. Philo von Byblos hat ein solches Buch gekannt; es hiess *Ἱερὰ συναγωγὴ τῶν Περσικῶν...* und handelte, wie ein längeres Zitat zeigt (bei Euseb. Praepar. evang. I 10, 34), u. a. über das Wesen Gottes (in platonischem Sinne, aber mit seltsamem ägyptischem Einschlag). Es muss ein Seitenstück zu dem Buch Ostanes gewesen sein, das gleichfalls aus synkretistischen Magierkreisen hervorgegangen ist und in dem zunächst das erhabene Wesen Gottes, darnach das Wesen der Engel und der Dämonen, weiter die Eschatologie, vielleicht auch die eigentliche Magie zur Darstellung kam [3].

Auch mit den Chaldäischen Orakeln *(Χαλδαϊκὰ λόγια)* lässt sich diese synkretistische Zoroasterliteratur vergleichen, einer Sammlung von Gedichten in griechischer Sprache (in Hexametern), die wahrscheinlich einer synkretistisch gefärbten Mysteriengemeinde entstammen und eine Lehre von der Gottheit, von der Seele und ihrer Erlösung, vom Kultus des Feuers, und von den Qualen und Freuden des Jenseits enthalten [4]. Es ist

[1]) Comment. in Plat. *rem publ.* II 109 f. Kroll; Clemen *Fontes* p. 94.

[2]) Analogien zu solchen apokalyptischen Kosmographien liefert die jüdische Apokalyptik, vgl. z. B. aeth. Henoch, und die griech. Baruch-Apokalypse.

[3]) Hauptquelle Minuc. Felix, *Octavius* 26, 10 f.; vgl. Ed. Meyer, *Ursprung u. Anfänge des Christentums*, II (1921), S. 92 f.

[4]) Die übersichtlichste Sammlung der Fragmente s. bei W. Jackson, *Zoroaster*, p. 259 ff. Zur Literatur vgl. W. Kroll in Pauly—Wissowa's Realencycl. III 2045. W. Kroll nimmt auch eine christliche Interpolation an. Sicher ist mir seine Ansicht aber nicht. Auch in dieser Hinsicht liefern die „Chaldäischen Orakel" eine Analogie zu den „Orakeln des Hystaspes".

platonisierende Gnosis mit orientalischem Einschlag; Entstehungszeit ist um 200 n. Chr. zu setzen.

Solche Zoroasterschriften drangen auch in die Kreise christlicher synkretistischer Gnosis ein. Wie Clemens Alex. mitteilt (Strom. I 15, 70), rühmten sich die Anhänger der gnostischen Secte des Prodikos, apokryphe Bücher des Zoroaster zu besitzen [1]). Auch die *Recognitiones* des Ps. Clemens (IV 27) kennen Bücher über Magie, die auf dem Namen des Zoroaster standen [2]).

Zoroasterapokalypsen hat aber auch Porphyrius bei allerlei gnostischen Sekten vorgefunden (*de vita Plotini* c. 16) [3]). In seinen Kollegs hat der Neuplatoniker häufig gegen das Buch des „Zoroaster" seine Angriffe gerichtet und den Beweis geliefert, dass es unecht und jungen Datums war, von dem Begründer der Häresie gefälscht zu dem Zwecke den Glauben zu wecken, dass seine Lehre die des alten Zoroaster sei [4]). In gnostischen Kreisen gab es also eine Production von Zoroasterschriften, die dazu dienen mussten, den speciellen Lehren der gnostischen Schule höhere Autorität und Weihe zu geben. Die Verbreitung von Zoroasterapokalypsen in christlich-gnostischen Gemeinschaften ist eine bedeutsame Analogie zu dem Gebrauch der Hystaspesorakel bei den Kirchenvätern.

In rechtgläubigen kirchlichen Kreisen wird diese Zarathustraliteratur freilich wenig Verbreitung gefunden haben, am wenigsten die Bücher, die von magischer Kunst und Zauberei handelten. Sofern Zoroaster für den Stifter der Magierreligion galt, konnte er in der Kirche eigentlich nur als Erzzauberer und Götzendiener verrufen sein. Seltsame Ueberlieferungen derart findet man in dem ps.-Clementin. Schriftenkreis. In den Homilien (IX 4—6) wird er mit N i m r o d identificiert und aus seiner Todesart (Blitzschlag) sein neuer Name Zoroastres (*διὰ τὸ τὴν τοῦ ἀστέρος κατ' αὐτοῦ ζῶσαν ἐνεχθῆναι ῥοήν*) abgeleitet, dazu auch der persische Feuerkult [5]).

In den *Recognitiones* (IV 27 f.) ist es dagegen Mesraim, ein Sohn des Cham, von dem die Aegypter, Babylonier und Perser abstammen, der die magischen Künste erfunden und, wie wir schon sahen, in Büchern niedergelegt hat. Er war vor allem Astrolog und wusste aus den Sternen Lichterscheinungen zu zaubern, bis er von dem Sternendämon durch Blitz erschlagen und verbrannt ward. Die törichten Menschen meinten, er sei

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1) Vorausgesetzt, dass τἀνδρὸς τούτου wie allgemein üblich, auf Z. und nicht auf Pythagoras bezogen wird.

2) *Hunc (sc. Cham) gentes quae tunc erant Zoroastren appellaverunt, admirantes primum magicae artis autorem cuius nomine etiam libri super hoc plurimi habentur.*

3) Er nennt ἀποκαλύψεις ... Ζωροάστρου καὶ Ζωστριανοῦ καὶ Νικοθέου καὶ Ἀλλογενοῦς καὶ Μέσου καὶ ἄλλων τοιούτων. Vgl. zu der interessanten Notiz C. Schmidt. *Plotins Stellung zum Gnosticismus und kirchlichem Christentum* 1901 (Texte u. Untersuchungen, N. F. V 4) S. 13 ff.

4) *Πορφύριος δὲ ἐγὼ πρὸς τὸ Ζωροάστρου συχνοὺς πεποίημαι ἐλέγχους, (ὅπως) νόθον τε καὶ νέον τι βιβλίον παραδεικνὺς πεπλασμένον τε ὑπὸ τῶν τὴν αἵρεσιν συστησαμένων εἰς δόξαν τοῦ εἶναι τοῦ παλαιοῦ Ζωροάστρου τὰ δόγματα, ἃ αὐτοὶ εἵλοντο πρεσβεύειν.*

5) Vergl. auch Recogn. I 30; Epiphan. Haer. III 2 f.

vom Blitz in den Himmel erhoben und nannten ihn „lebenden Stern": Zoroaster [1]). Dass auch die *Recognitiones* schliesslich Nimrod meinen und dass der Name Mezraim Folge einer Confusion ist, beweist die Legende I 17: Nimrod sei von Babylon zu den Persern gewandert und habe diesen die Feuerverehrung gelehrt. Die Tradition von Nimrod als Feueranbeter findet sich auch in der Syrischen Schatzhöhle [2]) und in davon abhängigen Schriften, sowie in der rabbinischen Haggada [3]). Sie setzt die Identification Nimrods mit Zarathustra, andererseits das Zusammenschmelzen von Parsismus, Magiertum und Chaldäertum voraus, also die religiöse Zusammenziehung von Persien und Babylonien [4]).

Es hat etwas Tragisches, dass Zarathustra in der christlichen Ueberlieferung zumeist als Magier, damit als Betrüger, und als Erfinder der von den Dämonen beherrschten magischen Künste discreditiert erscheint. Kaum ein anderer ausserchristlicher Religionsstifter hätte so sehr Anrecht darauf gehabt, in der jüdisch-christlichen Tradition als „heidnischer" Profet und Gotteskünder anerkannt und verehrt zu werden wie der historische Zarathustra. Wir stehen hier vor einer verhängnisvollen Wirkung der synkretischen Umbildung der Zarathustra-überlieferung. Es hat hier ein doppelter Verschmelzungsprocess stattgefunden, einmal ward die Religion Zarathustra's, wohl schon sehr frühe, mit der Religion der Magier völlig verschmolzen, so dass der ganze magische Ritualismus und das Zauberwesen der Magier nun auf seine Autorität eingestellt wurde — hierzu kann als Analogie etwa die Stellung des israelitischen Profetentums im talmudischen Rabbinismus dienen — sodann ward das von Zoroaster abgeleitete Magiertum auch mit den Speculationen und Praktiken des Chaldäertums zusammengeworfen, so dass nun auch die chaldäisch-babylonische Astrologie mit allen damit zusammenhängenden Praktiken auf Zoroaster zurückgeführt wurde. Dieser wurde so zum Begründer und Stifter einer der gefährlichsten und einflussreichsten Pseudoreligionen der späteren Antike, einer der wirksamsten Organe der Dämonen gestempelt. Wo diese Schätzung herrschend war, konnte natürlich keine Zoroasterapokalypse Aufnahme finden, konnte Zoroaster unmöglich neben der Sibylle als heidnischer Profet und Orakelgeber verehrt werden. So ist es vielleicht nicht zufällig, dass keiner der kirchlichen Schriftsteller, die die Orakel des Hystaspes anführen, auf die Beziehungen dieses Königs zu Zarathustra hinweisen. Vielleicht war auch in der Schrift, im Text der Orakel selbst die Zugehörigkeit des Hystaspes zur Religion des Zarathustra nicht erwähnt. Es ist jedenfalls bezeichnend, dass im Bereich der christlich-griechischen Ueberlieferung Zarathustra-apokalypsen nur im Besitz von häretisch-gnostischen Kreisen sich finden.

[1]) Vgl. hierzu Clemen *Nachrichten* S. 47; W. Bousset, *Hauptprobleme der Gnosis* 1907, S. 144 ff., 369 ff. und Archiv. f. Relig. Wiss. IV 242 ff.

[2]) Uebersetz. v. F. Bezold, S. 33 f.

[3]) Bereschit Rabba 38.

[4]) Vgl. W. Bousset, Hauptprobl. S. 373 ff.

Und doch gab schon die Bibel Anregungen zu einer positiven Würdigung Zarathustra's und der Magier-religion. Ich denke hier nicht an die tatsächliche Beeinflussung der biblischen Begriffswelt durch den Parsismus [1]; die war dem Biblizismus der Kirchenväter selbstverständlich verborgen. Es handelt sich vielmehr um zwei offen daliegende Erscheinungen: einmal die Rolle, die der Perserkönig Kyros (Koresch), der doch wahrscheinlich ein Zarathustraverehrer war [2], im Glauben des Deuterojesaja spielt, und an das Auftreten der „Magier" in der Geschichte von Jesu Geburt bei Matthaeus (c. 2).

Kyros gilt dem Profeten als der Hirte, den Jahwe erwählt hat, um die Völker niederzuwerfen und Israel freizumachen, dem Jahwe die Wege gebahnt hat zu seinen Siegen, den Jahwe bei seinem Namen gerufen hat, damit er Jahwe als seinen Gott, als Gott erkenne Jes. 44, 24 ff.; 45, 1 ff. Unwillkürlich denkt man an Ahura Mazda, von dem die Perserkönige in ihren Inschriften ja ganz Aehnliches bekennen. Aber es ist eben fraglich, ob auch der grosse jüdische Profet den Ahura-mazdaglauben des persischen Königs als Hintergrund seiner profetischen Ausrufe gedacht und gewusst hat, und die Tradition hat diese Beziehungen der profetischen Sprüche zu dem Gottesglauben des historischen Perserkönigs ganz übersehen.

Dem entspricht, dass die Beeinflussung des jüdischen Denkens durch persische Ideen wohl im allgemeinen unbewusst stattgefunden hat; höchstens den Apokalyptikern (Henoch, Daniel) kann sie bewusst gewesen sein. Daher die Magier auch dem Judentum als Zauberer galten. Das Wort eines babylonischen Rabbinen aus dem 3 Jhdt.: Wer auch nur ein einziges Wort von einem Magier lernt, der ist des Todes schuldig [3], ist wohl für das orthodoxe Judentum typisch.

Eine Ausnahme in dieser Beurteilung des Magiertums macht m. W. nur der alexandrinische Jude Philo. Dieser Hellenist, der jüdische Orthodoxie mit hellenistischer Weisheit zusammenzuschmelzen bestrebt ist, führt in seiner Jugendschrift *quod omnis probus liber* (c. 12 § 74) zum Erweis der These, dass die Weisen, wenn auch spärlich, doch vorhanden sind, neben den sieben Weisen in Hellas und den Gymnosophisten in Indien auch den Stand der Magier bei den Persern an und charakterisiert sie als Männer, die die Werke der Natur durchforschen, um zur Erkenntnis der Wahrheit zu gelangen, und so in aller Stille durch deutlichere Begriffe in die göttlichen Tugenden sich einweihen lassen und (andere) einweihen. Philo meint hier die kosmologischen Speculationen der Magier und Chaldäer, die nach seinem Zeugnis auch zur Ethik hinführten. Er selbst ist in seinen Lehren sehr stark von chaldäisch-parsistischen Ideen beein-

[1]) Vgl. o. S. 7.

[2]) Vgl. C. Clemen, *Nachrichten*, S. 57 ff.: R. Kittel, *Die Religion der Achämeniden* (in: Festschrift f. E. Sellin 1928, S. 87 ff.).

[3]) Schabbath b. 75a bei Strack—Billerbeck, *Kommentar zum N. T. aus Talmud u. Midrasch*, I S. 76. In Babylonien hat es freilich auch Rabbinen gegeben, die an Zauberei glaubten und sie selbst betrieben; s. L. Blau, *Das altjüdische Zauberwesen*, 1898.

flusst. Er scheidet die magischen Philosophen, die er hochschätzt, von den Zauberern, die auch er verabscheut. Das wird noch deutlicher aus einer Aeusserung in dem Werk *de specialibus legibus* (III 18, § 100 f.) [1], wo er die wahre Magie als Wissenschaft des Schauens beschreibt, die die Werke durch deutlichere Vorstellungen erhellt und der Verehrung und Wertschätzung wert ist. Er weiss zu ihrem Ruhme sogar zu sagen, dass nicht nur gewöhnliche Menschen sie betreiben, sondern auch Könige, insbesondere die Könige der Perser, daher erzählt wird, dass keiner bei ihnen zur Königswürde gelangen könne, der nicht zuvor mit den Magiern vertrauten Verkehr gepflogen. Unwillkürlich denken wir hier an den Perserkönig Hystaspes. Aber Philo hat natürlich eine Ueberlieferung allgemeiner Art im Auge, die auch Cicero anführt (*de divin.* I 91). Immerhin kommt hier eine Anschauung zur Geltung, die vorauszusetzen ist, wenn Hystaspes, der Perserkönig als weiser Mann (*rex prudentissimus*, sagt Ammianus Marcellinus) und als Profet und Orakelgeber anerkannt wird.

Dass Philo die böse Magie auch kennt und verurteilt, macht die Fortsetzung deutlich, wo er sie als *κακοτεχνία* schildert, wie sie Bettelpfaffen, Possenreiser und die schlimmsten Weiber und Sklaven betreiben, die sich anheischig machen, durch Zaubermittel eine Reinigung oder Sühne zu bewerkstelligen, die durch Liebestränke und gewisse Besprechungen Liebhaber zu tödlichem Hass und Hasser zu heissester Liebe zu bringen versprechen. Das ist die Magie, die auch die Kirche verabscheut und um derentwillen Zoroaster als Erzzauberer verworfen wird.

Wie Philo durch seine gelehrte Forschung zu einer positiven Würdigung der Magierwissenschaft geführt worden ist, so hat die evangelische Geschichte von den Magiern, die durch einen Stern zur Anbetung des Christus nach Bethlehem geleitet wurden, auch einigen Kirchenvätern dazu verholfen, zu einer günstigeren Wertschätzung der Magier und ihres Stifters zu gelangen. Zunächst wird allerdings zumeist versichert, dass diese Magier, die zu Christus kamen, von dem Einfluss des bösen Dämons, dem sie und ihre Praktiken bis dahin unterstanden, befreit waren, also Ausnahmen darstellten [2]. Tertullian erklärt (die idolatr. 9), sie seien aus ihrer Sekte ausgetreten; das bedeute der „andere Weg", auf dem sie zurückkehrten. Nach Origenes (c. Celsum I 60) bemerkten die Magier, dass mit einemmale ihre Beschwörungsformeln und Zauberkünste keine Wirkung mehr hatten. Es war die Folge der Engelerscheinung bei der Geburt Jesu und des Eintritts Jesu selbst in die Welt, wodurch die Dämonen ihrer Macht beraubt waren. Die Magier untersuchten die Ursache ihrer Ohnmacht und wurden auf den Stern aufmerksam. Sie erinnerten sich der auch ihnen bekannten Weissagung Bileams (Num. 24,

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[1] Vgl. die Uebersetzung von L. Cohn in: *Die Werke Philo's von Alexandrien* II, 1910, S. 214.

[2] So z. B. Justin, Dial. 78, 9; vgl. hierzu und zum folgenden W. Bauer, *Das Leben Jesu im Zeitalter der neutest. Apokryphen* 1909, S. 74 ff.

17) und beschlossen, dem Sterne nachzugehen und dem Neugeborenen, dessen Macht stärker war als die der Dämonen, zu huldigen. In den Homilien zu Numeri (XIII 7, p. 118 Baehrens) gibt Origenes noch eine Ergänzung. Auf Bileam geht der Stand und die Weisheit der Magier zurück. Die Magier besassen die vollständigen Profezeiungen Bileams in Niederschriften. Origenes postuliert also „Orakel Bileams" in denen auch das Orakel vom Stern gestanden haben muss. Sie sind ein Seitenstück zu den Orakeln des Hystaspes, in denen ja gleichfalls die Geburt des Sohnes Gottes vorausgesagt war.

Es giebt nun aber bei den Kirchenvätern, speciell bei den Syrern, eine andere Ueberlieferung, die die Profezie vom Stern und von dem durch den Stern bezeichneten Weltheiland nicht auf Bileam, sondern auf Zarathustra zurückführt. Sie findet sich wohl zuerst im arabischen Kindheitsevangelium (c.7): *ecce magi venerunt ex oriente Hierosolymam, quemadmodum praedixerat Zeraduscht* [1]). Die syrische Exegese nennt ihn dann regelmässig neben Bileam. Ishodad (9. Jhdt.) giebt in seinem Kommentar eine anschauliche Beschreibung von dieser Profetie [2]). Zärdushti sass an einem Wasserbrunnen und sprach zu seinen Jüngern: „Hört, meine Lieben, meine Söhne, die ich in meiner Lehre aufgezogen habe: in späteren Tagen wird nämlich eine Jungfrau, eine Tochter der Hebraeer, ohne ehelichem Verkehr, einen Sohn gebären, in dem etwas von der göttlichen Natur wohnen wird; und er wird Wundertaten und Zeichen verrichten, und bei seiner Geburt wird ein Stern bei Euch zu sehen sein. Geht, bringt ihm Opfergaben, dreierlei Gaben, Gold, Myrrhen und Weihrauch, und Er ist der König der Könige". Hier haben wir ein richtiges „Orakel des Zarathustra", das ebenso wie das vermutliche „Orakel des Bileam" mit dem Hystaspesorakel vom Kommen des Christus zu vergleichen ist. Christlicher Ursprung ist hier ganz offensichtlich.

Phantastischer und freier sind die Mitteilungen des Bar Hebraeus (Abul Faraj, 13. Jhdt). In seinem Matthaeus-Kommentar berichtet er [3]): „Manche sagen, dass ein Engel ihnen wie ein Stern erschien. Und nach anderen sahen sie in dem Stern eine Jungfrau, die in ihren Armen ein Knäblein hielt, und auf seinem Haupte war ein Diadem. Und nach anderen sahen sie darin Worte geschrieben, die seine Erscheinung bekannt machten. Und nach anderen hatte Balaam, ihr Vater, oder Zardushti, ihr Profet, ihnen die Kenntnis profezeit."

Ausführlicher hat Barhebraeus die Profetie des Zarathustra in seiner Historia Dynastiarum wiedergegeben [4]) : „Zur Zeit des Cambyses(!) lebte

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1) *Evangelia apocrypha* ed. C. Tischendorf, p. 174.

2) Vgl. Carr in dem unten zitierten Werke, p. 164; ich konnte die Stelle hier nicht verificieren.

3) Gregory Abu'l Faraj (Barhebraeus) *Commentary of the Gospels from the Horreum Mysteriorum*, translat. a. ed. by W. E. W. Carr, 1925, p. 10.

4) Ed Pococke, I p. 83 (arab.); II p. 54 (lat.): G. L. Bauer, *Des Gregorius Abulfaradsch kurze Geschichte der Dynastien*, 1783, S. 77. S. auch R. Hofmann, *Das Leben Jesu nach den Apokryphen*, 1851, S. 126.

Zoroaster, Lehrer der Magier ..., er soll auch Schüler des Propheten Elias gewesen sein. Dieser belehrte die Perser über die Erscheinung des Herrn Christus und befahl ihnen, ihm (dann) Geschenke zu bringen. Er weissagte, in den letzten Zeiten werde eine Jungfrau ohne Zutun eines Mannes empfangen und bei der Geburt des Kinder werde ein Stern erscheinen, der (auch) des Tages leuchten werde und in dessen Mitte werde das Bild einer Jungfrau erscheinen. Ihr aber, meine Söhne, werdet vor allen Nationen (als erste) seine Erscheinung bemerken. Und wenn ihr den Stern sehet, dann gehet hin, wohin er euch leiten wird, und betet den Neugeborenen an und bringt ihm eure Geschenke, denn er ist das Wort, das den Himmel erschaffen hat". Dieser Text weicht etwas von dem des Ishodad ab; es ist aber offensichtlich die gleiche Tradition. Ein Orakel des Zarathustra ist auch hier vorausgesetzt, vielleicht sogar in schriftlicher Fassung.

Noch merkwürdiger ist die Fassung, in der die Profezeiung des Zaraduscht bei S a l o m o n von Basra (13. Jhdt.), in seinem Buch: Die Biene, erscheint [1]). Hier wird Zārādōšt zunächst als der Schreiber Baruch eingeführt. „Als er bei dem Wasserbrunnen sass ..., sprach er zu seinen Jüngern, dem König Gušnāsāph (= Hystaspes!), Sāsān und Mahimad: Höret, meine geliebten Kinder, denn ich will euch ein Geheimnis offenbaren über den grossen König, der über der Welt erscheinen soll. Am Ende der Zeit und bei der endgültigen Auflösung wird ein Kind empfangen werden im Leib einer Jungfrau, und in ihren Gliedern gestaltet werden, ohne dass ein Mann ihr naht ... Die Bewohner der Erde werden sich versammeln es auszurotten, werden es aber nicht vermögen. Dann werden sie ihn nehmen und kreuzigen an einem Holz ..., und er wird in die Tiefen der Erde hinabsteigen und von dort erhöht werden und wiederkommen mit den Heeren des Lichts, und emporgetragen werden auf weissen Wolken. Denn er ist ein Kind, das durch das Wort empfangen ist, das die Dinge schafft." — Nun fragt Gušnāsāph: „Woher hat dieser eine, von dem du sprichst, seine Macht? Ist er grösser als du, oder bist du grösser als er?" Zārādōšt antwortet ihm: „Er wird abstammen von meiner Familie. Ich bin er und er ist ich; er ist in mir und ich bin in ihm ... Wenn der Anfang seines Kommens erscheint, werden mächtige Zeichen am Himmel zu sehen sein, und sein Licht wird das der Sonne übertreffen." Die Rede endet mit der Aufforderung: „Nun, meine Söhne: bewahrt das Geheimnis, das ich euch offenbart habe, und lasst es in den Schatzkammern eurer Seelen verschlossen sein. Und wenn der Stern erscheint, von dem ich euch gesprochen habe, lasst dann durch Gesandte ihm Opfergaben bringen und ihm Verehrung bezeugen. Wartet und merket darauf und verachtet ihn nicht, dass er euch nicht durch sein Schwert vernichte. Denn er ist der König der Könige, und alle Könige empfangen von ihm ihre Kronen. Er und ich sind eins."

[1]) Cap. 37—39; s. den Text bei A. W. Budge in *Anecdota Oxoniensia*. Semitic Series Vol. I Part. II p. 81 ff.; vgl. E. Kuhn im *Festgruss an R. v. Roth*, S. 218 f.; W. Bousset, *Hauptprobl. d. Gnos.* S. 379 f.; D. Völter, *Die evangelischen Erzählungen v. d. Geburt u. Kindheit Jesu Christi*. 1911. S. 109 ff.

Dieser Text ist von ausserordentlicher Wichtigkeit. Seine Verwandtschaft mit dem von Ishodad ist deutlich. Salomon hat wohl eine ursprünglichere, Ishodad eine „gereinigte" Fassung. Die Profezeiung knüpft sicher an parsistische Ueberlieferungen an. Für uns ist von besonderer Bedeutung, dass H y s t a s p e s als ihr erster Hörer und Vermittler aufgeführt ist. Wir kommen darauf zurück, wenn wir die Hystaspesorakel bei Ps. Paulus und in der Theosophie besprechen. Ganz singulär ist die Erklärung, dass Jesus Christus mit Zarathustra eins ist. Er ist also der Zarathustra redidivus. Das ist eine Aufforderung an die Magier, sich zu Christus zu bekehren, setzt aber auch Hochschätzung des Zarathustra und Bekanntschaft mit parsistischer Eschatologie voraus. Christus ist zum Zarathustra redidivus oder zum Saoshyant des Parsismus geworden [1]. Die mystischen Einheitsformeln setzen also wohl die parsistische Lehre voraus, dass der Saoshyant aus dem in einem heiligen See geheimnisvoll aufbewahrten Samen des Zarathustra von einer Jungfrau, die in diesem See badet, empfangen und geboren werden soll. Die Tradition weist auf eine christliche Zarathustra-profezeiung oder-apokalypse hin, die von einem zum Christentum bekehrten Parsisten herstammen könnte.

Mit dieser syrischen Zarathustra-legende sind nun zwei andersartige Ueberlieferungen nahe verwandt, die jedoch statt des Zarathustra den Nimrod oder Seth nennen [2].

Nach der syrischen Schätzhöhle [3] haben die Magier zwei Jahre vor der Geburt des Messias einen hellstrahlenden Stern gesehen, in dessen Mitte ein Mädchen stand, das einen Knaben trug, auf dessen Haupt ein Diadem ruhte (vgl. o. Barhebraeus). Sie suchen sofort in ihren Büchern nach der Bedeutung des Zeichens und finden in dem O r a k e l d e s N i m r o d die Profezeiung, dass ein König in Juda geboren werden solle; auch der ganze Weg der Heilsordnung des Messias wurde ihnen (in diesem Buche?) offenbart. Hier werden den drei Königen auch persische Namen gegeben: Hormizd, der König von Persien, Jezdegerd, König von Saba, und Peros, König von Seba.

Dass wir es hier mit der gleichen, durch alle syrischen Kirchenväter hindurchlaufenden Tradition zu tun haben, ist offensichtlich, und dass Nimrod = Zarathustra ist, ist uns auch schon bekannt. Es wäre nur zu fragen, welcher Name hier ursprünglich ist. Da kann kein Zweifel sein, dass es ursprünglich eine Zarathustra-überlieferung ist: die Legende will ja doch ätiologisch erklären, wie die Magier zu ihrer Sterndeutung gekommen sind, und Nimrod's Beziehung zu den Magiern ist ganz secundär. Nimrod ist die biblische Figur, die man mit Zarathustra identificiert hat, um diesen auch in der Bibel nachweisen zu können. Das Orakel des Nimrod ist ursprünglich ein Orakel des Zarathustra.

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[1] Vgl. E. Kuhn, a. a. O. S. 220; Bousset, *Hauptprobl.* 380.

[2] Schon von Kuhn und Bousset a. a. O. mit einander verglichen.

[3] Vgl. *Die syrische Schatzhöhle*...... übersetzt...... von Fr. Bezold, 1883, S. 56 f.

Die andere Variante findet sich in dem anonymen, dem Chrysostomos zugeschriebenen Matthaeuscommentar (opus imperfectum in Matthaeum), als Midrasch zu Matth. 2 [1]). Hier ist der Ausgangspunkt eine *scriptura, inscripta nomine Seth*, die von der Erscheinung eines Sterns und von den Gaben, die zu bringen seien, handelte. Sie befand sich bei einem Volke im äussersten Osten und wurde von Geschlecht zu Geschlecht, vom Vater auf den Sohn überliefert. Auf einem heiligen Berg, mons Victorialis genannt, hätten jährlich zwölf heilige Männer zu bestimmter Zeit Ausschau gehalten, bis endlich der Stern über den Berg herabkam: *habens in se formam quasi pueri parvuli et super se similitudinem crucis, et locuta est eis...... et praecepit eis ut proficiscerentur in Judaeam*. Die Ueberlieferung endet mit der Bekehrung der Magier durch den Apostel Thomas.

Schon dieser Abschluss lehrt, dass auch diese Legende syrischen Ursprungs ist. Sie ist eben eine Variante der syrischen Tradition. Dann ist auch Seth eine Variante zu Nimrod, d. h. ein „biblischer" Name für Zarathustra. Die Identification lag nahe, weil Seth in der jüdisch-christlichen Literatur als Erfinder der Astronomie und verwandter Wissenschaften bezeichnet wird [2]). Die Tradition, die sich speciell bei Joh. Malalas findet: *οὗτος ὁ Σὴθ πρῶτος ἐξεῦρε γράμματα Ἑβραϊκὰ καὶ σοφίαν καὶ τὰ σημεῖα τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ τὰς τροπὰς τῶν ἐνιαυτῶν καὶ τοὺς μῆνας καὶ τὰς ἑβδομάδας καὶ τοῖς ἄστροις ἐπέθηκεν ὀνόματα καὶ τοῖς πέντε πλανήταις* [3]), erinnert direct an die Schätzung Zoroasters in synkretistischer Zeit. Seth wie Zoroaster gelten beide als Begründer der babylonisch-chaldäischen Astrologie [4]).

Aus der Identification des Seth mit Zoroaster erklärt sich auch, wie schon Bousset vermutet hat, die merkwürdige Lehre der gnostischen S e t h i a n e r von dem Samen und von dem Geschlechte Seth's sei Christus Jesus hergekommen, d. h. Christus sei Seth in eigener Person (Epiphan. Haer. 39, 5) [5]). Sie entspricht ganz und gar der mystischen Lehre von der Einheit Zarathustra's und Christi, die wir bei Salomon fanden und die aus der parsistischen Eschatologie viel eher abzuleiten ist als aus dem Mythus von Seth. Die Sethianer besassen sieben Bücher, die auf den Namen des Seth geschrieben waren, dazu noch Bücher, die „Allogeneis" hiessen (Epiphan. a. a. O. 5, 1) [6]). Das erinnert an die Gnostiker, die Porphyrios namhaft macht (vgl. o. S. 17), die nebeneinander Apokalypsen des Zoroaster und des Allogenes besassen. Auch diese Berührung beweist die Zusammengehörigkeit von Seth und Zoroaster in der christlich-gnostischen Ueberlieferung. Bei den Gnostikern und in der Legende des lateinischen Matthaeuscommentars sind Seth- und Zarathustra-überlieferungen zusammengeflossen. Wir haben eine Apokalypse zu postulieren, in der Zarathustra-

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[1]) Migne, *Script. Graeci*, vol. 56, col. 638.

[2]) S. schon Joseph. Antiqu. I 2, 3; § 69.

[3]) Ed. Dindorf, p. 5 f.

[4]) Weitere Zeugnisse für Seth bei Bousset Hauptprobl. 381 f.

[5]) Parallelen s. in Holl's Ausgabe z. St. (II p. 74).

[6]) Dazu vgl. die Angaben bei Holl.

Seth die Erscheinung des Sterns, die Geburt und die Geschichte Christi profezeite und die wesentliche Identität Zarathustra's mit Christus lehrte. Die Ueberlieferungen der syrischen Kirchenväter gehen somit schliesslich auf gnostisch-parsistische Vorstellungen zurück.

Wir haben somit gesehen, welch eine merkwürdige und vielgestaltige Zarathustralegende der orientalisch-griechische Synkretismus geschaffen hat. Sie setzt den völligen Zusammenschluss der Religion Zarathustra's mit dem Magiertum, d.i. der altpersischen Religion, die Verschmelzung des magischen Parsismus mit babylonisch-chaldäischer Magie und Speculation voraus; weiter die Annäherung dieses synkretistischen Parsismus an die griechische Philosophie; die Uebernahme, Verarbeitung oder Neuschöpfung von Zoroaster-apocalypsen im griechischen Synkretismus, insbesondere im christlichen Gnosticismus; die Herleitung der evangelischen Magiergeschichte aus einer Profezeiung Zarathustras; endlich die Identificierung des Zoroaster mit Jesus Christus. Was ist auf grund dieser Gedankenentwicklung nicht alles aus dem iranischen Profeten und Ahuramazdaverehrer geworden: ein Zauberer, der Erfinder der Zauberei, der Begründer der Astrologie und aller Philosophie, der Enthüller der Geheimnisse des Jenseits, der Verfasser von Orakeln und Apokalypsen, der älteste Profet Jesu Christi, die urgeschichtliche Incarnation Jesu, der Heros der Magier von Matthaeus 2. Mit drei oder vier biblischen Personen ist er vereinerleit: mit Seth, mit Nimrod, mit Baruch und mit Jesus Christus selbst.

In vielem erscheint Zoroaster als Doppelgänger seines königlichen Jüngers, des Hystaspes, oder besser umgekehrt der Schüler erscheint als der Doppelgänger des Meisters. Beide sind Lehrer der Magier, beide Begründer der magisch-chaldäischen Wissenschaft, beide sind Propheten, beide haben Orakel verfasst, beide haben die Erscheinung Jesu Christi profezeit.

Wie die Zoroasterlegende so wird auch die Hystaspeslegende eine vorchristliche und vorjüdische Schöpfung sein. Wie die synkretistischen Zoroasterbücher durchaus vorjüdischen und vorchristlichen Ursprungs sind, so werden auch im heidnischen Synkretismus Hystaspesorakel im Umlauf gewesen sein. Aber wie die Zarathustralegende und-apokalyptik von den Christen annektiert und mit christlichen Ueberlieferungen verschmolzen wurden, so ist an sich gut denkbar, dass auch die Hystaspesorakel in christlichen Kreisen erweitert, umgebildet und nachgeahmt wurden. Vielleicht sind die Hystaspesorakel in ihrem Werden und Wachsen von der heidnischen wie von der christlichen Zarathustraapokalyptik beeinflusst worden.

Das Nähere ist nun bei der Einzeluntersuchung der vorhandenen Hystaspes-testimonia zu ergründen. Ihr können wir uns nunmehr zuwenden.

CAPITEL 4

Das Testimonium Justins: Der Weltbrand

1

Das Testimonium Justins findet sich in seiner Apologie und zwar in dem Abschnitt, in dem der Apologet darlegt, dass die Lehren der Bibel in vielen Punkten mit den Profezeiungen und Lehren der griechisch-heidnischen Weisen sich berühren, daher Hass und Verfolgung der Christen ungerechtfertigt sei. Der Wortlaut ist (20, 1): *Καὶ Σίβυλλα δὲ καὶ Ὑστάσπης γενήσεσθαι τῶν φθαρτῶν ἀνάλωσιν διὰ πυρὸς ἔφασαν.*

Charakteristisch ist hier zunächst die Zusammenstellung: Sibylle und Hystaspes. Damit ist auch Hystaspes als heidnischer Profet gekennzeichnet. Wenn Justin ihn nicht näher beschreibt, setzt er voraus, dass Hystaspes als Prophet eine bekannte Grösse ist, ebenso bekannt und anerkannt als die Sibylle.

Die *ἀνάλωσις τῶν φθαρτῶν διὰ πυρός* ist wörtlich genommen das Aufzehren von allem Vergänglichem durchs Feuer, also eine kosmische Katastrophe, bei der nur Unvergängliches übrig bleibt, die demnach Untergang und Rettung, Untergang und Reinigung bedeutet.

Im vorausgehenden (c. 19) hat Justin die Möglichkeit der Auferstehung verteidigt: *σώματα κατὰ καιρὸν προστάξει θεοῦ ἀναστῆναι καὶ ἀφθαρσίαν ἐνδύσασθαι οὐκ ἀδύνατον* (19_4); zuletzt hat er ein Jesuswort von der Geenna zitiert (Matth. 10, 28), die er seinerseits als den Strafort der Ungläubigen beschreibt (19_8). So ergiebt sich, wie er die Zeugnisse von Sibylle und Hystaspes auslegt. Anschliessend führt er die Lehre der Stoiker an: *καὶ αὐτὸν τὸν θεὸν εἰς πῦρ ἀναλύεσθαι δογματίζουσιν καὶ αὖ πάλιν κατὰ μεταβολὴν τὸν κόσμον γενέσθαι λέγουσιν.* Er protestiert natürlich gegen die Einbeziehung des Allschöpfers Gott in den Weltbrand, aber bemerkt doch weiter unten (20_4): *τῷ δὲ ἐκπύρωσιν γενέσθαι (λέγειν ἡμᾶς) Στωικῶν (δόξομεν λέγειν δόγμα).*

Die Profezeiung vom künftigen Weltbrand kommt in den Sibyllinischen Orakeln in der Tat sehr häufig vor, und zwar auch schon in sicher jüdischen Gedichten, z. B. III 84—87: IV 171—178. Aehnlich wird man sich die Profezeiung des Hystaspes vorstellen dürfen. Das Charakteristische ist die Verbindung des Weltbrandes mit einem Weltgericht. Hierdurch unterscheidet sich die Profezeiung der Apokalyptik von der stoischen Lehre von der *ἐκπύρωσις*, die lediglich ein kosmischer Prozess ist, in den eben alles, auch die Gottheit hineingezogen wird und aus dem kraft der

sogenannten *παλιγγενεσία* ein neuer Kosmos hervorgeht, der nun genau so sich entwickelt wie der alte Kosmos [1]). Dies Motiv der ständigen Wiederholung ist ein zweites Unterscheidungsmerkmal der stoischen Lehre. Denn die sibyllinische Apokalyptik kennt nur einen Weltbrand und nur ein Weltgericht: Die Vernichtung der *φθαρτά* ist definitiv.

Die Sibyllinen liefern das wichtigste jüdische Zeugnis für die Lehre vom Weltbrand. Ausserhalb der Sibyllinen haben wir nur Andeutungen. Der deutlichste Beleg im Alten Testament ist die Profetie des Zephanja: 1, 18 *καὶ ἐν πυρὶ ζήλους αὐτοῦ καταναλωθήσεται πᾶσα ἡ γῆ, διότι συντέλειαν καὶ σπουδὴν ποιήσει ἐπὶ πάντας τοὺς κατοικοῦντας τὴν γῆν*, ähnlich 3,8 [2]). Ob der Feuerstrom, der nach Dan. 7, 10 vom Thron des Alten ausgeht, einen Weltbrand bewirkt, ist nicht sicher zu sagen. Erst in Henoch 52 wird er auf diese Weise ausgedeutet, etwas anders in der Menschensohnvision der Esraapokalypse (Vis. VI; C. 13, 9 ff. 37 f.), wo ein feuriger Strom aus dem Munde des Menschen ausgeht und die gegen ihn anstürmenden Heere zu Asche und Rauch verbrennt.

Eigenartig ist noch eine jüdische Adamsprofetie, die Sintflut und Weltbrand zusammenstellt. Wir finden sie bei Josephus Antiqu. I 2, 3, § 70 f.: *προειρηκότος ἀφανισμὸν Ἀδάμου τῶν ὅλων ἔσεσθαι τὸν μὲν κατ' ἰσχὺν πυρός, τὸν ἕτερον δὲ κατὰ βίαν καὶ πλῆθος ὕδατος*, und in der (jüdischen) Vita Adae et Edae 49, wonach Eva sechs Tage nach dem Tode Adams sie als eine Kundgebung des Erzengels Michaels vorträgt: *propter praevaricationes vestras generi vestro superinducet dominus noster iram iudicii sui, primum per aquam, secundum per ignem; his duobus iudicabit dominus omne humanum genus* [3]).

Mit der Sintflut wird der künftige Weltbrand auch in der 2. Petrusepistel confrontiert, der einzigen Stelle im Neuen Testament, wo die Idee deutlich gelehrt wird vgl. 3, 5—7: *οἱ δὲ νῦν οὐρανοὶ καὶ ἡ γῆ τῷ αὐτῷ λόγῳ τεθησαυρισμένοι εἰσίν, πυρὶ τηρούμενοι εἰς ἡμέραν κρίσεως καὶ ἀπωλείας τῶν ἀσεβῶν ἀνθρώπων* 3,7, dazu die nähere Beschreibung 3,10: *ἥξει δὲ ἡμέρα κυρίου ὡς κλέπτης, ἐν ᾗ οἱ οὐρανοὶ ῥοιζηδὸν παρελεύσονται, στοιχεῖα δὲ καυσούμενα λυθήσεται, καὶ ἡ γῆ καὶ τὰ ἐν αὐτῇ ἔργα εὑρεθήσεται* (?), [4]) weiter 3, 12 f., wonach aus dem Brande ein neuer Himmel und eine neue Erde hervorgehen, worin die Gerechtigkeit wohnt: die „Palingenesia" (Matth. 19, 28) nach biblischer Fassung.

Wie die oben angeführten sibyllinischen Orakel, so könnte auch die Hystaspesprofetie jüdischen Ursprungs sein. Aber auch in den Sibyllinen

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[1]) Vgl. z. B. (Ps.-) Philo, *de aetern. mundi* c. 1 ff., c. 14 ff. § 45 ff.

[2]) Jer. 34, 9 f. wird nur das Land mit Verbrennung bedroht.

[3]) Ich zitiere nach W. Meyer's Edition der: *Vita Adae et Edae* (Abhandl. d. bayer. Akad. 1879). Beide Zeugen fügen noch hinzu, dass die Profezeiung auf Lehm und auf Stein aufgezeichnet werden soll, damit sie beide Katastrophen überstehe. Josephus muss schon ein apokryphes Adambuch gekannt haben.

[4]) Vgl. hierzu H. Windisch, *Die katholischen Briefe* 1911, S. 100, R. Knopf, *Die Briefe Petri und Judae* 1912, S. 214 f.

ist die Idee und die Ausführung nicht rein jüdisch, d. h. aus dem A. T. abzuleiten, sondern orientalisch-parsistisch.

Die bekannteste Fassung der Idee vom Feuergericht ist die Lehre im Bundahish 30, 18 ff.[1]:

„Wenn Gocihar (wohl ein Meteor) am Himmel von einem Mondstrahl zur Erde fällt, so wird die Erde in so grosser Angst sein wie ein Schaf, wenn ein Wolf es anfällt. Alsdann schmelzen das Feuer und...... das Metall des (Erzengels) Shatvair in den Gebirgen und Bergen, und es steht auf der Erde wie ein Strom. Dann werden alle Menschen in das geschmolzene Metall steigen und rein werden. Wenn einer gerecht ist, so kommt es ihm gerade so vor als ob er beständig in warmer Milch ginge, aber wenn er gottlos ist, dann scheint es ihm ebenso, als wenn er in der Welt beständig in geschmolzenem Metall ginge".

Diese Lehre von Feuerstrom[2], der vom Himmel herabfällt, in dem die Berge und alle Metalle schmelzen, und der auch die Menschen ergreift, hat unverkennbar auf die jüdische Eschatologie eingewirkt: Henoch 52, Ps. Salomo 15, 4—6, wie vor allem die Sibyllinen sind des Zeugen, vgl. u. a. III 84—87:

> ...ῥεύσει δὲ πυρὸς μαλεροῦ καταράκτης
> ἀκάματος, φλέξει δὲ γαῖαν, φλέξει δὲ θάλασσαν,
> καὶ πόλον οὐράνιον καὶ ἤματα καὶ κτίσιν αὐτήν
> εἰς ἓν χωνεύσει καὶ εἰς καθαρὸν διαλέξει.

oder IV 173 ff.

> πῦρ ἔσται κατὰ κόσμον ὅλον....
> φλέξει δὲ χθόνα πᾶσαν, ἅπαν δ' ὀλέσει γένος ἀνδρῶν κτλ.

endlich II 196 f.

> καὶ τότε δὴ ποταμός τε μέγας πυρὸς αἰθομένοιο
> ῥεύσει ἀπ' οὐρανόθεν καὶ πάντα τόπον δαπανήσει,

und II 202—205

> ἄστρα γὰρ οὐρανόθεν τε θαλάσσῃ πάντα πεσεῖται[3].
> ψυχαὶ δ' ἀνθρώπων πᾶσαι βρύξουσιν ὀδοῦσιν,
> καιόμεναι ποταμῷ καὶ θείῳ καὶ πυρὸς ὁρμῇ
> ἐν δαπέδῳ μαλερῷ, τέφρα δέ τε πάντα καλύψει.[4]

So wird denn auch das Hystaspesorakel, das Justin zitiert, zum mindesten auf parsistischer Tradition fussen. Ein Moment ist hier indes nicht zu übersehen. Nirgends ist in den Sibyllinen, die wir anführten, angedeutet, dass diese Lehre persischen Ursprungs sei. Man könnte diese Stücke der

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[1] Ich zitiere nach dem *Religionsgeschichtl. Lesebuch*, herausg. von A. Bertholet: *Die Zoroastrische Religion* von K. F. Geldner 1911, S. 357.

[2] Dass sie sehr alt ist, bezeugt ihr Vorkommen in den Gatha's (Yasna 51, 9).

[3] Dieser Zug kann von Jes. 34, 4 inspiriert sein.

[4] Vgl. noch II 252 f. Weiteres bei L. Böklen, *Die Verwandtschaft der jüdisch-christlichen mit der Parsischen Eschatologie* 1902, 119 ff. 123. Bousset—Gressmann *Rel. d. Jud.* 3. A. 512 f.

von Varro (s.o.S. 8) bezeugten „persischen Sibylle" zuweisen, aber das ist in den Texten nirgends gesagt. Im Hystaspesbuch wird diese parsistische oder parsistisch beeinflusste Lehre ausdrücklich einem Perser zugeschrieben. Dem Verfasser muss also der parsistische Ursprung der Lehre vom Feuerbrand bekannt gewesen sein; er hat sie ausdrücklich als eine parsistische vorgetragen. Damit ist jüdischer Ursprung des Orakels noch nicht ausgeschlossen, aber die Annahme parsistisch-syncretistischer Herkunft zu grosser Wahrscheinlichkeit erhoben.

Wir können sie vielleicht noch durch eine Hypothese stützen, die wir aus Lactantius ziehen. Dieser Kirchenvater beschreibt ganz ähnlich wie das im Bundehesh geschieht, die verschiedenartige Wirkung des Feuers (VII, 21). Das himmlische Gerichtsfeuer ist wie ein Strom, *purus ac liquidus et in aquae modum fluidus (21.4); idem igitur divinus ignis una eademque vi ac potentia et cremabit inpios et recreabit et quantum e corporibus absumet, tantum reponet ac sibi ipse aeternum pabulum subministrabit* (5). Auch die Gerechten wird Gott durch das Feuer prüfen: *tum quorum peccata vel pondere vel numero praevaluerint, perstringentur igni atque amburentur; quos autem plena iustitia et maturitas virtutis incoxerit, ignem illum non sentient: habent enim aliquid in se Dei, quod vim flammae repellat ac respuat* (6). Die Grundidee ist dieselbe, die sich im Bundehesh findet. Da sich Lactantius im Vorausgehenden zweimal ausdrücklich auf Hystaspes als Quelle beruft (15, 19 u. 18, 2), kann er auch diese sicher letztlich dem Parsismus entlehnte Beschreibung des Feuergerichts dem Hystaspesbuch entnommen haben. Dann verstärkt sich der Beweis, dass das von Justin zitierte Hystaspesorakel parsistischen Charakter trug und von einem nichtjüdischen Parsisten oder parsistisch beeinflussten Hellenisten verfasst war [1].

Natürlich braucht es kein reiner Parsismus gewesen zu sein, was in dem Hystaspesorakel von der *ἀνάλωσις τῶν φθαρτῶν διὰ πυρός* gelehrt wurde. [2]

Nach dem Zeugnis des Seneca (Natur. Quaest. III 29) hat der Babylonier Berosus gelehrt, dass die Welt bald durch eine *conflagratio*, bald

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[1]) Parallelen bei anderen Kirchenvätern s. bei Böklen, a. a. O. S. 124 f.

[2]) Nach einer spätchristlichen Ueberlieferung hätte Zoroaster selbst gewünscht ἀπὸ πυρὸς ἀερίου κεραυνωθῆναι καὶ ἀναλωθῆναι (so Georg. Cedrenus, *hist. comp* I 29 f., Clemen *Fontes* 112). Mit diesem ἀναλωθῆναι ist natürlich etwas ganz anderes gemeint, und die Tradition hängt irgendwie mit der Nimrod-Zoroaster-legende in Ps. Clem. Rec. zusammen (vgl. o. S. 17 f.). Auffallend ist, dass in dem ausführlichsten Bericht über die persische Eschatologie, der in der griechischen Literatur sich findet, in Plutarch's *De Iside et Osiride* 46 f. (zum Teil nach Theopomp) der Weltbrand ignoriert wird: Die allgemeine Vernichtung geschieht vielmehr durch λοιμός und λιμός, durch Pest und Hunger. Das ist wohl eine Graecisierung der Avestalehre. Vgl. hierzu Clemen *Nachrichten* S. 167 f. — Beachtenswert ist, dass die mandäische Apokalypse (Ginza R. II 1, 118 p. 45 Lidzb.) einen dreifachen Weltuntergang lehrt: durch Schwert und Pest, durch Brand und durch Wasser. Ebenda (118) findet sich noch eine zweite Parallele zu Theopomp-Plutarch: in der neuen Welt werden alle in einer Rede und einer Lobpreisung ihren Schöpfer verherrlichen.

durch ein *deluvium* zu grunde gehe; beide Vorgänge hat er aus bestimmten astronomischen Constellationen abgeleitet [1]). Seneca hat diese Lehre übernommen (III 28). Es muss das eine Lehre der babylonisch-chaldäischen Astrologie gewesen sein, die uns zufällig zuerst durch dieses späte Zeugnis bekannt ist. Die Zusammenordnung von Flut und Brand erinnert an die oben erwähnte Adamsprofezeiung [2]). Seit der Zeit da der Parsismus nach Babylonien vordrang, wird sich die parsistische Lehre vom Feuergericht mit der babylonischen Lehre vom Weltbrand vermischt haben. Aus diesem Synkretismus wird die jüdisch-christliche Lehre vom Weltbrand, wie die stoische Idee von der *ἐκπύρωσις* abzuleiten sein.

Wichtig ist hier ein Fragment des N i g i d i u s F i g u l u s: *nonnulli etiam, ut magi, aiunt: Apollinis fore regnum, in quo videndum est ne ardorem, sive illa ecpyrosis adpellanda est, dicant* [3]). Ich verstehe es so, dass die Magier lehrten, im Weltzeitalter des Apollo werde die ecpyrosis stattfinden, wie sie die Stoiker lehrten. Was diese „Magier" lehrten, ist also diese synkretistische, d.i. parsistisch-chaldäische Fassung der Idee vom Weltbrand, wie sie Berosus voraussetzt. In dieser Form kann sie auch in dem Orakel des Hystaspes vorgetragen sein; nur wird neben dem kosmisch-astrologischen sehr stark der Gerichtsgedanke hervorgehoben gewesen sein, etwa so wie er in den Sibyllinen und bei Lactantius zum Ausdruck kommt.

Auf die griechisch-babylonischen Lehren von periodisch vorkommender „Sintflut und Weltverbrennung" spielt auch C e l s u s an, wenn er den Christen vorwirft, sie hätten ihre Lehre vom künftigen Feuergericht aus missverstandenen Lehren der Griechen und Barbaren abgeleitet (Origenes c. Cels. IV 11): weil zuletzt eine Sintflut (zur Zeit des Deukalion) gewesen, dächten die Christen, es müsse nun eine „Verbrennung" kommen. Origenes sucht diese Polemik zu widerlegen. Richtig bemerkt er (a. a. O. 12): die Christen schreiben den künftigen Weltbrand nicht einem Kreislaufzwange zu, sondern der Sünde, die eine immer grössere Ausdehnung erlangt hat und durch Sintflut oder Weltbrand gereinigt werden muss. Leider nennt er hier nicht die Sibylle, die doch den Weltbrand ganz in biblisch-christlichem Sinne als Strafe für die Sünder ankündigt. Wie auch sonst, haben auch in dieser Polemik Celsus und Origenes beide recht. Die christliche Lehre ist von aussen her beeinflusst, und doch nicht mit der rein philosophisch-kosmologischen Lehre vom Weltbrand zu identificieren. Aber in dem ethischen Princip, das Origenes für das Christentum geltend macht, kommen Avesta, Sibylle und Hystaspes dem Christentum sehr nahe.

Möglicherweise hat schon H e r a k l i t den eschatologischen Feuerbrand als Lehre der Magier gekannt. Nach Clemens Alex. (Protrept. 22, 1) hat er nämlich den *νυκτιπόλοις μάγοις βάκχοις λήναις μύσταις* mit dem Schicksal

[1]) S. dazu A. Jeremias, *Handbuch der altorientalischen Geisteskultur. 1913,* 193 f., W. Bousset—Gressmann, *Rel. d. Jud.* 3. A., S. 503 f.

[2]) Vgl. dazu auch Philo *de vita Mosis* II 263.

[3]) Bei Servius *ad Vergil. Bucol.* IV, 10; Clemen, *Fontes* 30; A. Swoboda, P. *Nigidii Figuli operum reliquiae* 1898, p. 83.

nach dem Tode gedroht, ja ihnen „das Feuer" geweissagt. Nach einem sinnverwandten Worte, das auch wieder Clemens überliefert (Strom. IV 144, 3), hat er gedroht *ἀνθρώπους μένει ἀποθανόντας ἅσσα οὐκ ἔλπονται οὐδὲ δοκέουσιν*. Das klingt wirklich wie ein eschatologischer Spruch, wie ein Avesta- oder Mysterienspruch. Merkwürdig, dass Heraklit diese Lehre gegen die Magier, gegen die Mysten kehrt. Dass er die übliche Mysterienpraxis kritisiert, ist begreiflich: offenbar hat er gegen die „Magier" ähnliche Bedenken.

Zwei Fragen sind hier zu stellen: (1) hat Heraklit selbst ein Feuergericht gelehrt? und (2) setzt er voraus, dass die Magier das „Feuer" lehren? Beides is mir wahrscheinlich. Unzweideutig bezeugt Clemens, dass Heraklit in den angeführten Sprüchen wie ein *μάντις* geredet hat, und da die *ἐκπύρωσις* schon ein Stück der Heraklitischen Eschatologie gewesen ist (vgl. Hippolyt, Elench. IX 10), werden auch die Worte *τούτοις μαντεύεται τὸ πῦρ* (Clemens Prot. 22, 1) nicht christliche Umschreibung, sondern richtige Wiedergabe sein. Dann war schon in seiner Lehre die *ἐκπύρωσις* mit dem Gerichtsgedanken verbunden, und die Stoiker haben in ihrer Eschatologie dies ethisch-religiöse Motiv wieder ausgemerzt. Dann muss er eben diese Lehre vom Feuer, das gewisse Menschen bedroht, bei den „Magiern" gekannt und sie nur gegen sie gekehrt haben, genau so wie er auch andere Mysten mit ihrer eigenen Eschatologie bedroht [1]). Ist das richtig, dann ist Heraklit der älteste Zeuge für die persische Lehre vom Weltbrand und die Annahme vorjüdischen Ursprungs der Hystaspesorakel findet an ihm eine neue Stütze [2]).

2

Dass Justin dem Hystaspesbuch besondere Bedeutung zuerkannte, ergiebt sich aus einer zweiten Erwähnung, wo er es wieder mit der Sibylle, aber auch mit den profetischen Büchern zu einem grossen und wichtigen Schriftenkomplex zusammenfasst, dessen Lectüre auf Antrieb der Dämonen bei Todesstrafe verboten sei.

Κατ' ἐνέργειαν δὲ τῶν φαύλων δαιμόνων θάνατος ὡρίσθη κατὰ τῶν τὰς Ὑστάσπου ἢ Σιβύλλης ἢ τῶν προφητῶν βίβλους ἀναγινωσκόντων, ὅπως διὰ τοῦ φόβου ἀποστρέψωσιν ἐντυγχάνοντας τοὺς ἀνθρώπους τῶν καλῶν γνῶσιν λαβεῖν, αὐτοῖς δὲ δουλεύοντας κατέχωσιν (apol. I 44, 12).

Justin muss also ein Gesetz gekannt haben, indem die Lectüre apocalyptisch-profetischer Schriften bei Todesstrafe untersagt war. Das Gesetz schloss wohl auch das Verbot ein, solche Bücher zu besitzen und gebot wohl auch, sie auszuliefern und zu verbrennen. Die Liste klingt wie ein *index librorum prohibitorum*. Ob in dem Gesetz die Bücher einzeln genannt waren

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[1]) Vgl. hierzu Ed. Zeller, *Philosophie der Griechen*, 6. A., I 2, 1920, S. 919; W. Weber, *Der Profet u. sein Gott*, 1925, S. 102.

[2]) Wichtig ist auch Heraklit's Zeugnis über die Sibylle bei Plutarch *de Pyth. Or.* 6, p. 397 A.: ob zu den *ἀγέλαστα καὶ ἀκαλλώπιστα καὶ ἀμύριστα*, die die Sibylle mit rasendem Munde redet, auch das Feuergericht gehörte?

oder nur allgemein eine Klasse von Schriften unter Verdikt gestellt war, können wir nicht sagen. Belangreich ist jedenfalls, dass Justin zwei heidnische und dann die biblischen Schriften aufführt, und dabei den Hystaspes an erster Stelle nennt. Er setzt offensichtlich voraus, dass Hystaspes ebenso allgemein bekannt und allgemein gefürchtet war, wie die Sibyllinen und die profetischen Schriften.

Wie sich aus dem Zusammenhang (Justin a. a. O.) ergiebt, handelte es sich bei der Aktion der Dämonen und dem kaiserlichen Gesetz um Schriften, die die künftigen Strafen und Belohnungen lehrten, weiter eine (baldige) Vernichtung der Gottlosen, direct oder indirect wohl auch den (baldigen) Untergang der bestehenden Welt, d.h. des bestehenden Staates. Die Schriften galten also als gefährlich, weil sie die Autorität von Reich und Kaisertum zu unterminieren schienen.

Daraus ergiebt sich eine Charakteristik des Hystaspesbuchs. Es muss eine Apokalypse gewesen sein, die Weltuntergang und Weltgericht ankündigte und direct oder indirect Gehorsam gegen die Gebote Gottes lehrte. Wir wissen nicht, ob in dem Index das Hystaspesbuch ausdrücklich genannt würde. Aber nach dem, was Clemens und Lactantius aus dem Inhalt des Hystaspesbuchs anführen : Kampf der Könige gegen den Christus und ihr Untergang, Untergang Roms, Vernichtung der Gottlosen — würde die Einbeziehung dieses Buches in das kaiserliche Verbot durchaus begreiflich gewesen sein. Ein Orakelbuch, in dem ein persischer König den Untergang Roms profezeite, konnte innerhalb der Grenzen des *imperium Romanum* nur als eine hochverräterische, revolutionäre Schrift gelten.

Von einem Gesetz, wie es Justin hier voraussetzt, ist sonstwoher freilich nichts bekannt. Die kaiserlichen Verbote, die sich gegen die Bücher der Christen richten, datieren aus späteren Zeiten. Das Gesetz ist ja auch gar nicht speciell oder ausschliesslich gegen die Christen gerichtet.

Wir kennen nur zwei verwandte Massregeln. Einmal hat Sueton *(Div. Aug.* 31) zufolge Kaiser Augustus, nach seiner Ernennung zum *pontifex maximus* alle griechischen und lateinischen Schicksalsbücher, deren er habhaft werden konnte, verbrennen lassen und nur die Sibyllinen und auch die nur in Auswahl behalten[1]). Diese Massregel ging zwar gerade gegen die Sibyllinen nicht radical vor, traf aber auch sie und alle gleichartigen *fatidici libri*, also alle Arten von Schriften, die sich mit der Zukunft befassten und durch ihren Inhalt Unruhe und revolutionären Geist hervorrufen konnten. Wenn zur Zeit des Augustus das Hystaspesbuch schon nach Rom gekommen war, können sich auch von ihm Exemplare auf dem Scheiterhaufen befunden haben.

Das zweite analoge Gesetz war von Tiberius erlassen und lautete: *quis*

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[1]) „*quidquid fatidicorum librorum, Graeci Latinique generis, nullis vel parum idoneis auctoribus vulgo ferebatur, supra duo milia contracta undique cremavit ac solos retinuit Sibyllinos, hos quoque dilectu habito.*" Sehr bezeichnend ist die Angabe : *nullis vel parum idoneis auctoribus*. Diese Schicksalsbücher waren meist anonym : als ein *parum idoneus auctor* konnte jedenfalls auch der persische König Hystaspes gelten.

de salute principis vel summa reipublicae mathematicos, arioles, haruspices, vaticinatores consulit, cum eo qui responderit, capite punitur. Dass hier auch an Bücher gedacht ist, aus denen die staatsgefährlichen „Antworten" geschöpft wurden, zeigt der Zusatz: *non tantum divinatione quis, sed ipsa scientia eiusque libris melius fecerit abstinere* [1]). Natürlich sind in erster Linie eigentliche Orakelbücher, wie die römischen Sibyllenbücher, gemeint; aber sachlich genommen, konnten auch die literarischen Sibyllenorakel und alle sonstigen Apokalypsen einbezogen werden, insoweit auch diese direct oder indirect „Antworten" auf Fragen nach dem Schicksal des Kaisers und des *imperium Romanum* befassen. Man denke auch hier vor allem an die Profezeiungen vom Untergang Roms in Hystapes, in den Sibyllinen, in den jüdischen Apokalypsen. Das Gesetz, das Justin im Auge hat, kann die oben angeführte lex oder auch eine Ergänzung zu ihr gewesen sein.

Wenn Justin seiner Mitteilung über das Bücherverbot die Versicherung folgen lässt, die Dämonen hätten ihr Vorhaben nicht durchsetzen können, denn: „nicht nur beschäftigen wir uns furchtlos mit ihnen, sondern legen sie auch euch, wie ihr seht, zur Einsicht vor, in dem Vertrauen, dass sie allen vortrefflich erscheinen werden", so meint er allerdings hier in erster Linie die „profetischen Schriften", aber die verwandten heidnischen Bücher, Hystaspes und Sibyllen, können doch auch eingeschlossen sein. Denn auch sie hat er ja gelegentlich angeführt, in der Ueberzeugung, dass ihr Inhalt mit dem der Profeten im Wesentlichen übereinstimmt. Und dass Hystaspes und Sibylle unter den Christen verbreitet sind, ist hier wie in C. 20 durchaus vorausgesetzt.

Die kurzen Bemerkungen bei Justin haben somit bereits wichtige Erkenntnisse für uns gezeitigt. Der Hystaspes war eine Apokalypse, in der, ähnlich wie in den Sibyllen, der Weltbrand und die Vergeltung nach persischer oder persisch-synkretistischer Lehre verkündet war. Sie war sehr wahrscheinlich nicht-jüdischer Herkunft. Und sie gehörte zu den Büchern, die wegen ihrer anti-staatlichen, anti-römischen, revolutionären Tendenz bei Todesstrafe zu lesen und zu besitzen verboten waren.

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[1]) S. Paulus, *Sentent. liber* V 29, 3; dazu Th. Mommsen, *Römisches Strafrecht* 1899 S. 584 f.; Otto im *Corpus apologet. Christian.* I 1, 1876, p. 125.

CAPITEL 5

Das Testimonium des Clemens (Ps. Paulus): Die Erscheinung des Sohnes Gottes

Das Hystaspeszitat in den Stromateis des Clemens Alexandrinus (VI 5; 43, 1) dient dem Beweise, dass Gott den Griechen in ihrer Philosophie eine dem Gesetz der Juden entsprechende Erziehung geschenkt und dass er ebenso auch in ihrem eigenen Dialekt ihnen Profeten habe erstehen lassen. Nachdem Clemens vorher ausführlich das apokryphe „*Kerygma Petri*" zitiert hat (c. 39—41), giebt er nun dem „Apostel Paulus" das Wort:

Λάβετε καὶ τὰς Ἑλληνικὰς βίβλους, ἐπίγνωτε Σίβυλλαν ὡς δηλοῖ ἕνα θεὸν καὶ τὰ μέλλοντα ἔσεσθαι, καὶ τὸν Ὑστάσπην λαβόντες ἀνάγνωτε, καὶ εὑρήσετε πολλῷ τηλαυγέστερον καὶ σαφέστερον γεγραμμένον τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ θεοῦ, καὶ καθὼς παράταξιν ποιήσουσι τῷ Χριστῷ πολλοὶ βασιλεῖς, μισοῦντες αὐτὸν καὶ τοὺς φοροῦντας τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ, καὶ τοὺς πιστοὺς αὐτοῦ, καὶ τὴν ὑπομονὴν καὶ τὴν παρουσίαν αὐτοῦ.

Das Zitat muss einer Missionsrede des Paulus vor Griechen entnommen sein, die etwa ein Gegenstück zu der Areopagrede in der Apostelgeschichte des Lukas (17, 22 ff.) bildete. In den uns erhaltenen *Acta Pauli* [1]) kommt sie nicht vor. Aber wir kennen dieses Buch auch nur in (grossen) Bruchstücken. Und da unser Pauluszitat den kurzen Predigten des Paulus, die in den Acten wie in dem vermutlich mit ihnen zusammenhängenden Martyrium des Paulus (Acta P. 5, 6: Martyr. P. 4 [2])) zu finden sind, verwandt erscheint, kann es sehr gut aus den Acta Pauli stammen [3]). Sonst wäre noch an ein selbständiges „*Kerygma Pauli*" zu denken, das etwa dem „*Kerygma Petri*" nachgebildet sein könnte [4]).

Clemens schrieb seine Stromateis zwischen 190 und 200. Die Acta Pauli, die er zitiert, ohne ihren apokryphen Ursprung zu ahnen, müssen einige Decennien früher entstanden sein. Die uns erhaltenen Acta Pauli setzt

[1]) Vgl. E. v. Dobschütz, *Das Kerygma Petri* (Texte u. Untersuch. X 1) 1893, S. 123—127; Th. Zahn, *Geschichte des neutest. Kanons* II 2, S. 827 f. 879; A. Harnack, *Geschichte d. altchristl. Lit.* II 1, S. 492.

[2]) Aus der Rede Mart. 4 (*Acta apost. apocr.* ed. F. Lipsius et M. Bonnet I 1, p. 114) ist für uns interessant die Drohung mit dem Feuergericht: ὅταν ἔλθῃ κατακαίων εἰς καθαρὸν τὴν οἰκουμένην. Vgl. das Hystaspeszitat des Justin.

[3]) Aehnliche freie „Paulus"-zitate, die gleichfalls aus den Acta Pauli stammen können, s. Origenes *de princip.* I 2, 3 u. eine Rede des Paulus in Athen bei Johann v. Salisbury, *Policraticus* IV 3 (James in Texts and Studies II 3, 1893, p. 56 f. u. E. Rolffs bei Hennecke, *Handbuch z. d. neutest. Apokryphen* 1904, S. 365).

[4]) Lactant. kemt und zitiert Inst. IV 21, 2 auch noch eine *Praedicatio Petri et Pauli.*

man etwa in die Jahre 160—180 [1]). Das zweite Hystaspeszeugnis ist also etwa gleichzeitig mit dem ersten, oder auch etwas später, sagen wir: ± 160 niedergeschrieben.

In unserem Zitat fällt uns zunächst die Zusammenordnung des Hystaspes mit der Sibylle auf. Beide rechnet Clemens offenbar zu den „Propheten", die Gott zu den Griechen hat reden lassen (42, 3). Dass Hystaspes ein Perser war, wird von Clemens nicht beachtet, weil in dem Apokryphon Sibylle und Hystaspes ausdrücklich als *Ἑλληνικαὶ βίβλοι* angeführt sind. Ps.-Paulus kannte somit den Hystaspes als ein selbstständiges Orakelbuch, analog der sibyllinischen Orakelsammlung, in griechischer Sprache. Von der Sibylle waren ihm allem Anschein nach nur jüdische Orakel bekannt; denn er nennt als Themata nur: den einen Gott und die künftigen Dinge (nicht den Christus) und betont, dass in Hystaspes „viel deutlicher [2]) und klarer" der Sohn Gottes beschrieben war [3]). In dem apokryphen Buch war weiter vorausgesetzt, dass sowohl Sibylle als auch Hystaspes allgemein zugängliche und allgemein bekannte Bücher waren, eine Bestätigung der Bemerkung Justin's (apol. I 44), dass das kaiserliche Verbot dieser Bücher nichts gefruchtet hatte. Wie aus der Einleitung (*λάβετε καὶ τὰς Ἑλλην. βίβλ.*) geschlossen werden kann, hatte „Paulus" in seiner Rede zuvor die „jüdischen Schriften" zitiert, vornehmlich wohl die Profeten, und die Richtigkeit des christlichen Kerygma's aus ihnen erwiesen.

Der Inhalt des Hystaspesbuchs ist nun nach Ps.-Paulus folgender: 1. fand man darin eine auffallend deutliche Beschreibung des S o h n e s G o t t e s: das kann seine ganze Erscheinung auf Erden, seine Taten, sein Selbstzeugnis, seine Lehre u.s.w. befassen; 2. den S t r e i t vieler Könige gegen Christus, die ihn und die, die seinen Namen tragen und an ihn glauben, hassen, und die „G e d u l d"; 3. die P a r u s i e Christi. Unklar ist hier zunächst, dass der Streit der Könige gegen Christus von der Parusie getrennt ist. Schwierig ist weiter die Wendung *καὶ τὴν ὑπομονήν*: man weiss nicht, ob Ps.-Paulus die Geduld Jesu, oder die Geduld der Gläubigen meint; der Streit der Könige ist dann entweder die Passion Jesu oder eine Christenverfolgung.

Diese Unklarheiten können sehr gut mit der Art der Wiedergabe in dem christlichen Apokryphon zusammenhängen. Es kann ein nichtchristlicher Text gewesen sein, den der Verfasser in christlicher Interpretation wiedergab oder ein nichtchristlicher Text, der schon in der Vorlage des Ps.-Paulus christlich interpoliert war. Möglich ist endlich, dass der ganze

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1) Vgl. zuletzt E. Rolffs in E. Hennecke, Neutest. Apokryphen, 2. A. 1924, S. 195 f.

2) Zu Unrecht übersetzt H. U. Meyboom (*Oudchristel. Geschriften in Nederlandsche Vertaling* XVII, 1915, p. 38) *τηλαυγέστερον* mit: ver stralend; cf. W. Bauer, **Wörterbuch** *zum N. T.* (1928) 1302.

3) Eine Parallele hierzu s. Ps. Justin, *Cohort. ad Graecos* 38, p. 36 c: *τοῖς ἐπ' αὐτῆς* (sc. *Σιβύλλης*) *εἰρημένοις ἀφιλονείκως προσέχοντες γνῶτε, πόσων ὑμῖν ἀγαθῶν αἰτία ἔσται, τὴν τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ἄφιξιν σαφῶς καὶ φανερῶς προαγορεύουσα*, ähnlich 37 A.

„Hystaspes", den Ps.-Paulus in Händen hatte, ein christliches Product war.

In jedem Falle nimmt sich der Text im Ganzen durchaus christlich aus. Christlicher Ursprung oder christliche Ueberarbeitung ist hier sehr ernstlich zu erwägen. Dann ist aber schon hier daran zu erinnern, dass Lactantius ausdrücklich versichert (VII 18, 3), in dem eschatologischen Hystaspestext, den er zitiert, sei von den Dämonen der Sohn Gottes getilgt oder verschwiegen. Entweder war das Hystaspesbuch, das Lactanz gebrauchte, ein anderes als das, das Ps.-Paulus kannte; oder Ps.-Paulus benutzte eine christlich überarbeitete Recension des Hystaspes, während Lactanz noch die heidnische Urgestalt zur Verfügung hatte [1]).

Christlich klingen vor allem die Teile 1 und 2. Wenn in Hystaspes der Sohn Gottes viel deutlicher beschrieben war als in der Sibylle, kann sich das daraus erklären, das Ps.-Paulus die Sibylle noch in jüdischer Fassung, Hystaspes aber schon in christlicher Bearbeitung kannte.

Die *παράταξις* vieler Könige gegen den Christus kann primär natürlich nicht die Passion Jesu bedeuten. Es ist eine eschatologische Scene, die nur künstlich, d. h. secundär auf die irdische Geschichte Jesu bezogen werden kann; eine gute Parallele liefert Act. 4, 25—27, wo ganz ähnlich Ps. 2, 1 f. (der Aufruhr der Völker und Herrscher gegen den Herrn und seinen Christus) auf die Geschichte Jesu und seiner Gemeinde in Jerusalem gedeutet wird. Wenn Ps.-Paulus hier die Passion Jesu profezeit fand, also die *ὑπομονή* als die „Geduld Jesu" fasste, dann hat er einen eigentlich eschatologischen Text zu Unrecht christlich ausgelegt, d.h. auf die evangelische Geschichte bezogen. Was ursprünglich gemeint war, wird indertat am besten durch den eben zitierten Psalm 2 illustriert:

> *Ἵνα τί ἐφρύαξαν ἔθνη, καὶ λαοὶ ἐμελέτησαν κενά;*
> *παρέστησαν οἱ βασιλεῖς τῆς γῆς*
> *καὶ οἱ ἄρχοντες συνήχθησαν ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτό*
> *κατὰ τοῦ κυρίου καὶ κατὰ τοῦ χριστοῦ αὐτοῦ.*

In Vs. 7 des Psalmes erfolgt dann die Proclamation des Königs von Zion zum „Sohne Gottes". So könnten die ersten Zeilen des Hystaspeszitats sehr gut aus Ps. 2 geschöpft sein. Man könnte hier sogar an jüdische Abfassung des Buches oder dieses Stückes denken, um so mehr, als der Ansturm vieler Könige gegen den Christus in verschiedenen Varianten auch in jüdischer Apokalyptik öfter vorkommt. Ich nenne hier in erster Linie (abermals) die Menschensohnvision der Esraapokalypse (IV Esr. 13. Vis. VI), speciell 13, 8. Vis. VI 2, 6: *et vidi post haec, et ecce congregabatur multitudo hominum quorum non erat numerus de quattuor ventis caeli, ut debellarent hominem qui ascenderat de mari* [2]); weiter

[1]) Eine dritte Möglichkeit, die E. Böklen vorschlägt (a. a. o. 96 f.), die betreffenden Stellen seien nachträglich durch iranische Leser ausgemerzt, weil sie ihnen zu christlich vorkamen, scheint mir kaum discutabel, obschon aus dem Wortlaut bei Lactanz derartiges herausgelesen werden könnte: aber der Process selbst erscheint wenig wahrscheinlich.

[2]) B. Violet, *D. Esraapokalypse* I 368.

die auf Ezechiels Vision von Gog und Magog (Ez. 38) aufgebauten apokalyptischen Scenerien, Henoch 56 (wo die Könige freilich gerade die Könige der Parther und Meder sind), Orac. Sib. III 663 ff. (jüdisch):

> *ἀλλὰ πάλιν βασιλῆες ἐθνῶν ἐπὶ τήνδε γε γαῖαν*
> *ἀθρόοι ὁρμήσονται, ἑαυτοῖς κῆρα φέροντες.*
> *σηκὸν γὰρ μεγάλοιο θεοῦ καὶ φῶτας ἀρίστους*
> *πορθεῖν βουλήσονται, ὁπήνικα γαῖαν ἵκωνται, κτλ.* [1])

Hier fehlt freilich überall der Christus. Aber die Combination von Ezech. 38 und Ps. 2 könnte ja auch schon ein Jude vorgenommen haben.

Auch das *μισοῦντας αὐτόν* kann jüdisch verstanden werden (Ps. 2). Dagegen ist die Bezeichnung der Frommen sicher christlich: 'die seinen Namen tragen und seine Gläubigen', also christliche Interpretation des Ps.-Paulus oder christliche Interpolation in Hystaspes. Bei Hermas heissen die Getauften *τὸ ὄνομα φοροῦντες τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ* (Sim. IX 14, 5). Am deutlichsten ist die ganze Situation, die Ps.-Paulus meint, in der Johannesapokalypse wiedergegeben, so in dem Kampf der Könige gegen das Lamm 17, 11—14, wo als Mitsieger auch *οἱ μετ' αὐτοῦ κλητοὶ καὶ ἐκλεκτοὶ καὶ πιστοί* aufgeführt werden, vgl. auch die Mahnungen 13, 10 *ὧδέ ἐστιν ἡ ὑπομονὴ καὶ ἡ πίστις τῶν ἁγίων* und 14, 12 *ὧδε ἡ ὑπομονὴ τῶν ἁγίων ἐστίν, οἱ τηροῦντες τὰς ἐντολὰς τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τὴν πίστιν Ἰησοῦ*. Diese Mahnrufe gelten für die letzte Schreckenszeit, die die Christen auf Erden erleben müssen, die dann erst endet mit der „Parusie" des Lammes 19, 1 ff. Auch in dem Referat von Ps.-Paulus ist, wie wir sahen die Parusie ein letzter eschatologischer Akt, der auf die Kriegswirren der Könige und die Verfolgungen der Gläubigen folgt.

Der Hystaspestext kann somit ein rein christliches Product gewesen sein (dann war schon (2) als eschatologische Scene gemeint) oder aber auch ein jüdisches Product, das Ps.-Paulus christlich interpretiert, mit christlichen Wendungen umschreibt, oder auch jüdisches Product, das schon vor Ps.-Paulus christlich interpoliert war.

Wieweit kann unser Text auch aus eranisch-synkretistischen Ueberlieferungen abgeleitet werden?

So genaue Entsprechungen, wie wir sie in Ps. 2 sowie in der jüdischen und christlichen Apokalyptik finden, sind in den parsistischen Texten nicht nachzuweisen. Wir können nur folgendes als Parallele anführen:

1. den Glaubenskampf gegen die Glaubensfeinde, zu dem König Hystaspes aufgeforderd wird, und den er führt [2]);

2. eine parsistische Apokalypse, den Bahman Yast (III), der sehr später Abfassung ist, aber wohl auf älteren Traditionen aufgebaut war und der verkündet, dass zu bestimmter Zeit Iran von Dämonen bedrängt

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[1]) Weiteres Material bei D. Volz, *Jüdische Eschatologie von Daniel bis Akiba*, 1910, S. 174 ff.

[2]) Vgl. o. S. 12 ff.; sodann Gatha 17 (Yasna 53, 8 f.), s. u. S. 79.

und beherrscht werden wird, die den reinen Glauben unterdrücken. Ahura Mazda erweckt den Pešotan, den Sohn des Hystaspes (!), um die Dämonen zu schlagen und die Religion zu retten; auch wird zu dieser Zeit oder in ähnlicher Situation Hūshēdar, der Sohn des Zarathustra, geboren, der gleichfalls als Sieger über die Dämonen und als Wiederhersteller der Religion auftreten wird (Bahman Yast III 33, 44)[1]);

3. die Erscheinung des Saoshyant.

Diese Zeugnisse sind derart, dass jedenfalls mit einer iranischen Grundlage unseres Hystaspestextes gerechnet werden kann. Unser „Hystaspes" kann zum Beweise dienen, dass die eschatologischen Gedanken des Bahman Yast schon sehr viel älter, schon vorchristlich sind. Der Verfasser kann, auch wenn er Christ war und die Hystaspesschrift überarbeitete, entsprechende parsistische Vorstellungen gekannt haben.

Indes wie der Text uns vorliegt, ist er ein Gemisch von parsistischen, alttestamentlich-jüdischen oder auch alttestamentlich-christlichen Ueberlieferungen. Als solches hat er wie wir schon andeuteten, eine frappante Aehnlichkeit mit dem christlichen Zarathustra-orakel, das am ausführlichsten und am ursprünglichsten bei Salomon von Basra zu finden ist (vgl. o.S. 22). Es beschreibt zwar nicht die eschatologischen Ereignisse samt Parusie, sondern Geburt, die Ueberwältigung durch die Menschen, Passion, Höllenfahrt, Auferstehung und Himmelfahrt. Aber diese Teile der evangelischen Geschichte können ja von Ps.-Paulus unter (1) gemeint sein (deutliche Beschreibung des Sohnes Gottes), und das Charakteristische ist auch da die Vermengung von christlicher und parsistischer Tradition, die Ineinssetzung von Christus und Zarathustra. Zwischen beiden Texten besteht innere Verwandtschaft, und es ist zu fragen, ob vielleicht ein Zusammenhang angenommen werden kann. Das Primäre wäre dann die Offenbarung Zarathustra's an Gusnasaph-Hystaspes; daraus hätte eine Späterer eine selbständige Hystaspesprofezeiung gemacht. Der Hystaspestext von Ps.-Paulus könnte also Schöpfung eines Christen sein, der hier die parsistisch-christliche Zarathustraprofezeiung verwertete oder unverändert einschob.

Leider wird diese Vermutung durch die Chronologie des Ps.-Paulus sehr erschwert, wenn nicht unmöglich gemacht. Wenn das Paulusapokryphon um 160 entstanden ist, dann muss der Hystaspestext, den Ps.-Paulus arglos gebrauchte, wohl einige Decennien früher zustande gekommen sein. Jene an Matth. 2 anknüpfende Zarathustraprofetie wäre dann schon bald nach 100 anzusetzen. Es ist aber wenig wahrscheinlich, dass dieser synkretistische Midrasch zur Magier-geschichte des Matthaeus schon so früh entstanden sein sollte. Allerdings giebt es eine merkwürdige

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[1]) West, *Pahlavi Texts* I. p. LI f., p. 220 ff.; N. Söderblom, Artikel: *Ages of the World* (Zoroastrian) in Enc. of Rel. a. Eth. I p. 206 f.; Chantepie de la Saussaye, *Lehrbuch d. Religionsgesch.* 4. A. II 1925, 253; R. Reitzenstein, *Studien zum antiken Synkretismus aus Iran u. Griechenland* (Studien d. Bibl. Warburg VII, 1926) S. 45 ff.; Lehmann—Haas, *Textbuch zur Religionsgeschichte*, 1922, S. 169 f.

syrische Ueberlieferung, dass (im J. 119 n. Ch.) unter der Regierung des Hadrian über die Ereignisse bei der Geburt Jesu verhandelt und durch die Bemühungen grosser Männer an verschiedenen Orten diese Geschichte vorgesucht und gefunden und in die Sprache derer niedergeschrieben worden sei, die dafür sorgten, und es scheint hier nicht die Erzählung Matth. 2, sondern ein Brief von Balak an den König von Assyrien gemeint zu sein, der Mitteilungen über die Profetie des Bileam enthielt [1]). Aber hier handelt es sich um ein Bileam-, kein Zarathustra-apokryphon, und wenn es auch möglich ist, dass eine von Matth. 2 angeregte Bileamprofezeiung und ein sie enthaltender Balakbrief schon vor 119 erfunden wurde (der Erfinder arbeitete rein mit biblischen Stoff), so ist doch wenig wahrscheinlich, dass um diese Zeit schon der persische Profet Zarathustra hineingezogen und zum Weissager Christi gemacht sein sollte. Mit Zarathustra und dem Parsismus werden die Christen erst viel später bekannt geworden, in parsistische Gebiete — trotz der Erwähnung der Parther in Act. 2, 9 — erst sehr viel später eingedrungen sein [2]). Die syrische Zarathustraprofetie ist also doch wohl nur als eine später entstandene (als solche gleichwohl interessante) Parallele zu unserem christlichen Hystaspesorakel zu betrachten.

Es bleiben dann folgende Möglichkeiten:

1. Unser Text (vom Sohne Gottes) kann eine parsistische Grundlage haben, in der der Glaubensstreit und die Erscheinung eines Retters (Saoshyant) beschrieben war und die dann christlich überarbeitet dem Ps.-Paulus vorgelegen hat. In dieser Form ist die Hypothese nur möglich, wenn der Hystaspes des Lactanz ein anderes Buch war als der Hystaspes des Ps.-Paulus. Nimmt man — was einfacher ist — an, dass es nur ein Hystaspesbuch gegeben hat, dann muss die Figur eines Retters in dem parsistischen Grundtext ganz gefehlt haben, also gänzlich christliche Interpolation sein. Wir kommen auf diese Hypothese noch einmal zurück.

2. Unser Text kann in seinem ganzen Umfang christliche Schöpfung sein, also entweder (a) der Inhalt einer christlichen Hystaspesapokalypse, die dann neben dem von Lactanz gebrauchten Hystaspesbuch selbständig dasteht, oder (b) rein christliche Interpolation in dem nichtchristlichen Hystaspesbuch, das dann mit dem von Lactanz benutzten Hystaspesbuch zu identificieren wäre. Dass ein Christ in so früher Zeit ein Hystaspesbuch ohne Unterlagen frei geschaffen haben sollte (a), ist wenig wahrscheinlich. Also würde der christliche Interpolator ein parsistisch-synkretistisches Hystaspesbuch vor sich gehabt haben (b).

3. Unser Text könnte aber, wie wir sahen, auch jüdische Inter-

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[1]) Zuerst veröffentlicht von W. Wright in Journ. of sacred litterature 1866. Vgl Eb. Nestle, *Marginalien u. Materialien* 1893, S. 72 ff.; D. Völter, *Die evangelischen Erzählungen v. d. Geburt u. Kindheit Jesu*. 1911, S. 104 ff.; Th. Zahn, *Einleit. in d. N. T.* 3. A. II S 273 f.; J. Moffatt, *Introduction to the literature of the N. T.* 1911, p. 252.

[2]) A. v. Harnack, *Mission u. Ausbreitung des Christentums*, 3. A., II 1915, S. 146 ff.

polation sein, die von Ps.-Paulus christlich interpretiert wurde oder diesem in christlicher Ueberarbeitung vorlag. Hier macht die Chronologie keine Schwierigkeiten, da eine jüdische Bearbeitung des Hystaspes ja schon im 1. nachchristlichen Jahrhundert entstanden und sehr gut Anfang des zweiten Jahrhunderts in christliche Hände gelangt sein könnte. Für diese Annahme spricht vor allem die Analogie der Sibyllinen. Dann hätte Ps.-Paulus auch den Hystaspes aus jüdischen Händen empfangen: doch wäre für den Wortlaut des Referates Umschreibung mit christlichen Wendungen stark in Rechnung zu ziehen. Aber die Versicherung des Ps.-Paulus, in Hystaspes sei der Sohn Gottes viel klarer und deutlicher dargestellt, macht diese Möglichkeit doch sehr unsicher. Höchstens in der Form ist sie annehmbar: dass die Recension, die Ps.-Paulus besass, genau so wie die (späteren) Sibyllinen, eine doppelte Ueberarbeitung erfahren hatte. Ein Jude fügte ein Stück jüdischer Eschatologie hinein: etwa den Ansturm der Könige (nach Ez. 38), vielleicht auch ihren Kampf mit dem Messias (Ps. 2), und ein Christ flocht da noch deutlichere Beziehungen auf Jesus Christus ein. In dieser Form lässt sich also ein jüdisches Mittelglied einschieben. Nötig ist diese Annahme aber nicht. Die alttestamentlichen Motive können auch zur christlichen Interpolation gehören.

Das einfachste und wahrscheinlichste ist demnach, dass das Hystaspesbuch eine parsistisch-christliche Schöpfung ist, dass der von Ps.-Paulus angeführte Text eine christliche Interpolation darstellt, und zwar entweder in seinem ganzen Umfang (2b) oder auf parsistischer Grundlage aufgebaut (1).

In jedem Fall haben wir dann die auffallende Tatsache zu verzeichnen, dass ein synkretistisches Hystaspesbuch schon sehr früh von Christenhand interpoliert wurde. Bei Hystaspes scheint der Christianisierungsprocess früher begonnen zu haben als bei den Sibyllinen: denn Ps.-Paulus kannte offenbar nur jüdische Sibyllinen. Immerhin, sehr viel später kann die christliche Produktion von Sibyllinenorakeln nicht ihren Anfang genommen haben. Denn schon Celsus (um 160) macht den Christen den Vorwurf, sie schrieben in die Sibyllinischen Bücher viele gotteslästerliche Worte hinein (Orig. c. Cels. VII 53) [1]. Es ergiebt sich jedenfalls, dass der Hystaspes schon in der ersten Hälfte des 2. Jhdts bei den Christen, jedenfalls in gewissen Kreisen in Kleinasien, wo die Acta Pauli entstanden, und anderswo, ebenso beliebt und angesehen war wie die Sibylle. Allzu weit kann die Verbreitung freilich nicht stattgefunden haben: Clemens von Alexandrien kennt den Hystaspes offenbar nur aus dem Zitat des Ps.-Paulus und Origenes nennt ihn überhaupt nicht. In die kirchlichen Kreise Alexandriens scheint der Hystaspes also nicht gedrungen zu sein.

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[1] Origenes erwidert, Celsus hätte die Fälschungen philologisch an den Handschriften nachweisen müssen, hält also für seine Person den Vorwurf für unbegründet (a. a. O. 56).

CAPITEL 6.

Das Testimonium der Theosophie: Die Erscheinung des Sohnes Gottes

Wir lassen hier sofort das Zeugnis der Theosophie folgen, da es sich inhaltlich ganz an das des Ps.-Paulus anschliesst. *Θεοσοφία* ist der Titel einer Schrift, die uns leider zum grössten Teil nur in Excerpten erhalten ist. Den umfangreichsten Auszug, ein Tübinger Manuscript, hat K. Buresch im Anhang seines Buches: *Klaros, Untersuchungen zum Orakelwesen des späteren Altertums* (1889) herausgegeben (S. 87—126)[1]. Nach der Angabe des Excerptors handelte der Autor zunächst in 7 Büchern *περὶ τῆς ὀρθῆς πίστεως*, darauf folgte wohl erst (in 4 Büchern) die eigentliche „Theosophie". Nach dem Excerptor bedeutete dieser Name entweder: *ὅτι παρὰ θεοῦ σοφισθεὶς ἠδυνήθη τὴν πραγματείαν ἐκθεῖναι ταύτην· ἢ ὅτι αὐτὰ τὰ γεγραμμένα περὶ τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ σοφίας διδάσκει ἢ μᾶλλον διὰ τὸ ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τοὺς Ἕλληνας σοφισθῆναι, ὡς αὐτὸς ἐν προοιμίῳ λέγει.* Dementsprechend will der Verfasser dartun, dass die Orakel der griechischen Götter und die sogenannten Theologien der hellenischen und ägyptischen Weisen, dazu die Orakel der Sibyllen durchaus mit dem Sinn der heiligen Schrift übereinstimmen und bald *τὸ αἴτιον καὶ πρωτοστατοῦν*, bald *τὴν ἐν μιᾷ θεότητι παναγίαν τριάδα* offenbaren. Die heidnischen Orakel dienten ihm also zum Beweis der *ὀρθὴ πίστις*. Sie gelten ihm als echt und inspiriert, daher die auffallende Warnung: *ὅστις ἀθετεῖ τὰς τοιαύτας μαρτυρίας, ἀθετεῖ καὶ τὸν θεὸν τὸν ἐπὶ ταύτας κινήσαντα*. Auch für das Hystaspesbuch war damit von diesem orthodoxen Christen der Anspruch göttlicher Inspiration geltend gemacht. Der Auszug befasst nun griechische Orakel, Aussprüche griechischer Philosophen und sehr reichlich angeführte Orakel der Sibylle[2] (Buch 1—3); Buch 4 enthielt die Orakel des Hystaspes und zum Schluss eine Chronik, die von Adam bis auf Kaiser Zeno führte († 491). Darnach muss die Theosophie selbst gegen Ende des 5. Jhdts. entstanden sein. Von der Chronik abgesehen, muss die Theosophie viel Aehnlichkeit mit der dem Justin zugeschriebenen *Cohortatio ad Graecos* gehabt haben.

Die Anführungen aus dem Hystaspes hat der Excerptor leider nur ganz

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1) S. dazu Schürer a. a. O. III 567 f.

2) Ein reichhaltigeres Exzerpt, vielleicht ein Teil des Urtextes ist in einem codex *Ottobonianus* (Rom) erhalten, worüber Mras, *Eine neuentdeckte Sibyllen-Theosophie* (Wiener Studien, Bd. 28, 1906, 43—3) gehandelt hat; dieser Text befasst aber nur sehr reichliche Sibyllenzitate: sie sind zu gutem Teil aus den Sibyllenzitaten des Lactantius zusammengesetzt, doch hatte der Verfasser für die Sibylle noch andere Quellen.

kurz zu folgendem Satz zusammengezogen: *ἐν δὲ τῷ τετάρτῳ (ἢ ἑνδεκάτῳ) παράγει χρήσεις Ὑστάσπου τινὸς βασιλέως Περσῶν ἢ Χαλδαίων, εὐλαβεστάτου, φησί, γεγονότος καὶ διὰ τοῦτο θείων μυστηρίων ἀποκάλυψιν δεξαμένου περὶ τῆς τοῦ σωτῆρος ἐνανθρωπήσεως.* Es liegt hier also nur eine ganz kurze Inhaltsangabe, kein Exzerpt vor. Immerhin ist doch folgendes zu lernen.

1) erfahren wir hier den genaueren Titel unserer Schrift: *Χρήσεις Ὑστάσπου.* 2) darf aus den Worten erschlossen werden, dass das Buch mit einer (kurzen) Einleitung begann, die den König beim Leser einführte und erklärte, warum gerade er dieser Offenbarung gewürdigt wurde. Ueber den König selbst wird nicht viel berichtet worden sein; denn der Excerptor weiss nichts genaues über ihn zu sagen. Er war wohl einfach als ein König aus dem Osten vorgestellt, also aus dem Lande, wo es so viele Fromme gegeben hat, die mit Gott Umgang hatten und wo so viel Weisheit offenbart worden ist. Sehr charakteristisch ist das Motiv: sehr fromm und darum Empfänger von Offenbarungen. Es gilt ja für alle biblische und ausserbiblische Apokalyptik. Typisches Beispiel ist Henoch: nur weil er durch seinen Wandel Gottes Wohlgefallen erworben hatte (Gen. 5, 22. 24), ward er zum Empfänger so vieler Apokalypsen erhoben. So sagt die (aethiop.) Henoch-apokalypse gleich im Anfang: Da hob Henoch, ein gerechter Mann, seine Bilderrede an und sprach. Ein Gesicht war ihm von Gott enthüllt (1, 2) [1].

Wahrscheinlich hat aber auch das Königsein des Hystaspes Bedeutung. Denn der „König als Offenbarungsträger" ist im Altertum ein feststehendes Motiv [2]. In die Reihe der „Könige", die als solche besondere Mysterien empfangen, gehört somit auch Hystaspes [3]. Dieser Zusammenhang muss in unserer Hystaspes-apokalypse in einer Einleitung des apokalyptischen Verfassers hervorgehoben worden sein (vgl. etwa Henoch 37); vielleicht war er auch in einem Gottesspruch zum Ausdruck gebracht.
3) endlich wird berichtet, dass die Hystaspesapokalypse, besser die in

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[1] Vgl. weiter IV Esra 7, 76 f.; 104; 8, 62; 10, 39; 12, 9. Allgemeiner ist der Satz Joh. 9, 31 gefasst: *οἴδαμεν, ὅτι ὁ θεὸς ἁμαρτωλῶν οὐκ ἀκούει, ἀλλ᾽ ἐάν τις θεοσεβὴς ᾖ καὶ τὸ θέλημα αὐτοῦ ποιῇ, τούτου ἀκούει.*

[2] Vgl. F. Boll, Aus der Offenbarung des Johannes 1914, S. 163 ff., in dessen Liste (S. 137) Hystaspes noch fehlt. Auch Zoroaster wird bisweilen „König" genannt, z. B. Justin, Histor. I. 1,9.

[3] Bedeutsam ist in diesem Zusammenhang das Logion Jesu in der Fassung Lucas 10, 23 f.: *πολλοὶ προφῆται καὶ βασιλεῖς ἠθέλησαν ἰδεῖν ἃ ὑμεῖς βλέπετε, καὶ οὐκ εἶδαν,* vgl. Boll, a. a. O. S. 139. Die Könige waren Vorauswissende wie die Profeten; sie begehrten aber ebenso wie diese, auch Schauende zu werden: das blieb auch ihnen versagt, weil es den armen Jüngern Jesu beschieden war. Das ist — bei Lucas — die Paradoxie des Evangeliums: nicht Könige und Grosse, sondern Hirten, Fischer und Zöllner sind die Erwählten. Anders Matthaeus, wo gerade „Weise dieser Welt", nämlich ausgerechnet persische Magier die ersten Schauenden sind. In der Parallele zu Luc. 10, 23 f. hat Matth. *προφῆται καὶ δίκαιοι* (13, 17); an sich haben ja auch *δίκαιοι* ein Anrecht, Schauende zu werden.

die Theosophie aufgenommenen Orakel sich auf die Menschwerdung des Heilandes bezogen. ἐνανθρώπησις ist die Fleischwerdung und die menschliche Erscheinung. Diese Orakel müssen also von der Geburt ausgegangen sein. Wir werden hier wiederum an die Zarathustraprofezeiung der syrischen Kirchenväter erinnert [1]. Die Angabe passt aber auch sehr gut in den Rahmen des ps.-paulinischen Testimoniums. Wenn darin „der Sohn Gottes" so deutlich und genau beschrieben war, wie Ps.-Paulus hervorhebt, dann wird die Erzählung von seiner „Menschwerdung", d.i. von seiner Geburt nicht gefehlt haben. Nach dem Grundsatz, dass die beste Lösung die ist, die keine überflüssigen Zwischenglieder einschiebt, haben wir anzunehmen, dass die Theosophie die selbe Recension der Hystaspesorakel vor sich hatte, wie Ps.-Paulus. Diese befasste dann (zum mindesten) einerseits Orakel über die Menschwerdung des Erlösers, die Erscheinung auf Erden, anderseits Orakel über die eschatologischen Dinge, den Aufruhr der Könige gegen den himmlischen Christus, die Verfolgung der Gläubigen und die Parusie des Sohns.

Die Orakel über die ἐνανθρώπησις waren dann entweder rein aus der evangelisch-apokryphen Ueberlieferung geschöpft oder sie verwerteten neben der christlichen Tradition auch parsistische Motive. Zu der Zarathustraprofezeiung der syrischen Kirchenväter müssen sie mindestens eine Parallele gebildet haben. Hätten wir das so frühe Zeugnis des Ps.-Paulus nicht, dann könnten wir zwischen diesen aus dem 5. Jhdt. stammenden Zeugnis und der syrischen Zarathustraüberlieferung unbedenklich einen Zusammenhang construieren. Die Bedenken, die wir oben andeuteten, wären hier hinfällig. Die Annahme, dass der in der Theosophie angeführte Text doch einer späteren (zweiten) christlichen Ueberarbeitung seinen Bestand verdankt, ist natürlich möglich: auch die Sibyllinen haben ja im Lauf der Jahrhunderte immer wieder neue Zusätze erfahren.

Es ist sehr zu bedauern, dass wir die Theosophie nur in einem Excerpt besitzen, das für Buch 4 besonders flüchtig ist. Nach dem oben (S. 41) mitgeteilten Befund, betreffend die Sibyllenorakel (Buch 3), kann man vermuten, dass die Theosophie auch für die Orakel des Hystaspes den Lactantius gebraucht hat, dass also die zwei Orakel, die Lactanz anführt, auch in der Theosophie gestanden haben. Für die Profezeiung der Menschwerdung des Heilands muss er dann eine andere Quelle gehabt haben, vielleicht das Buch selbst (auch für die Sibyllinen hat er neben Lactanz noch eine selbstständige Sammlung verwendet). Der Excerptor mag dann die zwei Lactanzorakel nicht aufgenommen haben, weil sie nicht christologisch waren. Möglich ist natürlich auch, dass schon der Verfasser der Theosophie sie nicht aufgenommen hatte, wegen ihres, schon von Lactanz getadelten Schweigens über den Sohn Gottes.

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[1] Andere Analogien *Orac. Sibyll.* VIII 456 ff.: und *Ascensio Jesajae* 11 (Hennecke, Neutest. Apokr. 2 A., S. 313).

CAPITEL 7.

Die Testimonien des Lactantius: Der Untergang Roms und die Vernichtung der Gottlosen durch Juppiter.

Die interessantesten Testimonien sind die von Lactantius.

Lactanz war ein Africaner und als Heide geboren (um 250). Er genoss die übliche Ausbildung als Rhetor. Diocletian berief ihn nach der neuen Reichshauptstadt Nikomedien und ernannte ihn zum Lehrer der Rethorik. Dort in Nikomedien ward er Christ. Noch während der letzten grossen Christenverfolgungen schrieb er (zwischen 305 und 310) sein grosses Werk, die *Divinae Institutiones* in 7 Büchern. Später gab er noch eine *Epitome divinarum institutionum* heraus [1]).

Die Hystaspes-testimonien finden sich nur im Hauptwerk. Doch lesen wir auch in der Epitome eine bemerkenswerte Erwähnung (c. 68), die den Wert dieser heidnischen Orakel hervorhebt: *Quare cum haec omnia vera et certa sint prophetarum omnium consona adnuntiatione praedicta, cum eadem Trismegistus, eadem Hystaspes, eadem Sibyllae cecinerint, dubitari non potest quin spes omnis vitae as salutis in sola dei religione sit posita. Itaque nisi homo susceperit quem deus ad liberationem misit atque missurus est, nisi summum deum per eum cognoverit, nisi mandata eius legemque servaverit, in eas incidet poenas de quibus locuti sumus.* Eine deutliche Ausführung der Losung: *teste David cum Sibylla.* Die heidnische Profetie stimmt mit der biblischen völlig überein und bestätigt deren Wahrheit, damit auch das furchtbare Geschick, das dem Ungläubigen droht [2]). Nur dass Lactanz eine Dreiheit von heidnischen Profeten kennt: neben der Sibylle auch Hermes Trismegistus und Hystaspes. Die Sibylle hat Lactanz in seinem Hauptwerk ausserordentlich häuftig zitiert und zwar im griechischen Urtext [3]). Trismegistus hat er gleichfalls öfter angeführt, jedenfalls häufiger als Hystaspes [4]). Diesen zitiert er an zwei Stellen, die beide in seine Darlegung der biblisch-christlichen Eschatologie gehören, von der das VII. Buch handelt. Die Texte haben folgenden Wortlaut:

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[1]) Beide Bücher sind von S. Brandt in vol. XIX des *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum* (1890) herausgegeben; vgl. auch Migne, *Script. Eccles., Series Latina*, vol. VI. Ueber Lactantius vgl. etwa den Artikel von E. Preuschen in Hauck's Realencycl. Bd. II, S. 203 ff.; O. Bardenhewer, *Gesch. der altkirchl. Lit.* II, 2. A., S. 525 ff.

[2]) Aehnlich Instit. VII 25, 1: Lactanz hat die Profeten selbst nicht zitiert, *praeterea ut ea ipsa quae dicerem, non nostris, sed alienis potissimum litteris confirmarem doceremque non modo apud nos, verum etiam apud eos ipsos qui nos insectantur, veritatem consignatam teneri, quam recusent adgnoscere.*

[3]) Vgl. Schürer a. a. O. III, S. 587 f.

[4]) Vgl. W. Scott, Hermetica I, p. 93 f.

1. *Hystaspes quoque, qui fuit Medorum rex antiquissimus, a quo amnis nomen accepit qui nunc Hydaspes dicitur, admirabile somnium sub interpretatione vaticinantis pueri ad memoriam posteris tradidit: sublatu iri ex orbe imperium nomenque Romanum multo ante praefatus est quam illa Troiana gens conderetur* (VII 15, 19).

2. *Hystaspes enim, quem superius nominavi, descripta iniquitate saeculi huius extremi pios ac fideles a nocentibus segregatos ait cum fletu et gemitu extenturos esse ad caelum manus et imploraturos fidem Iovis: Iovem respecturum ad terram et auditurum voces hominum atque inpios extincturum* (VII 18,2).

Wir haben es hier aller Wahrscheinlichkeit nach mit zwei verschiedenen Visionen oder Abschnitten zu tun. Das eine Stück war die Erzählung und Deutung eines Traumgesichtes, ein Stück politischer Apokalyptik; das andere eine Beschreibung der in der Gegenwart, d. i. im letzten Weltzeitalter herrschenden Sünde und des durch das Flehen der Frommen veranlassten Strafgerichtes Juppiters, eine rein ethisch-religiös eingestellte Offenbarung. Das Hystaspesbuch muss also in verschiedene in sich geschlossene Offenbarungen eingeteilt gewesen sein, ähnlich der Daniel- oder Esraapokalypse. Daher konnten leicht neue Abschnitte (von jüdischer oder christlicher Hand) hinzugefügt werden.

Die Mitteilungen über Person und Zeit des Hystaspes wird Lactanz in der Einleitung gefunden haben (vgl. die entsprechenden Bemerkungen, die wir in der Theosophie lasen). Nur der Hinweis auf den gleichnamigen Fluss wird gelehrte Anmerkung des Lactantius sein. Ueber die Zeitangabe ist schon oben gehandelt worden (S. 10). Wohl mit Absicht hat Lactanz sie zu der Profezeiung des Untergangs von Rom hinzugefügt. In grauer Vorzeit, nicht nur früher als der trojanische Krieg und früher als Homer, der älteste griechische Dichter, sondern auch lange vor der Gründung Roms hat der Mederkönig bereits den Untergang der Stadt Rom profezeit. Vielleicht hat Lactanz hier speciell an Vergils Aeneis gedacht, die er zitiert [1]; die entgegengesetzte Profezeiung für Rom, die da zu lesen steht: *imperium sine fine dedi* (I 279), ist durch die viel ältere Profetie des Hystaspes natürlich als irrig erwiesen.

a. Der Untergang Roms.

Das erste Testimonium hatte nach Lactanz die in der Apokalyptik sehr gebräuchliche Form einer Traumvision. Die Structur ist freilich nicht ganz deutlich. Hystaspes hat den Traum samt Deutung überliefert *(tradidit)* und auf diese Weise den Untergang Roms profezeit *(praefatus est)*: aber die Deutung war von einem Knaben gegeben, dem die Gabe der Wahrsagung verliehen war. Hier concurrieren zwei Profeten miteinander: Hystaspes und der *vaticinans puer*. Es wird auch nicht gesagt, wer den Traum gehabt hat: doch ist es vermutlich Hystaspes selbst gewesen. Sonst hätten wir drei Personen zu unterscheiden: den Mann, dem

[1]) Z. B. VII, 22, 17.

der Traum gegeben war, den wahrsagenden Knaben, als Traumdeuter, und den Verfasser der apokalyptisch-profetischen Schrift, König Hystaspes. Hier liegt eine Unklarheit vor, die wir kaum lösen können.

Unwillkürlich denken wir sofort an die Geschichte vom Traume Nebukadnezars im Buche *Daniel* (c. 2). Auch da haben wir einen politischen Traum, dessen vorletzte Episode später auf den Untergang Roms gedeutet wurde 2, 34 f., und weiter ein Zusammenwirken von drei Personen: König Nebukadnezar, der den Traum hatte, einen Profeten, der gleichfalls als „Knabe" gedacht ist (1, 1-7) [1]) und den natürlich ebenfalls inspiriert gedachten Erzähler des Buches. Die Aehnlichkeit ist so gross, dass sich uns die Vermutung aufdrängt, Daniel 2 sei das Vorbild für das Hystaspes-orakel gewesen, so sei die Unklarheit in dem Bericht des Lactanz zu erklären, und wir hätten den Beweis, dass das Hystaspesbuch oder wenigstens dieser Abschnitt ein jüdisches Product sei.

Drei wichtige Motive hat das Hystaspesbuch in der Tat mit Daniel gemein: den Traum des Königs, den profetisch inspirierten Knaben als Traumdeuter und den Untergang eines grossen Weltreiches als Inhalt der Traumvision und ihrer Deutung. Das Eigene des Hystaspesbuchs ist dann dies, dass sozusagen „König Nebukadnezar" auch der Verfasser des Buches „Daniel" ist, d.h. dass hier der inspirierte Erzähler vermutlich zugleich der König selbst ist, der den Traum gehabt hat. Diese Eigenheit wäre dann so zu erklären, dass der jüdische Verfasser ein iranisches Hystaspesbuch vor sich hatte, in das er dieses vom Buche Daniel inspirierte Traumgesicht hineinsetzte, oder dass er nach dessen Vorbild ein jüdisches Hystaspesorakel schrieb.

Die Verwandtschaft, die zwischen Daniel und Hystaspes offenkundig besteht, lässt sich indes auch so erklären, dass beide Apokalypsen zwei Varianten eines bestimmten Typus orientalischer Apokalyptik darstellen. Endlich wäre auch denkbar, dass ein Parsist oder orientalisierter Hellenist in römischer Zeit nach dem Vorbilde Daniels und unter Verwendung eigener parsistischer Tradition dies Orakel schrieb.

Vor allzu rascher Ableitung aus Daniel und vor allzu rascher Annahme jüdischer Herkunft des Hystaspesorakels warnt uns jedenfalls die Tatsache, dass Traumgesichte politischen Inhalts schon in der alten Ueberlieferung der Perserkönige nicht fehlen.

Nach dem Zeugnis Cicero's (*de divinat*, I 23, 46) hat Dinon in seinen *Persica* von einem Traum des Cyrus berichtet, den ihm die Magier ausgelegt haben *(interpretati sunt)*: im Schlafe erschien ihm die Sonne vor seinen Füssen, dreimal habe er vergeblich sich bemüht, sie mit den Händen zu ergreifen, bis sie ihm rollend ganz entglitt und verschwand. Die Magier, das Geschlecht der Weisen und Gelehrten bei den Persern, erklären, mit dem dreimaligen Haschen nach der Sonne werde profezeit, dass Cyrus dreissig Jahre herrschen werde.

[1]) Vgl. auch den apokryphen Zusatz in Theodot. Susanna 45: *καὶ .. ἐξήγειρεν ὁ θεὸς τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον παιδαρίου νεωτέρου ᾧ ὄνομα Δανιήλ*. S. dazu Daniel 2, 19, 30.

Hier haben wir den Traum eines persischen Königs, dazu die Deutung durch die offiziellen persischen Weisen, eine schöne Illustration zu Daniel c. 2. Die Deutung wird aber wohl nicht primär sein. Denn ursprünglich muss das Greifen nach der Sonne das Greifen nach der (persischen) „Herrlichkeit", dem persischen Aequivalent der biblischen Kabod = *δόξα* sein [1]), und das vergebliche Greifen wird bedeuten, dass die Herrlichkeit, vielleicht das Symbol der Weltherrschaft, dem Cyrus versagt bleiben sollte. Vielleicht hat es eine ältere Fassung dieses „Traums des Cyrus" gegeben, wo die Magier dem König profezeiten, dass das Höchste ihm versagt bleiben werde.

Dann würde dieser Traum dem anderen stark sich annähern, von dem Herodot berichtet (I 209 f.): *ἐδόκεε ὁ Κῦρος ἐν τῷ ὕπνῳ ὁρᾶν τῶν Ὑστάσπεος παίδων τὸν πρεσβύτατον ἔχοντα ἐπὶ τῶν ὤμων πτέρυγας καὶ τουτέων τῇ μὲν τὴν Ἀσίην, τῇ δὲ τὴν Εὐρώπην ἐπισκιάζειν.* Hier war kein Traumdeuter nötig. Im Erwachen gab sich Kyros selbst Rechenschaft von der Bedeutung und Grösse des Traumgesichts. Er nahm denn auch sofort seine Massregeln, rief den Vater, Hystaspes, erzählte ihm selbst den Traum, den er als einen Beweis dafür ansah, dass die Götter sich um ihn bekümmerten und ihm im voraus alle Geschehnisse anzeigten, und forderte von Hystaspes, dass er ihm seinen Sohn Darius, der offenbar gegen den König Arges im Schilde führe, bewahre und zur Verfügung stelle, wozu der Vater Hystaspes denn auch bereit war. Herodot gibt den Sinn des Traumes gut mit den Worten an: *τῷ δὲ ὁ δαίμων προέφαινε ὡς αὐτὸς μὲν τελευτήσειν αὐτοῦ ταύτῃ μέλλοι, ἡ δὲ βασιληίη αὐτοῦ περιχωρέοι ἐς Δαρεῖον.* Es kommt aber noch hinzu, dass in dem Traum des Kyros dem Darius nicht nur die Erhebung zum Perserkönig, sondern auch die Herrschaft über Asien und Europa, also die (nach Cicero) von Cyrus begehrte, aber nicht erlangte Weltherrschaft profezeit wird. (Die beiden Cyrusträume hängen also sachlich irgendwie zusammen.) Interessant ist hier für uns zweierlei, 1. dass in dieser Traumerzählung Hystaspes eine Rolle spielt, 2. dass der Gegenstand die Herrschaft eines Perserkönigs über Asien und Europa ist! Wir schliessen daraus, dass der Traum des Hystaspes vom Untergang Roms sehr gut originelle, persische Erfindung oder Tradition gewesen sein kann und dass der Text des Hystaspesbuches keineswegs aus Daniel entlehnt zu sein braucht. Rätselhaft bleibt nur der *vaticinans puer*. König Hystaspes, der wegen seiner Frömmigkeit selbst profetische Offenbarungen empfing, hat eigentlich noch weniger einen *interpres* nötig als König Kyros (in der Herodoterzählung). Hat er nach der Awestaüberlieferung Erscheinungen eines Erzengels gehabt, dann kann ihm nach dem Traum auch die Deutung offenbart worden sein, sei es unmittelbar, sei es durch einen Engel. Der traumdeutende Knabe ist also eigentlich ein

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[1]) Vgl. Clemen, *Nachrichten* 62 f., der Yascht 19, 56 ff. anführt, wo der Turaner Franrase dreimal die Khwarenah zu greifen sucht; weiter N. Söderblom, *Das Werden des Gottesglaubens*, übers. v. R. Stübe, 2 A., 1926, S. 255 ff.

Fremdkörper in der Hystaspes-überlieferung ; sollte wenigstens diese Figur ein Einschiebsel von jüdischer oder christlicher Hand sein ?

Nötig ist auch diese Annahme keineswegs [1]). Daniel ist nämlich durchaus nicht das einzige Beispiel eines *vaticinans puer*. Wir können vielmehr aus verschiedenen Zeugnissen schliessen, dass diese Figur in der antiken Mantik verbreitet war. Sowohl Plutarch wie Dion Chrysostomos berichten, dass nach Meinung der Aegypter Knaben (Kinder) die Gabe der Wahrsagung besitzen [2]). Wie Plutarch (de Is. et Os. 14) berichtet, hängt dieser Glaube mit dem Isismythus zusammen. Wie Isis nach der Leiche der Osiris suchte und alle Menschen nach ihrem Verbleib befragte, auch Kinder, die sie traf, waren es Kinder, die ihr sagen konnten, durch welche Mündung der Sarg ins Meer gelassen worden war: *ἐκ τούτου τὰ παιδάρια μαντικὴν δύναμιν ἔχειν οἴεσθαι τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους, καὶ μάλιστα ταῖς τούτων ὀττεύεσθαι κληδόσι παιζόντων ἐν ἱεροῖς καὶ φθεγγομένων ὅτι ἂν τύχωσι.* Die „Sehergabe" der Kinder offenbart sich hiernach in ihren Ausrufen, die von den Priestern als Wahrsagungen aufgefasst und interpretiert werden [3]). Dies wird Dio Chrysostomos meinen, wenn er in seiner Alexandrinischen Rede (Or. 32 p. 404 Dind.) erklärt : *ἴστε δήπου τὰς τοῦ Ἄπιδος φήμας ἐνθάδε ἐν Μέμφει πλησίον ὑμῶν, ὅτι παῖδες ἀπαγγέλλουσι παίζοντες τὸ δοκοῦν τῷ θεῷ, καὶ τοῦτο ἀψευδὲς πέφηνεν.*

Hierzu kommt die römische Ueberlieferung von Attus Navius, der als Knabe beim Hüten der Schweine seines Vaters zum ersten Male seine Augurgabe erwies : er hatte wie ihm ein Schwein aus seiner Herde verloren gegangen war, die grösste Traube gelobt und fand dann, wie er das Gelübde erfüllen wollte, auf wunderbare Weise eine Riesentraube (Cic. Divin. I 17, 31 f.; Dionys. Halic. III 70 ff). Der Vater bemerkte, so erzählt Dionys : *ἐμφύτους εἶναί τινας ἀρχὰς μαντικῆς ἐν τῷ παιδί*, liess ihm Unterricht erteilen und gab ihn schliesslich zu dem weisesten der tyrrhenischen Wahrsager in die Lehre. Nach Cicero wurde der Knabe vor den König Tarquinius Priscus gebracht, der seine Wahrsagekunst erprobte und ihn seitdem ständig als Wahrsager befragte.

Vielleicht ist auch in Artemidor's *Oneirocriticon* ein Zeugnis für den *puer vaticinans* zu finden. V 47 kommt ein Vater vor: *τούτου ὁ υἱὸς ἐγένετο διάσημος καὶ λαμπρὸς ἐν μαντικῇ.* Freilich verlautet nichts über die Jugend des Sohnes. Aber dass er die Mantik schon lange Zeit ausübt, ist anzunehmen ; so kann der Anfang bei ihm ähnlich gewesen sein wie bei Attus Navius [4]).

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[1]) Dass der *puer* geradezu Daniel genannt war, ist undenkbar ; diesen Namen hätte Lactanz gewiss nicht verschwiegen. Die Erwägung verstärkt den Zweifel an der Hypothese, dass der *vaticinans puer* aus der Danielgeschichte herübergenommen war.

[2]) Mein Collega W. B. Kristensen stellte mir diese zwei Belege zur Verfügung.

[3]) Man könnte hier auch die Kinderstimme „*tolle lege*" vergleichen, die den Augustinus zu seiner Bekehrung antrieb (*Confess.* VIII 12).

[4]) Ich fand den Beleg bei S. Laukamm, *Das Sittenbild des Artemidor von Ephesus* (Angelos III S. 66). — Als jugendlicher Traumdeuter wird übrigens auch Joseph gezeichnet, vgl. Gen. 41₁₂.

Wir können aus diesen Belegen, die sich vielleicht noch vermehren lassen, schliessen, dass der *vaticanans puer* ein τόπος der antiken Mantik war [1]). Seine Gestalt in Hystaspes braucht nicht aus Daniel entlehnt zu sein. Der wahrsagende Knabe des Hystaspes, der weissagende junge Daniel, der *puer augur* vor dem römischen Könige und der wahrsagende Sohn bei Artemidor sind vier von einander unabhängige Varianten eines auch bei den Aegyptern vorhandenen Glaubens, dass auch (oder gerade) Knaben über eine μαντικὴ δύναμις verfügen. Wahrscheinlich hängt die Idee mit der „Unschuld" und „Reinheit" des Knaben zusammen: Das sind die Eigenschaften, die ihm die Gabe der Weissagung sichern.

Inhalt der Profetie des Hystaspes ist nach dem kurzen Referat des Lactanz das Verschwinden des römischen Reichs und des römischen Namens. Auch in dieser Beziehung wird man sofort an die jüdische Apokalyptik erinnert. Seit dem Jahre 70 ist der Untergang Roms ein Hauptstück der jüdischen Enderwartung. Hauptzeugen sind wieder die sibyllinischen Orakel (z. B. III 350 ff., V 155 ff.); daneben findet sich die Profezeiung aber auch in den etwa 30—50 Jahr nach der Zerstörung Jerusalems entstandenen Apokalypsen von Esra und Baruch, ebenso in der rabbinischen Tradition [2]).

Auch in die christliche Enderwartung ging die Profezeiung von Roms Untergang über. Aeltestes Zeugnis ist die Apokalypse des Johannes und ihre Weissagung vom Untergang der teuflischen Weltmacht und der grossen Sündenstadt Babel, deren Deutung auf Rom zwar heute wieder umstritten ist, aber doch sehr wahrscheinlich ist [3]). Aelteste Vertreter dieser Auslegung sind Irenaeus und Hippolyt [4]).

Demgegenüber ist der Untergang Roms, soviel ich weiss, kein nachweisbares Motiv in der parsistischen Eschatologie. So scheinen wir hier doch gezwungen zu sein, das ganze Orakel aus jüdischer oder christlicher Feder herzuleiten.

Aber wir müssen unsere Untersuchung, ehe wir die letzte Entscheidung treffen, erst noch einmal auf eine breitere Basis stellen. Dazu gehört zunächst, dass wir den Zusammenhang aufnehmen, in dem Lactanz das Hystaspesorakel aufführt.

Das Hystaspeszitat ist zusammen mit einem Sibyllenzitat die Bekrönung

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1) Das Gegenstück ist der *vaticinans senex*, der Gerechte der im Alter oder als Sterbender zum Profet wird.

2) S. Bousset—Gressmann, *Relig. d. Jud.* 3. A., S. 218. Strack—Billerbeck, *Komment. z. N. T. aus Talmud u. Midrasch*, Bd. IV, S. 1258 (Sachregister). Als Geheimname Roms im A. T. galt „Edom" und „Babel": so wurden alle Bedrohungen Babels und Edoms im A. T. auf Rom gedeutet.

3) Vgl. E. Lohmeyer, *Die Offenbarung des Johannes* 1926; dazu L. Brun, *Die römischen Kaiser in der Apokalypse*; C. Clemen, *Die Stellung der Offenbarung Johannis im ältesten Christentum* (beides in Z. f. neut. Wiss. 1927); H. Windisch, Artikel: *Johannesapokalypse* in: Religion in Geschichte u. Gegenwart, 2. A., Bd. III.

4) W. Bousset, *Die Offenb. Joh.* 1906, S. 49 ff.

und Bestätigung einer längeren Ausführung über die grossen politischen Veränderungen, die zu erwarten sind, wobei das Strafgericht über Aegypten und der Untergang Roms besonders hervorgehoben werden (VII 15). Gleich am Eingang dieses eschatologischen Schlussabschnittes beruft sich Lactanz auf die Uebereinstimmung der *divinae litterae* mit den *saeculares profetae:* auch ihre Stimmen kündigen Ende und Untergang der Dinge in Bälde an, sie beschreiben den Zustand als die *ultima senectus* einer müde gewordenen und in der Auflösung begriffenen Welt. Des weiteren will der Kirchenvater alles zusammenstellen, was von Profeten und Sehern (*vates*) profezeit worden ist, bevor der letzte Abschluss sich erfüllt (VII, 14, 15—17). Die nun folgende Eschatologie ist damit als eine Composition aus biblischen und heidnischen Endprofezeiungen gekennzeichnet.

Das erste Thema ist die Steigerung der Sünde, eine allgemeine Verwirrung und gegenseitige Bekämpfung aller Staten. Erstes Ergebnis des eschatologischen Weltkriegs ist das Strafgericht über Aegypten: *stultarum superstitionum luet poenas* et *sanguine velut flumine operietur* (15, 10). Es folgt als zweites grosses Ereignis der Untergang Roms, aber Lactanz giebt ihm auch noch eine positive Bedeutung: *Romanum nomen, quo nunc regitur orbis — horret animus dicere, sed dicam quia futurum est — tolletur e terra et inperium in Asiam revertetur ac rursus oriens dominabitur atque occidens serviet* (15, 11). Das ist ein grosser Gedanke, vielleicht der grösste Leitgedanke der antiken Weltgeschichte überhaupt, in scharfer, glänzender Formulierung. Eigentlich sind es zwei verschiedene Gedanken, die hier combiniert sind: 1. das vollständige Verschwinden von Rom und 2. der Uebergang der Weltherrschaft nach Asien und die Unterwerfung des Abendlandes unter das Morgenland, also negativ „Untergang des Abendlandes", positiv Errichtung der Weltherrschaft des Orients.

Es ist begreiflich, dass der lateinische Kirchenvater nur das erstgenannte Ereignis näher zu begründen versucht. Er ist sich bewusst, dass er hier etwas Entsetzliches, Schauerliches, Unglaubliches ankündigt. Er sucht die Paradoxie rational zu machen. Der Vorgang, dass selbst ein mit solcher Mühe begründetes, — *tanta mole fundatum:* Anspielung an Vergil's Aeneis I 33! — von so vielen tüchtigen Männern vergrössertes, durch so viel Kräfte gefestigtes Reich schliesslich auch einmal zusammenbricht, ist keineswegs wunderbar: das ist allgemein menschlich. Auch die grossen Weltreiche der Aegypter, Perser, Griechen und Assyrer sind zerfallen und auf ihren Trümmern ist das sie alle übersteigernde römische Weltreich errichtet worden. Um so gewaltiger wird dann auch sein Fall sein.

Des weiteren beruft sich Lactanz auf eine Ausführung des Seneca [1]), in der die Perioden der Stadt Rom auf *aetates*, Lebensalter verteilt werden

[1]) S. die Note dazu in der Ausgabe von Brandt, dazu A. Klotz, *Das Geschichtswerk des älteren Seneca*, im Rhein. Mus. 1901, S. 429 ff.; F. Boll, *Die Lebensalter* (Ilberg's Neue Jahrb. f. klass. Alt. 1913) S. 106 f.

(15, 14): Romulus = *infantia*; Königszeit = *pueritia*; erste Zeit der Republik bis zur Beendigung des Punischen Kriegs = *adulescentia*; darnach das *iuvenescere*, das Alter des *iuvenis*. Der beginnende Bürgerkrieg bezeichnet dann der Eintritt der *senectus*. Die Errichtung der Monarchie — hier ergänzt nun wohl Lactanz die Darlegung des Seneca — ist scheinbar Rückkehr zu einer zweiten *infantia*, in Wahrheit ein Zeichen greisenhafter Schwäche. Der Schluss liegt vor der Hand: auf die *senectus* kann nur noch der interitus folgen. Das haben die Profeten in verhüllter Rede angekündigt. Die Sibyllen dagegen sprechen offen davon: *interituram esse Romam et quidem iudicio dei, quod nomen eius habuerit invisum et inimica iustitiae alumnum veritatis populum trucidarit* (15, 18): cf. Or. Sib. VIII 9 ff. Das Gleiche hat Hystaspes profezeit — hier schliesst sich unsere Hystaspes-Stelle an (15, 19).

Offenkundig hat Lactanz in dieser interessanten Darlegung seinem Programm (14, 17) entsprechend nichtbiblische Quellen verwertet. Insbesondere ist der grosse Leitsatz vom Untergang Roms und dem Triumpf des Orients ihnen entnommen (15, 11), aus den Sibyllen und aus Hystaspes.

Aus den Sibyllinen kommt hier vor allem das berühmte Orakel III 350—355 in Betracht:

> *ὁππόσα δασμοφόρου Ἀσίης ὑπεδέξατο Ῥώμη,*
> *χρήματά κεν τρὶς τόσσα δεδέξεται ἔμπαλιν Ἀσὶς*
> *ἐκ Ῥώμης, ὀλοὴν δ᾽ ἀποτίσεται ὕβριν ἐς αὐτήν.*
> *ὅσσοι δ᾽ ἐξ Ἀσίης Ἰταλῶν δόμον ἀμφεπόλευσαν,*
> *εἰκοσάκις τοσσοῦτοι ἐν Ἀσίδι θητεύσουσιν*
> *Ἰταλοὶ ἐν πενίῃ, ἀνὰ μυρία δ᾽ ὀφλήσουσιν.*

Rom muss die Schätze, die es Asien geraubt, verdreifacht zurückgeben; zwanzigmal so viel Sklaven muss Italien an Asien abgeben als Asiaten in Italien gedient haben. Das Orakel ist sicher nicht jüdischer, sondern allgemein orientalischer Herkunft: das Nationalgefühl, das Revanchegefühl, das sich hier Luft macht, ist nicht speciell jüdisch, sondern „asiatisch", orientalisch von Art. Es ist eine „asiatische" Sibylle, die Asiens Rache an Rom und Italien drohend verkündet [1]).

Der Ausspruch des Lactanz könnte als eine Umschreibung dieses Sibyllenorakels gelten (vgl. besonders: *atque occidens serviet*). Gleichwohl ist mir wahrscheinlicher, dass der Satz in erster Linie von Hystaspes inspiriert ist:

1) zitiert Lactanz selbst 15, 18 offenbar ein anderes Sibyllenorakel.

2) ist der Anfang: *Romanum nomen, que nunc regitur orbis, tolletur e terra* offensichtlich dem Hystaspeszitat: *sublatu iri ex orbe imperium nomenque Romanum* nachgebildet, vielleicht sogar eine wortgetreuere Umschreibung dieses Orakels, daher gefolgert werden darf, dass auch die

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1) Es kann schon aus dem syrischen Kriege stammen, wahrscheinlich aber aus späterer Zeit; die Verhältnisse des Mithridatischen Krieges passen m. E. am besten.

Fortsetzung *et imperium in Asiam revertetur* etc. dem Hystaspesorakel entnommen ist. Möglicherweise sind in der zweiten Hälfte Sibylle und Hystaspes mit einander verschmolzen.

Ich stelle also die Hypothese auf, dass in dem Hystaspesbuch des Lactanz, in dem Traumgesicht des Hystaspes, nicht nur das Verschwinden von Rom sondern auch die Unterjochung Roms durch den Orient und der Uebergang der Weltherschaft an den Orient, d.i. an Asien verkündet war. Die Erweiterung des Hystaspeszitats entspricht auch ganz der Einkleidung: es ist durchaus begreiflich, dass ein asiatischer König, wenn er den Untergang Roms profezeit, zugleich auch das Complement, die Revanche des Orients und die Rückkehr der Herrschaft nach Asien, hinzufügt.

Durch diese Ergänzung rückt nun freilich dies Hystaspesorakel noch näher an Daniel heran: denn auch da bedeutet der Untergang des letzten weltlichen Reiches die Errichtung einer neuen Weltherrschaft, der Herrschaft Gottes, der *βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν* des Matthaeus (Dan. 2, 44), bzw. die Uebertragung der Weltherrschaft an das Volk der Heiligen des Höchsten (7, 27), d.i. das Volk der Juden. Aber „Asien" und „oriens" ist nicht „Gottesherrschaft", auch nicht „jüdisches Imperium". Viel näher steht diesem Hystaspestraum der zweite Traum des Kyros, worin dem Sohn des Hystaspes die Macht über Asien und Europa verheissen wird. Das Hystaspesorakel denkt nicht jüdisch, sondern orientalisch, oder persisch-orientalisch: Persien ist der Repräsentant von Asien. Eine zweite Parallele ist das oben zitierte Orakel einer „asiatischen", vielleicht der „persischen" Sibylle (III 350—355).

Damit ist m. E. endgültig die nichtjüdische, parsistisch-persische oder allgemein-orientalische Herkunft dieses Hystaspesorakels wahrscheinlich gemacht; jüdische und christliche Profezeiungen des Untergangs Roms sind nur jüngere Parallelen. Und es ist auch wirklich eines der grossen Leitmotive der Geschichte des Altertums in unserem Hystaspesbuch zum Ausdruck gebracht: die ständige Rivalität zwischen Asien und Europa der Streit um die Weltherrschaft zwischen Ost und West [1]).

Schon der trojanische Krieg ward als eine erste Epoche in diesem Kampf aufgefasst (Herodot I 4). Die zweite Epoche stellen die Perserkriege dar; der Anspruch der Perser hat vor allem in dem Traum des Kyros seinen religiösen Ausdruck gefunden. Die dritte Epoche ist durch den Siegeszug Alexanders des Grossen nach Asien bestimmt; es ist der Revanchekrieg, den die Griechen gegen die persischen Bedrücker führten: die Herrschaft kehrte in den Westen zurück. Alexander selbst erstrebte indes noch etwas Höheres, den Ausgleich des tiefen Gegensatzes zwischen Europa und

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[1]) Vgl. zu diesem grossen Grundgedanken Ed. Norden, *Josephus u. Tacitus über Jesus Christus und eine messianische Profetie* (Ilberg's Neue Jahrb. f. d. klass. Alt. 1913, S. 637 ff.): W. Weber, *Der Prophet und sein Gott* (Beihefte z. Alten Orient 3) 1925.

Asien, die Versöhnung der Völker[1]). Im Zeitalter der Diadochen verschieben sich die Gegensätze: am äussersten Rande ersteht ein neues asiatisches Reich, das sich zum Erben der alten asiatischen Ansprüche aufwirft, das Reich der Parther. Die Diadochenreiche auf asiatischem Boden werden orientalisiert: auch sie repräsentieren nun den „Orient" gegenüber dem aus dem Westen herannahenden, neuen Rivalen, dem Römerreich, dessen Auftreten im Osten die vierte Epoche in dem gewaltigen Ringen darstellt. Alle Kriege werden von Asien aus unter dieser Losung geführt: Abwehr des neuen Weltherrschaftsprätendenten aus dem Westen, Versuch die errungene Herrschaft wieder zu stürzen, Asien frei und Rom untertänig zu machen. Eine fünfte, letzte Epoche wird nun in unserem Hystaspesorakel angekündigt: Rom geht unter, Asien gewinnt die Weltherrschaft zurück.

Das Merkwürdige ist nun, dass in den verschiedenen Epochen verschiedentlich Orakelsprüche laut geworden, Profetenbücher erschienen sind, in denen Sinn und Ziel der Kämpfe aus Gottes Mund kundgetan wurde. Aus der zweiten Epoche stammt der Traum des Kyros, aus der vierten unser Hystaspesbuch und die Sibylle, die persische, die jüdische wie die christliche. Es sind noch einige markante Beispiele hinzuzufügen.

Von einer Alexander betreffenden Profezeiung der Magier berichtet Cicero *de divin.* I 23, 47 (unmittelbar nachdem er den Traum des Cyrus erzählt hat): *qua nocte templum Ephesiae Dianae deflagravit, eadem constat ex Olympiade natum esse Alexandrum atque ubi lucere coepisset, clamitasse* m a g o s *pestem ac pernitiem Asiae proxima nocte natum.* Wieder ein Orakel der Magier, die Deutung einer Erscheinung, die für „Europa" Heil, für „Asien" entsetzliches Unheil ankündigte, ein treffendes Gegenstück zu dem Rom-orakel des persischen Königs Hystaspes.

Nach lateinischer Ueberlieferung (Ennius bei Cic. a. a. O. II 56, 116) soll Pyrrhus bei seinem Feldzug gegen Rom von Apollo das Orakel erhalten haben:

aio te, Aeacida, Romanos vincere posse.

Die Amphibolie erinnert an die des berühmten Orakels für Crösus. Beide Parteien konnten daraus ihren Sieg herauslesen. Cicero zweifelt indes ernstlich an der Echtheit des Spruchs.

Eine Häufung von wunderlichen heil- und unheil-schwangeren Orakeln hat der ätolisch-syrische Krieg der Römer (191—190) erzeugt. Sie sind von dem Historiker Antisthenes, einem älteren Zeitgenossen des Polybios überliefert, dem sie Phlegon entnommen hat (Mirabil. III)[2]). Nach der Schlacht bei Thermopylae stand plötzlich ein Erschlagener, der syrische

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[1]) Vgl. hierzu vor allem Plutarchs Traktat *De Alexandri M. fortuna aut virtute* I, bes. c. 6.

[2]) Ich wurde auf sie aufmerksam durch den Hinweis von Ed. Norden, Jahrb. 1913, 656. Zu Anthisthenes vgl. Ed. Schwartz in Pauly—Wissowa's Realenz. I 2537. Vgl. auch W. Weber, *D. Profet u. s. Gott*, S. 57. Text s. Script. rer. mirabil. Graeci 1839, p. 125 ff.

Reiteroffizier Buphagos mitten am Tage von den Toten auf *(ἀνέστη ... ἐκ τῶν νεκρῶν)*, um den Beute suchenden römischen Soldaten die Vergeltung von Zeus anzudrohen:

> *καὶ πέμψει φῦλον θρασυκάρδιον εἰς χθόνα τὴν σήν,*
> *οἵ σ' ἀρχῆς παύσουσιν, ἀμείψῃ δ' οἷά γ' ἔρεξας.*

Der Auferstandene weissagt eine Invasion in Italien und die Zerstörung der Herrschaft der Römer [1]). Seine Warnung ward durch ein Orakel der Pythia bestätigt, darnach durch den Feldherrn Publius selbst, der im Heiligtum zu Naupaktos während einer Opferhandlung plötzlich in profetische Extase geriet und furchtbares Unheil über sein Vaterland profezeite: ein gewaltiges Heer werde kommen

> *τηλόθεν ἐξ Ἀσίης, ὅθεν ἡλίου ἀντολαί εἰσιν,*

ein König werde über den Hellespont rücken, mit dem Herrscher von Epirus einen Bund schliessen und mit dem riesigen Heer, das er aus Asien und Europa zusammengezogen, Rom bezwingen, verwüsten und unterjochen. In einer furchtbaren Vision schaute er darnach noch die Heeresmassen, Könige und Völker, wie sie von Asien her nach Europa zogen [2]), und in gebundener Rede wiederholte er noch einmal seine Profezeiung: wenn einst Nisäische Rosse das heilige Land beträten:

> *καὶ τότε σοί, Ῥώμη, χαλεπ' ἄλγεα πάντα τελεῖται.*
> *ἥξει γὰρ στρατὸς εὐρύς, ὅς σοῦ χθόνα πᾶσαν ὀλέσσει,*
> *χηρώσει δ' ἀγοράς, ἄστη δέ τε πυρπόλα θήσει,*
> *αἵματι δὲ πλήσει ποταμούς, πλήσει δὲ καὶ ᾅδην,*
> *δουλοσύνην τ' οἰκτρήν, στυγερήν, ἀτέκμαρτον ἐφέσσει.*

Als Zeichen, dass er wahr gesprochen, verkündete er noch, dass ein heiliger Wolf ihn auffressen werde. Es geschah, nur das Haupt blieb unversehrt, das am Ende in einer Orakelrede die Profezeiung wiederholte [3]).

Hier wird, wenn ich die Texte recht verstehe, zunächst der Sieg des Antiochos über die Römer und die Unterwerfung Italiens unter Asien, darnach als Vergeltung für die tatsächlich erfolgte Besiegung des Antiochos ein Rachezug der Asiaten gegen Italien und die Unterjochung Italiens profezeit. Die Orakel erinnern nach Form und Inhalt an die der Sibylle: man erkennt hier die heidnischen Vorbilder der jüdischen und christ-

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[1]) Der Auferstandene starb sofort nachdem er das Orakel verkündet und wurde begraben. Die Legende von Er ist etwas anders gestaltet (s. o. S. 15 f.), aber doch eine bemerkenswerte Parallele.

[2]) Dieser Zug findet sich auch bei israelitischen Profeten.

[3]) Die Einleitung der letzten Scene erinnert an den Erzählungsstil der Evangelien: *ἀποφθεγξάμενος δὲ ταῦτα ἐσιώπησεν καὶ πορευθεὶς ἔξω τοῦ στρατοπέδου ἀνέβη ἐπί τινα δρῦν. ἐπακολουθήσαντος δὲ τοῦ ὄχλου προσεκαλέσατο αὐτοὺς καὶ εἶπε τάδε.* Vgl. Marc. 8, 34 u.a. — Das wahrsagende Haupt findet sich auch in der Orpheusmythe, vgl. R. Eisler, *Jesus basileus*. II S. 54.

lichen Sibyllenorakel. Der Satz des Hystaspes-Lactantius: *Romanum nomen ..... tolletur e terra et imperium in Asiam revertetur* etc. findet in den Orakeln des Syriers Bufagos (und des römischen Feldherrn Publius) eine schöne Illustration. Es spiegelt sich in diesen Orakeln die fromme Leidenschaft des Orientalen, für die die Vergeltung, ein furchtbares Strafgericht an Rom und die Wiedererrichtung der Vorherrschaft des Orients, eine Forderung ihres Glaubens ist.

Etwa 100 Jahre später schien der erwartete Rächer gekommen zu sein in der Person Mithridates, des Grossen, Königs von Pontus und Bithynien. Er ist der Hauptrepräsentant der antirömischen Action in dieser Zeit. Die Sage erzählt von ihm (Justin. *Histor.* 37, 2), dass bei seiner Geburt und bei seinem Regierungsantritt ein gewaltiger Komet siebzig Tage so stark geleuchtet habe, dass der ganze Himmel zu brennen schien. Damit war seine Herrschaft und sein Sieg über die Römer durch ein göttliches Wunderzeichen, das hier ein Orakel vertritt, profezeit. Der Komet ist hier kein Unglückszeichen, sondern das göttliche Vorzeichen dafür, dass ein neuer Weltherrscher geboren wird oder dass ein König die Herrschaft antritt, dem die Weltherrschaft bestimmt ist [1]). Mithridates war damit zum Retter Asiens designiert.

Der Stern des Mithridates bedeutete Heil für Asien, Unheil für Rom. Merkwürdig, wie sich zur selben Zeit die Unheilszeichen und Unheilsorakel für Rom häuften [2]).

Zur Zeit Sulla's, im J. 88, hatten die etrurischen Weisen aus allerhand Prodigien die Lehre gezogen, eine *μεταβολὴ ἑτέρου γένους*, eine *μετακόσμησις* sei im Anzug, d. h. sie hatten die Nähe eines neuen Zeitalters angekündigt, dessen Kommen immer mit grossen politischen Umwälzungen verknüpft war (Plutarch, Sulla c. 7) [3]). Im J. 83 verbrannte der Juppitertempel auf dem Capitol; im J. 73 gab es einen Process gegen die Vestalinnen [4]) (in dem diese freilich freigesprochen wurden): im J. 65 wurden auf dem

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1) Der Komet des Mithridates ist von der selben Art wie der Stern des „Judenkönigs", der die Magier nach Jerusalem geleitete und dessen Aufgang schon Zarathustra geweissagt hatte. Gleich verwandt ist ihm der Komet, der bei Caesar's Tode erschien, insofern *quidam ad inlustrandam gloriam Caesaris iuvenis pertinere existimabant* (Servius zu *Vergil. ecl.* 9, 47) und Augustus selbst (nach Plinius *nat. hist.* II 94) *interiore gaudio sibi illum natum seque in eo nasci interpretatus est.* Vgl. Usener Das Weihnachtsfest, 2. A. 1911, S. 79 f.; F. Muller, „*Augustus*" p. 36 ff.; H. Wagenvoort, *Vergil's vierte Ecloge und das sidus Julium* p. 12 ff. (in diesen: Mededeelingen 1927 u. 1929).

2) Analoge Orakelsprüche aus der älteren Geschichte Roms finden sich bei Cicero, *de divinit.* I. Die Stadt Veji besass *fata*, die sich auf das Geschick dieser Stadt und das Roms bezogen: *Veios capi non posse, dum lacus is redundaret, et si lacus emissus lapsu et cursu suo ad mare profluxisset, perniciosum populo Romano etc.*; und: *fore ut brevi a Gallis Roma caperetur* (44 f., 100 f.). — Vgl. zum folgenden Ed. Norden a. a. O.; W. Weber, a. a. O.

3) Vgl. hierzu auch Nilsson Art. *Saeculares Ludi* in Pauly—Wiss.'s R. E. II. Reihe 1, Col. 1697 u. 1707.

4) Der Bestand der Stadt hing mit der Erhaltung des Feuers der Vesta zusammen, Dionys. Halic. II 67, 5. W. Weber, *Profet u. s. Gott.*, S. 55.

Capitol verschiedene heilige Gegenstände vom Blitzstrahl getroffen, u. a. das Bild des Romulus, des Stifters der Stadt. Die Erregung war so gross, dass (wie Cicero *in Catil. or.* III 19 erzählt) die Haruspices aus ganz Etrurien zusammen kamen und erklärten: *caedes atque incendia et legum interitum et bellum civile ac domesticum et totius urbis atque imperii occasum adpropinquare.* Hier haben wir Weissagung des Untergangs Roms auf italischem Boden selbst, eine merkwürdige Uebereinstimmung zwischen den Orakeln aus dem ätolisch-syrischen Krieg, den Orakeln der Sibyllen, dem Orakelspruch der etrurischen Haruspices und — dem Orakel des Perserkönigs Hystaspes. Ob zwischen dem etrurischem Spruch und den orientalischen Wunschorakeln ein Zusammenhang besteht, ist schwer zu sagen. An sich erklärt er sich aus alter einheimischer Tradition über die Deutung von Unheilzeichen, speciell aus dem besonderen Charakter der concreten *portenta*. Aber es spielen doch auch tieferliegende Motive hinein, so in erster Linie die Lehre von dem Wechsel der Weltzeitalter, die möglicherweise aus dem Orient nach Etrurien gekommen ist. Es ist vor allem daran zu erinnern, dass bei dem Capitolbrand a. 83 auch die altrömischen Sibyllinenbücher verbrannten und dass aus den Beständen in Africa, Kleinasien und anderswo eine neue Sammlung angelegt wurde [1]).

Eine Eigenart des etrurischen Spruches ist freilich die, dass er nicht unabwendbar ist: *adpropinquare*, heisst es, *nisi di immortales omni ratione placati suo numine prope fata ipsa flexissent.* Die *haruspices* gaben dann Anweisungen, durch welche Mittel man den Zorn der Götter versöhnen und das Unheil abwenden könnte (a. a. O. 20).

In diese Zeit fällt nun die gegen die bestehenden Regierungsverhältnisse des Staats gerichtete Verschwörung des Catilina und seiner Genossen. Sie machten sich die Orakel zu nutze und wussten sie zu ihren Gunsten auszulegen. Wir lesen bei Cicero (c. *Catil.* III 9): *Lentulum autem sibi confirmasse ex fatis Sibyllinis haruspicumque responsis tertium se esse illum Cornelium, ad quem regnum huius urbis atque imperium pervenire esset necesse — Cinnam ante se et Sullam fuisse — eundemque dixisse: fatalem hunc annum esse ad interitum huius urbis atque imperii, qui esset annus decimus post virginum absolutionem, post Capitolii autem incensionem vicesimus.*

Wir haben hier zwei verschiedene Orakel oder Responsa zu unterscheiden, ein Orakel, das einem „dritten Cornelier" die Erhebung zum König von Rom profezeite [2]) und jene Profezeiung des Untergangs von Stadt und

[1]) Vgl. H. Diels, *Sibyllinische Blätter*, 1890, S. 25 ff.; Rzach, Art.: *Sibyllinen*, in: Pauly-Wiss.'s R. E. II A. col. 2074 ff., 2105 ff.; Seliger, Art. *Weltalter* in: Roscher's Lex. der griech. u. röm. Myth. VI, c. 417 f. Besonders nahe Verwandtschaft mit dem Hystaspesorakel zeigt ein etrurischer Text über die zehn *saecula* (bei Seliger c. 418: aus Varro): *nonum et decimum superesse, quibus transactis finem fore nominis Etrusci.*

[2]) W. Weber äussert (*Profet u. s. Gott* 67 ff.) beachtenswerte Bedenken gegen diese Fassung und meint, es sei ein ganz allgemein gehaltener Spruch der jüngeren Sammlung gewesen (von einem König, der komme), den erst die *interpretatio* auf die Cornelier

Reich mit der besonderen Zugabe, das „fatale" Jahr, in dem dies eintreten werde, sei das Jahr 63; darauf wiesen die bösen Omina, die vor 20 und vor 10 Jahren sich ereignet hatten, wohl nach der Regel, dass das dritte Dekadenjahr das Jahr der Entscheidung sei. Durch die willkürliche Combination ward der Sinn des zweiten Orakels umgebogen: nicht absoluter Untergang von Rom — etwa im Sinn der Sibyllen und des Hystaspes — sondern nur Sturz der Regierung, Revolution und Erhebung eines Königs aus dem Kreis der Revolutionäre.

In diesem Zusammenhang werden neben den Sprüchen der Haruspices ausdrücklich auch die *fata Sibyllina* genannt. Auch in den römischen Sibyllinenorakeln müssen unheilvolle Weissagungen für Rom gestanden haben, deren orientalische Herkunft, wie schon bemerkt, sehr gut möglich ist. So kamen die orientalischen Profezeiungen des unabwendbaren Untergangs Roms nach Rom selbst und hätten beinahe sofort eine verhängnisvolle Auswirkung gehabt — wenn nicht, menschlich gesprochen, der Consul jenes *annus fatalis*, M. Tullius Cicero, die revolutionären Umtriebe erkannt und durch seine Energie niedergeschlagen hätte, oder, religiös gesprochen: wenn nicht die Götter, durch geeignete Massnahmen versöhnt, sich bereit gefunden hätten, mit ihrer Gotteskraft die Schicksalssprüche zu beugen.

So ward das Unheil dieses *fatalis annus* abgewehrt — wir kommen auf diese Rettung Roms von dem Untergang, die Abwehr der Verwirklichung der fatalen Orakel noch zurück; und noch ein zweites Heil ward dem römischen Staat eben im Jahr 63 bescheert, die (nach späterer Ueberlieferung) durch Wunderzeichen angekündigte Geburt des Octavianus, dem wie schon vor der Geburt verheissen war (Sueton. Aug. 94) und wie alsbald von dem Senator Nigidius Figulus, dessen Bekanntschaft mit Lehren der Magier wir schon oben berührten, profezeit wurde, das Kaisertum und die Errettung der Welt von den Schrecken der Bürgerkriege beschieden war [1]. Die Weissagung des Römers im Senat: *dominum terrarum orbi natum* (Sueton. a.a.O.), das römische Gegenstück zu der jüdisch-christlichen Engelbotschaft auf Bethlehems Fluren (Luc. 2, 10 f.) bedeutete natürlich eine Befestigung der römischen Weltherrschaft und eine Action gegen die aus dem Orient eingedrungene Erwartung des Untergangs Roms. Von den zwei Orakeln, die zur Zeit des Catilina die Gemüter in Entsetzen brachten, sollte sich das eine als völlig falsch erweisen — es sei denn dass die durch Opfer und allerlei Ceremonien versöhnten Götter es durchgesetzt haben sollten, die Macht des Schicksalsspruches zu brechen —, während das andere sich nur in der Person des kommenden Königs und Impe-

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bezogen habe. Aber die Angabe Cicero's, die ganz deutlich ist, lässt m. E. keinen Zweifel, dass *ille tertius Cornelius* in den Sprüchen selbst genannt war. Es kann natürlich ein in Interesse des Lentulus oder der gens Cornelia fabrizierter Spruch gewesen sein. Vgl. auch Plutarch, *Cicero* c. 17.

[1]) Vgl. zu dieser Coincidenz Weber *Prophet* S. 71; Ed. Norden, *Die Geburt des Kindes* 1924, S. 156 ff.

rators und in der Bestimmung der *gens*, aus der er hervorgeben werde, geirrt hatte.

Noch ein drittes Ereignis fällt in das schicksalsschwangere Jahr 63: Pompeius, mit grossen Vollmachten in den Orient gesandt, um die römische Herrschaft zu befestigen, kommt auf siegreichen Feldzügen nach Jerusalem, betritt dort den Tempel und das Allerheiligste und regelt die Verhältnisse im Land der Juden [1]). Zum ersten Mal ist die Oberhoheit des römischen Staats auch in der heiligen Stadt der Juden durchgeführt, die doch nach den Orakeln der jüdischen Profeten einst die Hauptstadt des Weltreichs der Endzeit zu werden bestimmt war. In heftigster Weise reagiert der jüdische Glaube gegen diese Entweihung der heiligen Stadt, und ruft die Rache über das Haupt des Eindringlings aus dem Westen herab. Das schmähliche Ende, das Pompeius fand, war den Juden ein Beweis, dass ihr Gott allen Frevel räche [2]). Doch nicht genug, aufs neue entflammte auch die alte Hoffnung auf den den Juden verheissenen Endkönig. In heissem Gebet versichert sich der Dichter des 17. Salomo-psalms des Glaubens, dass Gott den „Sohn Davids" bald schicken werde, der Jerusalem von allen Heiden und von allen heidnischen Gräueln reinigt, die gottlosen Völker durch den Hauch seines Mundes vernichtet und die übrigen Völker seiner Herrschaft unterwirft. Hier wird zwar weder der Untergang Roms profezeit noch speciell die Unterwerfung Roms, aber das römische Volk ist natürlich in das Gebet mit einbezogen. Der Sänger bittet um die Erfüllung der jüdischen Weissagungen, die ja formell nichts anderes sind als Varianten der allgemeinen, im Hystaspesbuch einem Perser in den Mund gelegten Erwartung, dass die Herrschaft Roms wieder zertrümmert werde und der Orient die ihm gebührende Macht über die Welt zurück erhalte.

Inzwischen wächst für Rom die Parthergefahr zu schauriger Grösse heran; der Orient beginnt an den Grundfesten des Römerreichs zu rütteln. Im J. 54 findet der römische Feldherr Crassus im Kampf gegen die Parther den Tod. Nachdem Pompeius van der Rache des Judengottes getroffen (i. J. 48), ist von dem grossen Triumvirat nur noch Julius Caesar übrig. Kurz vor seiner Ermordung gehen seine Freunde mit dem Gedanken um, ihn zum König ernennen zu lassen. Wieder wird ein Sibyllinenorakel in den Dienst der politischen Action gestellt. Jedenfalls ging das Gerücht, in der nächsten Senatssitzung werde ein Senator die Sentenz der *quindecim viri* kund geben: *ut quoniam libris fatalibus contineretur Parthos nisi a rege non posse vinci, Caesar rex appellaretur* (Sueton. Caesar 79,4). Wieder ein römischer Sibyllenspruch, der in die grosse Auseinandersetzung zwischen Orient und Okzident, zwischen Parthern und Römern hineinwirken will. Cicero bringt ihn in einer viel allgemeineren Fassung (*de divinit. II* 110) [3]): *eum, quem re vera regem habebamus, appellandum*

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[1]) Vgl. Schürer I, 3. A., 1901, S. 294 ff.

[2]) Ps. v. Salomo 2.

[3]) Vgl. hierzu W. Weber, Prophet S. 76 f.

quoque esse regem, si salvi esse vellemus. Hier kann es sein, dass die unbestimmte Fassung der Sibyllentext und die Beziehung auf die Parther, (deren Besiegung indes zur Zeit eine Hauptbedingung des *salvos esse Romanos* war) Interpretation der Caesarfreundlichen Männer war. Immerhin, die Deutung auf die Parther war aktuell und sie hat als Sinn des Sibyllenspruchs in der Geschichte eine wenn auch kurze Rolle gespielt. Sie besagt dann: dass das römische Reich nur Bestand hat, wenn es sich einen König giebt. Das kann entweder heissen — hierauf machte das Akademiemitglied F. Muller aufmerksam: die Wiederherstellung der Urverfassung, die Wiederkehr der Herrschaft des „Gründers" Romulus ist Bedingung für die Erhaltung des Reiches gegenüber dem Osten; oder: der König des mächtigen Orientreiches kann nur durch den König des Westreiches besiegt werden. Hier haben wir ein römisches Orakel, das sich dem des persischen Königs Hystaspes gewissermassen gegenüberstellt. Rom kann sich dem vom Osten drohenden Verhängnis nur entwinden, wenn es Caesar zum Könige macht.

Vier Jahre nach Caesars Ermordung ist wieder ein Schicksalsjahr erster Ordnung: a. 40. Consul ist Asinius Pollio. Die Parther haben einen grossen Teil von Vorderasien überströmt, haben Judaä und Jerusalem eingenommen, den Schützling der Römer, Herodes, vertrieben, und den Makkabäer Antigonus zum König der Juden ernannt [1]). Die Parther haben zwar ebenso schlimm in Jerusalem gehaust wie die Römer. Aber der Feind aus dem Westen ist doch aus dem heiligen Land vertrieben und in Jerusalem ist wieder ein König aus dem Geschlecht der Makkabäer eingesetzt, mit dem sich hohe Erinnerungen und hohe Erwartungen verknüpfen. Ist es der erste Akt zu dem Drama, dessen Schlussakt nach einstimmiger Weissagung der jüdischen Profeten, des Perserkönigs Hystaspes und der orientalischen Sibyllen der *interitus Romae* sein soll?

Im selben Jahre kommt Herodes flüchtend nach Rom. Er wird vom Senat auf Fürsprache von Antonius und Octavianus, um den Römern als Bundesgenosse im Kampf gegen die Parther zu dienen, zum König der Juden ernannt. In feierlichem Zuge wird der neue Judenkönig von Römergnaden auf das Capitol geführt, wo der Beschluss befestigt wird: Antonius und Caesar waren im Geleite, dazu die Consuln des Jahres, Cn. Domitius Calvinus und C. Asinius Pollio (Joseph. *Bell.* I 14, 4 f. *Antiqu.* XIV 14, 5). Bei dieser Gelegenheit wird es gewesen sein, dass Herodes mit Asinius Pollio Freundschaft schloss; er wird der selbe Pollio gewesen sein, in dessen Hause später die Söhne des Herodes, von der Mariamne, zu Römern erzogen wurden [2]). Judäa kam mit Rom wieder einmal in engste

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[1]) Schürer I, 352 ff.

[2]) Joseph. *Antiqu.* XV 10, 1: § 343. Ich war auf diese Beziehungen schon aufmerksam geworden, als ich die bedeutsamen Ausführungen von F. Marx, *Vergils vierte Ecloge* (in Ilberg's Neuen Jahrb. f. d. klass. Alt. 1898) S. 124 f. las. Zufällig ist, dass Herodes nach Joseph. Ant. XV, § 3 f., 370 auch in Palästina einen Freund hatte, der Pollio hiess: das war aber ein Pharisaeer.

Fühlung. Von der Energie des Herodes erwartete Rom die Niederwerfung der parthischen Herrschaft in Syrien und tatkräftige Hilfe bei der Abwehr der parthischen Gefahr.

Und in eben diesem Jahr, unter dem Consulat des Asinius Pollio, schreibt der profetische Sänger **Vergilius** seine IV. Ecloga, in der er die Geburt eines göttlichen Kindes, des künftigen Weltherrschers und Friedenbringers — *υἱὸς θεοῦ* und *εἰρηνοποιός* in einer Person [1]) — dazu das Nahen des goldenen Zeitalters, die Wiederkehr der Zeit des Saturn ankündigt [2]).

Ob Herodes im Hause des Pollio mit Vergil bekannt geworden ist, wissen wir nicht. Die Möglichkeit liegt vor. Und bei solchem Zusammentreffen mit dem Judenkönig und mit jüdischen Männern aus seinem Gefolge *kann* Vergil etwas von den jüdischen Messiashoffnungen erfahren haben [3]). Doch giebt es ja noch andere Kanäle, durch die die Kenntnis jüdischer Zukunftsträume zu Vergil gelangen konnte: vor allem ist an jüdische Sibyllinen zu denken: In or. Sib. III 788 ff. findet sich eine aus Jes. 11, 6—8 geflossene Beschreibung des Tierfriedens, die der in Vergils Gedicht sehr nahe kommt. Schon Lactanz hat (im weiteren Verlauf seiner Entwicklung der Eschatologie VII 24, 11 f.) auf die Uebereinstimmung der beiden Sibyllen, der Cymaea, von der Vergil inspiriert ist, und der Erythraea, die die Orac. Sib. III verkündet hat, hingewiesen [4]). Die Kenntnis der Sibyllen kann dem Vergil auch durch den Historiker Alexander Polyhistor vermittelt worden sein, der gerade im J. 40 ein Werk über die Juden erscheinen liess, in dem er neben vielen anderen Schriften auch die sibyllinischen Orakel, und zwar wahrscheinlich die jüdischen verwertet hat [5]).

Auch wenn sich keine gewissen Folgerungen aus dem Besuch des Herodes und aus seiner Freundschaft mit Pollio, dem von Vergil gefeierten Consul des grossen Jahres, ziehen lassen, bleibt das Zusammenfallen der

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[1]) Vgl. meinen Artikel: *Friedensbringer-Gottessöhne. Eine religionsgeschichtliche Interpretation der 7. Seligpreisung* (Z. f. neut. Wiss. 1925, S. 240 ff.).

[2]) Vgl. aus der reichen Literatur: A. Cartault, *Etude sur les bucoliques de Vergile* 1897, p. 210 ff.; F. Marx, *Virgils vierte Ekloge* (Neue Jahrb. f. d. klass. Alt. 1898, 105—128); H. Lietzmann, *Der Weltheiland*, 1909; Ed. Norden, *Die Geburt des Kindes*, 1924; W. Weber, *Der Prophet und sein Gott* (Beihefte z. Alt. Orient) 1925; F. Muller, *„Augustus"* (in den Mededeelingen der Koninkl. Ak. v. Wetensch. 1927) blz. 38 ff.; Wagenvoort, a. a. O. blz. 30 ff.

[3]) Das ist natürlich eine ganz lose Combination. Vergil kann sein Gedicht schon concipiert haben, ehe Herodes nach Rom kam und mit Pollio befreundet wurde. Schürer setzt die Feierlichkeit auf dem Capitol in den Herbst des Jahres.

[4]) Keineswegs will Lactanz sagen, dass Vergil aus den jüdischen Profeten geschöpft habe. Nur die heidnische Idee vom goldenen Zeitalter am **Anfang** der Geschichte soll aus profanem Misverständnis der Profeten entstanden sein (a. a. O. 9 f.). Auch die Erythraea ist nicht von Jes. 11 inspiriert, sondern unmittelbar vom Geiste Gottes; auch sie ist ja ebenso wie die Cymaea, für Lactanz eine „heidnische" Profetin; hierin liegt gerade der Wert ihrer „Profezeiungen" für den christlichen Kirchenlehrer.

[5]) Vgl. Schürer III 469 ff.; 584 f.; Marx, a. a. O. 125 f.

Ereignisse im J. 40 doch bedeutungsvoll. Die Ernennung zum König der Juden bedeutete für Herodes, dass nun die Praedikate der jüdischen und des hellenistischen Herrschers auf ihn übergingen. Es ist nicht unmöglich, dass er sich selbst für eine Art Messias gehalten hat oder dass Personen aus seiner Umgebung ihn dafür ausgaben [1]. Auch der Gedanke eigener Göttlichkeit wird ihm nicht fremd gewesen sein: vielleicht war der goldene Adler, den er gegen Ende seiner Regierung am Tempel anbringen liess und der bei den Juden solchen Anstoss erregte, ein Symbol seiner Hoffnung auf Apotheose [2]. Wenn später sein Enkel Herodes Agrippa als Gott gefeiert wurde (Act. 12, 21 f.; Jos. *Ant. XIX* 8, 2), mag ähnliches auch ihm, dem viel Grösseren begegnet sein. Nach späterer Ueberlieferung soll Herodes sogar davon geträumt haben, dass ihm die Weltherrschaft beschieden sein werde [3]. All diese Gedanken gehen zurück auf die feierliche Ernennung des Herodes zum König, die im J. 40 unter den Auspicien des Consuls Pollio, des Octavian und des Antonius statt hatte.

Aber nicht den Orientalen feiert der römische Dichter als künftigen Weltherrscher und Weltfriedensstifter, sondern ein Kind, das eben geboren, als Gottessohn *(cara deum suboles, magnum Jovis incrementum)* die Heilszeit heraufführen soll und das, seiner menschlichen Herkunft nach gewiss als Römer gedacht ist. Die orientalischen Zukunftsträume sind damit völlig von Rom annectiert: *pacatumque reget patriis virtutibus orbem* setzt Aussöhnung mit den Parthern und allen Feinden im Osten oder ihre Unterwerfung voraus: in jedem Fall muss auch der Partherkönig den römischen Weltherrscher anerkennen: Juppiter's Sohn, nicht Ahura Mazda's Schützling beherrscht die Welt, mag auch vielleicht ein Motiv der Zarathustra-überlieferung, das Lächeln des Kindes am Tage der Geburt, auf das römische Gotteskind übertragen worden sein [4]. An das *nomen Romanum* ist das kommende Friedensreich gebunden.

Wen der Dichter mit dem Gotteskind gemeint hat, wird wohl nie mit Sicherheit auszumachen sein und ist wohl auch absichtlich in Geheimnis gehüllt. Die verschiedenen Deutungen: ein Sohn des Pollio, ein Sohn des Octavian, Octavianus selbst, ein auch dem Dichter unbekanntes Götterkind, haben fast alle gleich viel für sich wie gegen sich. Interessant ist die Deutung Wagenvoort's auf eine mystische Geburt des Gotteskindes in Octavianus [5]. Sie kann sich auf einen eigenen Ausspruch des Augustus

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1) Das sind die sogenannten *Ἡρῳδιανοί*, die in Marc. 3, 6; 12, 3 vorkommen, vgl. dazu Epiphan. *Haer.* 1 20 (1 224 Holl); W. Otto, Art. *Herodianoi* in P.-W.'s R. E. a. a. O., Sp. 200 f. Sehr merkwürdige Ueberlieferungen hat hierüber der slavische Josephus, vgl. R. Eisler, *Jesus basileus, u basileusas* (Relig.-wiss. Bibl. 9), 1928, S. 348 ff.: ein Gespräch der Priester, Jüd. Krieg I § 364—369, über und gegen die Möglichkeit, dass Herodes der verheissene Gesalbte sein sollte. Die scharfsinnigen Ausführungen erscheinen mir nicht zwingend; die Interpolation kann christlich sein.

2) W. Otto, Art. Herodes, P.-W.'s R. E. Suppl. II. Sp. 109 f.

3) S. R. Eisler a. a. O. I. S. 349—351.

4) S. die Discussion hierüber bei Clemen, *Nachrichten* 42 f.

5) A. a. O. 17 ff. und *Varia Vita* 1927, p. 36 ff.; ihr schliesst sich F. Muller a.a.O. an.

berufen (*seque in eo nasci*, Plin. Nat. hist. 94, vgl. o. S. 55) und sie hätte eine wundervolle Analogie in der evangelischen Ueberlieferung von der Geburt des Christus bei der Taufe Jesu: *σὺ εἶ ὁ υἱός μου · σήμερον γεγέννηκά σε* (= Ps. 2, 7) lautet eine alte Variante der Taufstimme im Lukasevangelium (cod. D), die jedenfalls die ursprüngliche Meinung des Geschehens zum Ausdruck bringt [1]. Gegen diese Interpretation spricht indes, dass sich in der Ecloga keinerlei Hinweis auf eine andere dann die nächstliegende Deutung der „Geburt" nachweisen lässt, dass im Gegenteil die Anschauung von einem ebengeborenen Kind, einem Säugling in sehr konkreten zügen ausgemalt ist.

Hier ist einmal unser Unglück, dass wir den Text ganz genau, aufs Jahr, datieren können. Wären wir freier, dann würde jedermann sagen, das Gedicht gehöre in das Jahr 63 und sei eine Ausführung der (oben erwähnten) Weissagung des Nigidius Figulus: Wundervoll passt die zweite Strophe auf Cicero, dessen Action ja auf Tilgung schwerer Frevel und auf Abwehr schweren Unheils gerichtet war und dadurch positiv die Vorbereitung einer neuen Heilszeit für Rom bedeutete; ihn hätte Vergil im J. 63 wirklich mit diesen Worten feiern können:

> *Teque adeo decus hoc aevi, te consule inibit*
> *<Tullie> et incipient magni procedere menses;*
> *te duce, siqua manent sceleris vestigia nostri,*
> *inrita perpetua solvent formidine terras* —

um darnach im Sinne der messianischen Weissagung des Senators Figulus, das Kind, das ebengeboren, zum Weltherrscher ausersehen war, zu begrüssen:

> *pacatumque reget patriis virtutibus orbem!*

Dass die selbe Situation 23 Jahre später sich wiederholt haben soll, ist für uns das grosse Rätsel.

Freilich, für unsere Zwecke ist der Umstand, dass die Person des Kindes für uns ein Mysterium bleibt, kein Uebel. Für uns ist hier die Hauptsache der grenzenlose Optimismus des Römers. Keine Gefahr ist mehr zu befürchten von den Parthern, auch nicht von den Sünden Roms. Die Sibyllensprüche, die den Untergang Roms in Uebereinstimmung mit dem Hystaspesorakel, profezeiten, sind vergessen oder unwirksam gemacht. Dem Consul des Jahres 40 — er ist ein zweiter Cicero — wird es gelingen die letzten Spuren der alten Frevel zu tilgen und so die Länder von dem beständigen Grauen zu erlösen. Dann ist jeglicher Grund für ein Zorngericht über Rom weggenommen und alle Orakel, die den Untergang Roms profezeiten, sind als falsch erwiesen — vorläufig wenigstens.

Zehn Jahre später erscheint die A e n e i s. Jetzt weiss und sagt Vergil, welche *gens* und welchen Mann die Götter erwählt haben.

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[1]) Vgl. H. Usener, *Das Weihnachtsfest*, S. 38 ff.; D. Plooij, *Tendentieuse Varianten in den text der evangeliën*, 1926, p. 8 ff.

Gleich im ersten Buche findet sich die Weissagung Juppiter's als Antwort auf die Fragen der um ihren Aeneas besorgten Venus: der Troer Aeneas wird der Stifter des Geschlechts, aus dem Romulus, der Gründer der Stadt, der Heros der Römer, hervorgehen wird; deren Reich soll ewig bestehen:

his...... imperium sine fine dedi (I 279):

selbst Juno wird mit Juppiter zusammen sie beschirmen: *Romanos, rerum dominos, gentemque togatam* (282). Kein grösserer Contrast ist denkbar als der zwischen dieser Juppiterverheissung und dem Orakel des Perserkönigs Hystaspes, zwischen Vergil und Lactanz.

Es folgt die Weissagung für Caesar, den Trojaner: er ist der Mann, der der Welt den Frieden bringen wird [1]). Hier ist nun deutlich gesagt, dass der Weltfriede auf der Niederwerfung des Orients beruht:

> *hunc tu olim caelo spoliis Orientis onustum*
> *accipies secura* (289 f.).

Rom besteht ewig, weil der Römer Caesar auch den Orient unterwirft und als Sieger und Friedensstifter auch im Himmel anerkannt wird. Und die letzten Ansprüche des Orients — das ist ein wichtiges Motiv der Aeneïs — sind dadurch befriedigt, dass dieser Römer ja von Haus aus Orientale ist: *Trojanus origine* (286) [2]). Ein romanisierter Orientale ist der berufene Weltherrscher. In ihm sind Orient und Okzident ausgesöhnt, in ihm ist der ewige Streit geschlichtet, in ihm kommen alle Orakel zur Erfüllung.

Ganz die selben Gedanken kommen im VI. Buch in der Profetie des Anchises vor, wo sie nun auf Augustus übertragen sind (791 ff.). Zweierlei wird hier besonders betont: dass Augustus die Grenzen des Reiches über den ganzen Orient, bis zu den Indern ausdehnen wird (794), und dass er die *avi Troiae* an den Griechen rächen wird (838 ff.). So findet die durch die Jahrhunderte sich hinziehende Auseinandersetzung zwischen Ost und West in ihm ihren Abschluss und ihre Erledigung.

Haben Anchises, Vergilius das letzte Wert? Ist das Orakel des Hystaspes als Trug erwiesen? Für den antiken, für den orientalischen Menschen keineswegs. Weiss man doch, dass *Hystaspes fuit Medorum rex antiquissimus* und dass er das ganz andere: *sublatu iri ex orbe imperium*

[1]) Es kann auch hier schon Augustus gemeint sein, vgl. Ovid *Metamorph.* XV 822 ff.; s. die Discussion bei Norden, N. Jahrb. 1901, 273 f.

[2]) Vgl. zu dieser Herleitung der *gens Julia* die Belege und Ausführungen bei Ed. Norden, *Vergils Aeneis im Lichte ihrer Zeit* (Ilberg's Neue Jahrb. f. d. klass. Alt. 1901, 256 ff.). Besonders charakteristisch ist die Begrüssung der Römer durch die Ilier (Trojaner) vor der Schlacht bei Magnesia, Justin. (Trogus Pompei.) 31, 8: *iuvabat Ilienses nepotes suos. Occidente et Africa domita Asiam ut avitum regnum vindicare.* Gleichzeitig ward aber auch die Gemeinschaft der Römer mit den Griechen betont und der Meinung vieler Griechen entgegengearbeitet, als ob die Römer dem Griechenstamm fremd und feind seien; s. Norden, a. a. O., S. 322 ff. Die beiderseitigen Genealogien führten auf eine Versöhnung und auf Zusammenschluss von Römern, Griechen, Orientalen, von West und Ost hinaus.

nomenque Romanum, multo ante praefatus est quam illa Troiana gens conderetur. Augustus und die Aeneis bedeuten also nur eine Episode. Das Ende ist anders. Hier gilt nur die Weisheit des Orients. Er hat das letzte Wort, weil seine Weisheit unendlich viel älter ist als die von Rom.

Erscheint so in Vergil der Gegensatz zwischen Rom und dem Orient aufs höchste gesteigert, bei anderen Römern ist er gemildert. Denn nicht alle teilten den Optimismus Vergils. Ganz anders denkt über die Sünden Roms und über die Parthergefahr H o r a t i u s. Im selben Jahr, wo Vergil das Lied vom Götterkind dichtete, ist eine Epode von Horaz erschienen (XVI), in der die Lage geradezu hoffnungslos geschildert ist — wir kommen auf sie weiter unten zurück. Immer wieder weist der profetische Dichter auf die Sünden der Zeitgenossen und immer wieder redet er von der Gefahr aus dem Osten, die wie ein unheimliches Wetterleuchten ständig den Himmel Roms beunruhigt. Wenn er eine günstigere Zukunft profezeit, ist seine Profezeiung immer bedingt: alles erwartet er vom göttlichen Augustus: er muss die Parther besiegen, er muss die Sünden austilgen und die Götter versöhnen. (Vgl. vor allem *Carmen* 5 in *lib.* IV).

Gleichwohl konnte Horaz das *C a r m e n s a e c u l a r e*, die „Festcantate" zu dem grossen Saecularfest, dichten, das Augustus im J. 17, wieder auf Geheiss der Sibylle, abhielt. Ein neues *saeculum* war nach Berechnung der Weisen gekommen: das bedeutete, dass das alte mit seinen Sünden und Gefahren abgetan war. Sühnriten und Gebete bildeten den Höhepunkt der religiösen Feier. Das Carmen ist ein Gebet zu den Göttern, deren Gunst, deren Hilfe herabgefleht wird. Die Zuversicht des Dichters beruht auf der Gesetzgebung des Kaisers, die die Jugend an neue Zucht gewöhnt hat. Noch deutlicher kommt der Sinn des Festes in dem Ritual zum Ausdruck [1]). Ein feierliches, stereotypes Gebet musste der Kaiser an die verschiedenen Götter richten, von denen das Heil des Staates abhing, in dem vor allem das folgende vorkam:

> ...... *vos quaeso precorque, uti imperium maiestatemque populi Romani Quiritium duelli domique auxitis, utique semper L a t i n u m n o m e n t u e a m i n i,* ...... *incolumitatem sempiternam victoriam valetudinem populo Romano Quiritibus tribuatis, faveatisque populo Romano Quiritium legionibusque populi Romani Quiritium r e m q u e p u b l i c a m populi Romani Quiritium s a l v a m s e r v e t i s.*

Aber klingt nicht hinter diesem feierlichen Gebetstext ganz leise etwas wie Angst vor einem ganz anderen Schicksal, das das *Latinum nomen* und die *respublica populi Romani* treffen könnte? Bekommt das Gebet und das Fest nicht eine gewaltige Perspective, wenn man als Hintergrund die von anderen Sibyllen und von anderen Orakelquellen genährte Furcht vor einem *sublatu iri ex orbe imperium nomenque Romanum* sich denkt?

Doch das Fest sollte ja gerade solche Sorgen bannen. Es wird auf die

[1]) S. den Text bei Vahlen, *Ueber das Saeculargedicht des Horatius* (Sitzungsberichte der Berliner Akademie der Wissensch. 1892, S. 1005 ff.).

Zeitgenossen grossen Eindruck gemacht haben und die Stimmung, die aus Vergils Dichtungen begeistert herausspricht, verstärkt haben. Wie gewaltig gerade auch im griechischen Osten, in Kleinasien, der Enthusiasmus war, zeigen die berühmten Kaiserdekrete kleinasiatischer Städte [1]): hier wird wirklich von dem Geburtstag des göttlichen Caesar an der Anfang einer neuen Weltära gerechnet, die Heil und Glück für die ganze Menschheit bedeutet. Unheil und Untergang ist abgewehrt. Evangelia, Freudenbotschaften, ziehen durch die Welt. Das Evangelium von der Geburt war die erste in einer Reihe von Freudenbotschaften, die sich an seine Person knüpfen — man denke an die Weissagung des Figulus —, Cäsar Augustus ist nicht nur Vater seiner eigenen Vaterstadt, der Göttin Roma, sondern auch Zeus und Heiland für das gesammte Menschengeschlecht, was sich vor allem in dem Weltfrieden offenbart, den die Menschheit unter seiner Regierung geniesst. Der ganze Text klingt wie eine Erfüllung des Jesusspruches:

μακάριοι οἱ εἰρηνοποιοί, ὅτι υἱοὶ θεοῦ κληθήσονται. [2])

Einige Decennien konnte es scheinen, als werde der Frieden, den der römische Caesar in Ost und West den Völkern auferlegt hatte, dauernd sein. Da brach (im J. 66) der grosse jüdische Aufstand aus, der erste grosse Krieg, den das neue Reich zu führen hatte, der Anfang neuer kriegerischer Auseinandersetzungen zwischen Ost und West. Ein Ostvolk suchte die drückende Herrschaft des römischen Weltimperiums abzuschütteln [3]). Und wieder spielt ein Orakel eine verhängnisvolle Rolle, das symbolhaft den „Sinn" des Krieges ausdrückt. Wir finden es in dreifacher Fassung, bei Josephus, Tacitus und Sueton [4]).

Josephus hat gegen Ende seines Werkes *De bello Judaico* eine Aufzählung von Unheilszeichen und Unheilssprüchen, die sich in dem Untergang seines Volkes furchtbar ausgewirkt haben. (VI 5, 3 f.). Der eine Spruch sei in den Orakeln *(ἐν τοῖς λογίοις)* aufgezeichnet gewesen: *ἁλώσεσθαι τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὸν ναόν, ἐπειδὰν τὸ ἱερὸν γένηται τετράγωνον* (§ 311). Diese Voraussetzung sei gegen Ende der Belagerung verwirklicht worden. Ueber die Herkunft dieses in echtem Orakelstil gehaltenen Logion können wir nichts Sicheres sagen. Er fährt fort: *τὸ δ' ἐπᾶραν αὐτοὺς μάλιστα*

[1]) Dittenberger *Inscript. Orient. Graec.* II 458, abgedruckt z. B. bei P. Wendland, *Die hellenistisch-römische Kultur*, 2 A. 1912, 409 f.

[2]) Vgl. meinen oben angeführten Aufsatz in Z. N. T. W. 1925. Ein schöner Beleg zu den Augustusinschriften ist auch die Bemerkung der Servius Dan. zu Vergil's Aeneis X 272: *hic (cometes) dicitur apparuisse eo tempore quo est Augustus sortitus imperium: tunc denique gaudia omnibus gentibus futura sunt nuntiata*; s. dazu vor allem Luc. 2, 10!

[3]) Der Judenaufstand war durchaus auch eine Angelegenheit des ganzen Ostens; vgl. Jos. *Bell.* III § 3 *τίνι κινδυνεύσαι κεκινημένην τὴν Ἀνατολήν*;

[4]) S. die neueren Verhandlungen: Ed. Norden, *Josephus u. Tacitus über Jesus Christus u. eine messianische Profetie* (Ilberg's Neuen Jahrb. 1913, S. 637—666); P. Corssen, *Die Zeugnisse des Tacitus u. Pseudo-Josephus über Christus* (Z. f. neut. Wiss. 1914, S. 114 ff.), W. Weber, *Josephus und Vespasian* 1921, S. 35 ff.

πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον ἦν χρησμὸς ἀμφίβολος ὁμοίως ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς εὑρημένος γράμμασιν, ὡς κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν ἐκεῖνον ἀπὸ τῆς χώρας αὐτῶν τις ἄρξει τῆς οἰκουμένης (§ 312) und fügt hinzu, dass manche den Spruch für sich in Anspruch genommen haben und dass selbst viele von den Weisen, d. h. den Schriftgelehrten, sich über seine Bedeutung getäuscht haben: *ἐδήλου δ' ἄρα τὴν Οὐεσπασιανοῦ τὸ λόγιον ἡγεμονίαν, ἀποδειχθέντος ἐπὶ Ἰουδαίας αὐτοκράτορος.*

Auch dieser Spruch handelte also von einem kommenden neuen Weltherrscher; er befasste zwei Näherbestimmungen: die Zeit — die Gegenwart, und das Land des Ausgangs — Judaea; d. h. es war eine „messianische Weissagung", die profezeite, dass der Messias von Judäa aus die ganze Welt bezwingen werde: also Weltherrschaft des jüdischen Messias und des jüdischen Volkes, Uebergang des Weltimperiums von Rom auf Judäa, Untergang des *imperium Romanum*.

Welche der messianischen Weissagungen das Volk, die Schriftgelehrten und Josephus im Auge hatten, ist schwer zu sagen; wir haben die Wahl zwischen der Weissagung Bileam's (Num. 24, 7), der Menschensohnweissagung Daniel's 7, 13 f., der Profetie Jesaia's 11, 1—10, speciell 11, 10 und etwa noch der des 2. Psalms [1]).

Von Haus aus war der Spruch ganz unzweideutig. Nur Josephus nennt ihn „zweideutig", weil er überzeugt ist, dass er sich wirklich erfüllt hat, aber in der auf judäischem Boden erfolgten Erhebung Vespasians zum Kaiser. Dieser Deutung ist er vor seiner Uebergabe in Jotapata gewiss geworden: er beschreibt den Vorgang als eine in der Extase erhaltene Inspiration und giebt ihr in einem Gebet die sehr charakteristische Interpretation: *ἐπειδὴ τὸ Ἰουδαίων... φῦλον ὀκλάσαι δοκεῖ σοι τῷ κτίσαντι, μετέβη δὲ πρὸς Ῥωμαίους ἡ τύχη πᾶσα, καὶ ἐμὴν ψυχὴν ἐπελέξω τὰ μέλλοντα εἰπεῖν, δίδωμι μὲν Ῥωμαίοις τὰς χεῖρας ἑκὼν καὶ ζῶ, μαρτύρομαι δὲ ὡς οὐ προδότης, ἀλλὰ σὸς εἶμι διάκονος* (III 8, 3; § 354). Dementsprechend erklärt er — so beschreibt er es wenigstens in seinem eigenen Werke — dem Vespasian: *σὺ Καῖσαρ, Οὐεσπασιανέ, καὶ αὐτοκράτωρ, σὺ καὶ ὁ παῖς ὁ σὸς οὗτος.... δεσπότης μὲν γὰρ οὐ μόνον ἐμοῦ, σὺ Καῖσαρ, ἀλλὰ καὶ γῆς καὶ θαλάττης καὶ παντὸς ἀνθρώπων γένους* (III 8, 9; § 401 f.). Aufs formelle gesehen, ist die Deutung durchaus sachgemäss: der Spruch kündet eine Wende in den Herrschaftsverhältnissen und das Aufkommen eines neuen Weltherrschers an, und der jüdische Krieg ist ja ein Kampf um die Weltherrschaft gewesen [2]). Nun hat aber der Ausgang

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[1]) Auf Psalm 2 beruft sich Eusebius (hist. eccl. III 8, 10 f.), wenn er erklärt, der Spruch sei nicht in Vespasian erfüllt, da dieser ja nicht die ganze, nur die von den Römern „bewohnte" Welt beherrscht habe.

[2]) Der Spruch hat durchaus den Stil des hellenistischen Orakels. Ein biblisches Profetenwort ist also in den hellenistischen Orakelstil umgeformt. Einen Profetenspruch, der ihm g e n a u entspräche, giebt es nicht; Hauptsache ist, dass den Profetensprüchen die „Zweideutigkeit" fehlt; sie kann nur durch „Interpretation", vielleicht auch durch kleine Textänderungen heineingelegt werden.

des Kampfes in Galiläa dem Feldherrn und Politiker Josephus gelehrt, dass das jüdische Volk erschöpft und dass das „Glück" zu den Römern gegangen sei. Das war für Josephus selbst unerwartet. Auch seine Hoffnung ist am Anfang des Krieges die des Volkes gewesen: sie entsprach dem Orakel des Hystaspes: *imperium in Asiam revertetur ac rursus oriens dominabitur atque occidens serviet.* Jetzt hat Josephus eingesehen, dass die göttliche Leitung den umgekehrten Weg hinausführt: der neue Imperator soll ein Römer sein, Rom soll siegen in diesem Krieg, der Orient soll unterworfen werden oder unterworfen bleiben.

Die herrschende Auffassung sieht in dieser Haltung des Josephus und in ihrer Verteidigung in seinem Bellum nichts als Schwindel und Verrat: er habe um sein Leben zu retten, die messianischen Erwartungen seines Volkes verraten und die Sprüche wider besseres Wissen auf den Römer gedeutet; das Ganze sei die Apologie seiner Feigheit, er sei ein Apostat u.s.w. [1]). Ich halte diese Meinung für falsch, zum mindesten für sehr einseitig. 1. zeigt die Beschreibung seiner ekstatischen Zustände, dass er Erfahrung von ihnen hat. Josephus war nicht nur Politiker, Priester und Schriftgelehrter, sondern wie Johannes Hyrkanos und wie mancher essenischer Heiliger auch Pneumatiker [2]). 2. bedeutet die Deutung des einen profetischen Spruches auf Vespasian keineswegs die Preisgabe der messianischen Hoffnung überhaupt. Josephus war und blieb orthodoxer Jude und aus den Worten über die Weissagung Daniels (Antiqu. X 10, 4, § 210) geht ganz klar hervor, dass er die rechtmässige jüdische Auslegung dieser Profetie anerkannte. Seine Interpretation des Spruches hat eine gewisse Aehnlichkeit mit den Sprüchen Deuterojesajas, in denen der Perserkönig Koresch als Gesalbter Jahwe's angeredet wird. In jedem Falle handelt es sich ja um einen bestimmten Einzelspruch, den Josephus in Vespasian erfüllt glaubt. Vespasian ist gar nicht der „Messias", sondern nur der in einem Einzelspruch für diese Zeit ausersehene römische Kaiser, dessen Besonderheit war, dass er von Judaea ausgehen sollte. Mit der Messiasfrage hat der Spruch für Josephus nichts zu tun; den Namen Apostat verdient Josephus ebensowenig wie Jeremia [3]).

Schon Josephus lässt den geistigen Zusammenhang erkennen, der zwischen dem Orakelspruch der Juden und dem Orakel des Hystaspes besteht. Noch deutlicher wird dieser Tatbestand aus den Texten bei Tacitus und Sueton.

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[1]) Vgl. z. B. W. Weber, S. 42 f.

[2]) Ich hoffe Gelegenheit zu haben, hierauf noch einmal näher einzugehen: vorläufig verweise ich auf L. Wohleb, *Das Testimonium Flavianum* (Röm. Quartalschrift 1927, 151 ff.); vgl. auch m. Oratie (1914): *Der Untergang Jerusalems im Urteil der Christen und Juden* (Theol. tijdschr. 1914, p. 526 ff.).

[3]) Vgl. zum Verständnis des Josephus und seiner Auslegung des Orakelspruchs noch seine Geschichtsbetrachtung, Bellum V 9, 3; § 366 f.: *τί γὰρ Ῥωμαίους διαπεφευγέναι ...; μεταβῆναι γὰρ πρὸς αὐτοὺς πάντοθεν τὴν τύχην, καὶ κατὰ ἔθνος τὸν θεὸν ἐμπεριάγοντα τὴν ἀρχὴν νῦν ἐπὶ τῆς Ἰταλίας εἶναι.* Die Weltherrschaft Italiens ist sonach nichts Endgültiges: auch das Zeitalter der Römer geht einmal wieder vorbei.

Tacitus bringt den Spruch in einem ganz ähnlichen Zusammenhang wie Josephus. Auf eine Aufzählung von *prodigia*, in deren näherer Beschreibung er freilich von Josephus abweicht, folgt die Notiz: *pluribus persuasio inerat antiquis sacerdotum litteris contineri: eo ipso tempore fore ut valesceret Oriens profectique Judaea rerum potirentur.* Und Tacitus fügt auch ähnlich wie Josephus hinzu: *quae ambages Vespasianum ac Titum praedixerat, sed vulgus more humanae cupidinis sibi tantam fatorum magnitudinem interpretati ne adversis quidem ad vera mutatabantur* (Hist. V 13). Kein Zweifel, der Tacitustext ist eine erweiterte Wiedergabe des Josephustextes, bzw. der von Josephus wiedergegebenen Ueberlieferung [1]). Die wichtigste Aenderung bei Tacitus ist die Verwandlung des Singulars (der Messias) in den Plural (eigentlich Dual: Vespasian und Titus) [2]) und das Plus, die Wendung *ut Oriens valesceret.* Das ist genau die Sprache des Lactanz, d.i. die Sprache des orientalischen Orakelwesens, insbesondere die des Hystaspes [3])! Die Juden sind nur Repräsentanten des Orients. Es ging um die Entscheidung, wer aus dem jüdischen Krieg (= aus dem jüdischen Land) als der neue Weltherrscher hervorgehen werde, ein Orientale oder ein Okzidentale. Das *ut Oriens valesceret* ist orientalische Interpretation des zweideutigen Spruchs, der dies im Dunkeln gelassen hatte. Wiederum kann das *valescere orientem* nicht besser umschrieben werden als mit den Worten des Lactanz—Hystaspes. Dies Orakel (Hystaspes) ist also nach dem Zeugnis des Tacitus im jüdischen Krieg einmal ganz aktuell gewesen. Die jüdische Messiashoffnung ist ja nur eine, (in Wahrheit die wichtigste) Spielart einer ganz allgemeinen orientalischen Endhoffnung, die auf den Untergang des *imperium Romanum* und die Rückkehr der Herrschaft in den Orient, nach Asien abzielt [4]).

Diese Perspective bestätigt Sueton. *Percrebuerat*, so lesen wir in seiner Vita des Vespasian (4. 5), *oriente toto vetus et constans opinio: esse in fatis ut eo tempore Judaea profecti rerum potirentur.* Auch er fügt hinzu: *id de imperatore Romano, quantum postea eventus paruit, praedictum Judaei ad se trahentes rebellarunt.* Sueton muss wiederum Tacitus oder eine gemeinsame lateinische Quelle gelesen haben. Auch den Gedanken von der Erstarkung des Orients muss er gelesen haben, er hat ihn nur nicht in den Text des Spruches eingetragen oder

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[1]) Die Philologen wehren sich gegen die Annahme, dass Tacitus den Juden gelesen und ausgeschrieben haben sollte. Es liegen auch wirklich sachliche Bedenken vor. Dann muss aber Abhängigkeit von gleicher Ueberlieferung vorliegen. In jedem Falle gilt indes, dass die Deutung des jüdischen Spruchs auf Vespasian von Josephus inauguriert ist.

[2]) Vgl. Weber *Jos. u. Vesp.* 51. Aber III 401 hat auch Josephus den Sohn eingeschoben.

[3]) Schon E. Norden macht auf diese Gleichheit aufmerksam (S. 658), hat aber die Beziehung zu Hystaspes noch nicht gesehen.

[4]) Vgl. die (jüd.) Sibylle Or. III 194 f

καὶ τότ' ἔθνος μεγάλοιο θεοῦ πάλι καρτερὸν ἔσται,
οἳ πάντεσσι βροτοῖσι βίου καθοδηγοὶ ἔσονται.

darin stehen lassen, sondern hat ihn in der Einleitung verwertet, wo er die Erwartung eine von alters her im ganzen Orient verbreitete Meinung nennt.

Dass er mit dieser Behauptung recht hat, bestätigt das Hystaspesorakel. Wie umgekehrt Sueton und Tacitus uns bestätigen, dass Hystaspes keineswegs ein jüdisches Product ist, sondern in die persisch-orientalische Apokalyptik hineingehört. Hierin liegt die grosse Bedeutung, die Lactanz-Hystaspes für das Verständnis des jüdischen Kriegsorakels, und die Bedeutung, die diese jüdisch-römische Ueberlieferung für das richtige Verständnis des Hystaspesorakels hat.

In dem doppeldeutigen Orakel aus dem jüdischen Kriege offenbart sich etwas von der Tragik in der Geschichte des Ostens und dem Glück und dem Prestige des Römischen Imperiums. Ein jüdischer Messiasspruch treibt die Juden zum Aufstand, weil sie hoffen, dass er sich jetzt erfüllt und dass seine Verwirklichung ihnen den Messias und die Weltherrschaft bringt: aber die Erfüllung, die die Wirklichkeit liefert, ist die Erhebung ihres Besiegers zum Weltenherrscher. Die jüdische Los-von-Rom-bewegung scheitert und der Aufstand zeigt nur, wie stark und unerschütterlich die römische Weltherschaft ist. Dennoch hat das Judentum die Enttäuschung, die es damals erlebte, überwunden: Der Glaube, dass das jüdische Weltreich doch kommen und auf den Trümmern des römischen Reiches sich erheben werde, war nach der Katastrophe des Tituskrieges stärker denn je [1]. Eine besonders charakteristische Form fand diese Erwartung in dem rabbinischen Midrasch zu Esther 1, 2: In der Vergangenheit war die Herrschaft bei Israel; als sie sündigten, ward die Herrschaft von ihnen genommen und den Völkern der Welt gegeben (Ez. 30, 17) — morgen, wenn die Israeliten Busse tun, nimmt Gott die Herrschaft von den Völkern der Welt und giebt sie an Israel zurück (Obadja 21) [2]. Der Rabbinenspruch erweist sich deutlich als eine jüdische Variante des Hystaspesorakels: *et imperium in Asiam revertetur ac rursus oriens dominabitur.*

Doch wir brechen hier ab. Wir haben das Orakel des Hystaspes in einen grossen historischen Zusammenhang einfügen können, dessen Thema der Kampf um die Suprematie ist, wie er durch die Jahrhunderte hin durch die jeweiligen Vormächte des Ostens und des Westens ausgefochten ist. Die Perser, Mithridates, die Juden sind die vornehmsten Repräsentanten des Orients, die Griechen, die Makedonier und nach ihnen die Römer die des Abendlands. Herrschaft über Asien und Europa, Eroberung des Westens, Eroberung des Ostens sind die Losungen dieses antiken Imperialismus.

Drei grosse Imperien kennt die Realgeschichte, die wirklich etwas von diesen imperialistischen Träumen realisiert haben: das persische, das Reich Alexanders und das Römerreich. Das letzte hat den längsten Bestand gehabt. Sein bevorstehender, leidenschaftlich gewünschter Untergang ist

[1] Vgl. vor allem die Apokalypsen des Baruch und Esra.

[2] Strack—Billerbeck, a. a. O. I 164; R. Eisler, Jesus basileus II 63.

das grosse Thema, das den Osten beschäftigt, seit Rom seine Hand auf den Orient legt, und die Gefahr des Untergangs ist in Rom selbst zu Zeiten lebhaft empfunden worden. Was der gesamte Orient wünschte, fürchtete man auch in Rom.

Das Merkwürdige an diesem Kampfe ist nun, dass er nicht nur mit den Waffen, sondern auch durch Orakel, nicht nur von den Militären, auch von den Propheten und Wahrsagern ausgefochten worden ist. In Träumen und Orakelsprüchen, in Liedern, Apokalypsen und Epen kommt das Wünschen und Hoffen der Völker hüben und drüben zur Auswirkung. Rom geht unter — rufen die schauerlichen Stimmen vom Osten her, hört man schliesslich auch in Rom verkünden. Rom steht ewig — ist die Antwort der gottbegeisterten Sibyllen und Dichter. Für das politische Rom hat der Orient das letzte Wort behalten.

In diesem grossen Geschichtsprocess, in diesem Orakelkampf nimmt das Hystaspesorakel des Lactanz eine besondere Stellung ein. Ein uralter Perserkönig, älter als die Zeit, in die der Mythus den Ursprung des römischen Herrschergeschlechts verlegt, enthüllt den Sinn dieser ganzen Geschichte und ihr letztes Ziel: den Untergang Roms und die Rückkehr der Weltherrschaft in den Osten, wo sie schon im Anfang war. Das Orakel, das ist nun erwiesen, braucht nicht jüdisch zu sein, es ist nicht jüdisch. W a n n und w o ist es dann entstanden? Der *Terminus a quo* ist das Vordringen der Römer nach dem Osten, der Beginn der Bedrohung des vorderasiatischen Ostens durch Rom, also etwa das Zeitalter Mithridates des Grossen. *Terminus ad quem* könnte das 3. Jhdt. nach Chr. sein, wenn wir hier allein auf das Zeugnis des Lactanz angewiesen wären. Setzen wir voraus (vgl. u.), dass die Hyştaspesschrift, die Lactanz kannte, die selbe ist, die Justin bezeugt, dann ist der Anfang des 2. Jhdts. n. Chr. der späteste Termin für die Entstehung des Hystaspes. Wir setzen sie also in die Z e i t v o n 1 0 0 v o r b i s 1 0 0 n a c h Christus.

Aehnlich weit bemessen ist für uns der Raum für den O r t der Entstehung: es ist das östliche Kleinasien, Nordsyrien, Mesopotamien, Altpersien, Partherland, das ganze Gebiet, wo ein hellenisiertes Orientalertum sich entwickelte, beseelt von dem einen grossen Gedanken: der Erwartung, dass das gehasste Rom wieder untergehe und die Herrschaft in den Osten zurückkehre.

b. Die Vernichtung der Gottlosen durch Juppiter.

Von ganz anderer Structur ist das zweite Hystaspeszitat des Lactanz. Weder gehört es zu dem Traumgesicht, in dem der Untergang Roms profezeit war, noch wird seine Einkleidung eine neue Traumvision gewesen sein. Es wird vielmehr aus einer directen und unabhängigen eschatologischen Beschreibung genommen sein. Auch sein Inhalt ist ein eigener. Es behandelt nicht grosse politische Umwälzungen, nicht die Auswirkung eines grossen weltgeschichtlichen Leitmotivs, den Streit zwischen Ost und West und die Lösung dieses Streites zu Gunsten des Orients; sondern der hier

beherrschende Gegensatz ist der zwischen Frommen und Gottlosen, kein politischer, sondern ein confessioneller. Auch hier liegt eine Periodisierung der Geschichte in Zeitaltern zugrunde; aber das entscheidende Motiv ist nicht ein politisch-ethnographisches, sondern ein ethisch-religiöses, die Zeitalter sind bestimmt durch das Vorherrschen der Gottlosen oder der Frommen. Wir hören etwas von dem Zustand im „letzten" Zeitalter und dem Uebergang zum Aeon der Gerechten, der durch völlige Austilgung der Gottlosen geschaffen wird. Es liegen also zwei Kapitel dieses Teils der Hystaspesapokalypse vor: 1. die Schlechtigkeit dieses letzten *saeculum*; 2. der Anstoss, den die Frommen zur Vernichtung der Gottlosen geben: ihre Abscheidung von den Gottlosen, ihr Gebet an Juppiter und ihre Erhörung durch Juppiter.

In dem erstgenannten „Kapitel" erkennen wir sofort die bekannte Lehre von den Weltzeitaltern, die ja überall nachzuweisen ist, bei den Persern ebenso wie bei den Juden und Christen, desgleichen bei den Griechen und Römern. Sehr originell erscheint dagegen die Wiedergabe des zweiten „Kapitels". Die Vernichtung der Gottlosen erfolgt nicht sozusagen automatisch, weil und wenn das Mass „voll" ist, auch ist sie nicht die selbstverständliche Reaction des Gottes auf die Bosheit der Menschheit, der selbstherrliche Ausbruch seines Zornes, sondern erst durch eine offenbar ganz singuläre Gebetsaction der Frommen, der ihre Secession von den Gottlosen vorangegangen ist, wird hier der Gott auf die unerträglichen Zustände auf Erden aufmerksam gemacht: das Gericht ist im wesentlichen Erhörung der Bitten dieser Frommen und Erlösung der Frommen von der Herrschaft und dem ärgerlichen Treiben der Gottlosen. Dazu kommt, dass der Gott „Juppiter" genannt wird, und dass, wie Lactanz ausdrücklich hinzufügt, dieser Gott persönlich eingreift und nicht durch Sendung seines Sohnes das Rettungs- und Vernichtungswerk vollbringt. Die letztgenannten Momente machen christlichen Ursprung dieser Apokalypse von vorn herein unwahrscheinlich.

Ehe wir die hier verarbeiteten Ideeen weiter untersuchen, müssen wir auch hier erst der Frage nachgehen, ob etwa aus dem Zusammenhang noch einige Ergänzungen herangezogen werden können. Lactanz deutet selbst an, dass er im Vorangehenden Hystaspes verwertet, denn er leitet das zweite Testimonium mit der Bemerkung ein (18, 1): *haec ita futura esse cum prophetae omnes ex dei spiritu, tum etiam vates ex instinctu daemonum cecinerunt. Hystaspes enim etc.* In der Tat formen die zwei von uns unterschiedenen „Kapitel" belangreiche Epochen in dem unmittelbar vorangehenden eschatologischen Abschnitt (C. 17)[1], das schon durch seine Einführung: *sed planius quomodo id eveniat exponam* seine Eigenart und traditionsgeschichtliche Selbstständigkeit verrät. Er handelt

[1]) C. 16 ist ein davon unabhängiger Abschnitt, in dem neben den Sibyllinen und den neutest. Texten (Mt 24, Apoc.) eine besondere apokalyptische Tradition niedergelegt ist, die sich auch bei Hippolyt *de consummat. mundi* (Kleinere Schriften herausgeg. v. H. Achelis, a. E.) findet.

zunächst nach Apoc. 11 von dem Profeten Gottes, der durch einen zweiten König aus Syrien (Apoc. 11, 7 hat dafür das Tier aus der Abyssos) bekämpft und getötet wird, u.s.w. Dieser König wird dann nach II Thess. 2, Apoc. 13 und anderen apokalyptischen Texten als der Antichrist beschrieben, die Frommen werden zu Märtyrern oder fliehen in die Berge § 7 f. Nun folgt wirklich § 9 eine *descriptio iniquitatis saeculi huius extremi: id erit tempus*, heisst es, *quo iustitia proicietur et innocentia odio erit, quo mali bonos hostiliter praedabuntur. Non lex, aut ordo aut militiae disciplina (!) servabitur, non canos quisquam reverebitur, non officium pietatis adgnoscet non sexus aut infantiae miserebitur: confundentur omnia et miscebuntur contra fas, contra iura naturae, ita quasi uno communique latrocinio terra universa vastabitur.* Es ist sehr wahrscheinlich, dass hier Motive aus der Hystaspesschrift verarbeitet sind: denn einmal hebt sich die hier beschriebene Auflösung aller Ordnung und Zucht doch in etwas von der vorangehenden Schreckensherrschaft des Antichrist sehr wesentlich ab; sodann ist das folgende (§ 10) unzweideutig aus Hystaspes genommen: *cum haec facta erunt, tum iusti et sectatores veritatis segregabunt se a malis et fugient in solitudines.* Aber wie im folgenden „Hystaspes" mit anderen Quellen verschmolzen ist, so braucht auch § 9 nicht restlos aus Hystaspes genommen zu sein [1]). Aber dass hier Zitate aus Hystaspes vorliegen, ist sehr wahrscheinlich.

Auf den eben zitierten Eingang van § 10, die „Segregation" der Gerechten — sicher in Hauptsache ein Hystaspeszitat — folgt nun aber ein dem vorhergehenden Ueberlieferungsstück entnommener Zug: die Belagerung der Gerechten durch den erzürnten Antichrist. Zu der Secession kommt also noch höchste Lebensgefahr: das ist die Situation, in der sie ihre Gebete um „himmlische Hilfe" zu Gott aufsteigen lassen: *exaudiet eos deus et mittet regem magnum de caelo qui eos eripiat ac liberet omnesque inpios ferro ignique disperdat.* Hier ist ganz deutlich der Hystaspestext christlich interpoliert, d. h. Lactanz hat das christliche Stück, das er in Hystaspes vermisste, von sich, bzw. aus den Sibyllinen hinzugefügt. In § 10 ist also der Antichrist, die Verfolgung und Belagerung der Frommen, die in die Einöden, oder in oder auf einen Berg geflüchtet sind, und die Errettung durch den „grossen König" christliche Interpolation: der *magnus rex de caelo* stammt sicherlich aus den Sibyllinen, vgl. Or. Sib. III 651.

In den drei letzten §§ von cap. 17 würde dann Lactanz den Hystaspes verwertet haben. Freilich wesentlich Neues erfahren wir aus diesen Umschreibungen nicht. Einen Augenblick könnte man überlegen, ob vielleicht doch die Verfolgung der Frommen solch ein neuer, in der Umschreibung in 18, 2 übergangener Zug sein könnte [2]). Es wäre aber doch auffällig, wenn er dies für das Flehen der Frommen sehr wesentliche Motiv hier übergangen haben sollte. Bei Hystaspes wird sonach die

[1]) Einiges findet sich z. B. auch bei Ps.-Hippolyt. *de consumm.* 7.

[2]) Vgl. die verwandten Motive im Hystaspeszeugnis des Ps.-Paulus!

segregatio nur den Grund gehabt haben, dass die Frommen sich von dem Umgang mit den Sündern scheiden und in feierlicher Gebetshandlung Gott Juppiter auf das Treiben der Gottlosen hinlenken und ihre Vernichtung erflehen wollten. Diese in sich sufficiente Geschichte hat erst Lactanz mit der Tradition vom Antichrist und seiner Verfolgung der Frommen combiniert.

Höchstens ein Einzelzug könnte aus Hystaspes stammen: die Gerechten befinden sich auf einem Berge, wo der Gottlose sie einschliesst. Schon bei Hystaspes kann das Ziel der *secessio* und der Schauplatz der grossen gemeinschaftlichen Gebetshandlung ein Berg gewesen sein. Dann stellt sich sofort eine Analogie aus der römischen Geschichte ein: die *secessio plebis in sacrum montem* (Livius II 32). Wie dem auch sei, ganz deutlich ist die Motivierung der *segregatio* in Hystaspes: die Frommen scheiden sich von den Sündern um das Strafgericht über die Sünder herab zu flehen, das dank der Scheidung nun auch sofort über die Sünder hereinbrechen kann, mag es nun durch eine Sintflut, durch Blitzstrahl oder durch Feuerbrand sich vollziehen. Die *segregatio (in montem)* bedeutet dann zugleich ein sich in Sicherheit bringen: auch hier liegen klassische Beispiele vor der Hand: Lot's Flucht aus Sodom (Gen. 19), aus späterer Zeit die Flucht der Christengemeinde aus dem dem Untergang geweihten Jerusalem (Euseb. hist. eccl. III 5, 3). Deutlich ist das Motiv vor allem Apoc. 18, 4 ausgedrückt, wo eine Stimme ruft: *ἐξέλθατε ὁ λαός μου ἐξ αὐτῆς, ἵνα μὴ συνκοινωνήσητε ταῖς ἁμαρτίαις αὐτῆς καὶ ἐκ τῶν πληγῶν αὐτῆς ἵνα μὴ λάβητε.* Hier fehlt nur das Hauptmotiv, die Sammlung zum Gebet: es erübrigt sich in der Apoc., da das Gericht ja schon längst beschlossen ist und Gott sich der Sünden der Stadt bereits „erinnert" hat 18, 5.

Ganz ähnlich (wie in den Instit.) lautet die Zusammenfassung der hier breit auseinandergesetzten Traditionen in der Epitome (c. 66). Eingangs wird auch hier gesagt, dass die *futura* auch von den *vates* vorausgesagt sind (vgl. Instit. VII 14, 17). In Abweichung von dem ausführlicheren Bericht lässt Lactanz hier die Schreckenzeit mit dem allgemeinen Ueberhandnehmen der Bosheit und Sittenlosigkeit beginnen: hier wird also gleich zu Beginn dem *vates Hystaspes* das Wort gegeben; die Epitome ist hier sogar ausführlicher als das Hauptwerk. Es folgt die Herrschaft der apokalyptischen Könige (Daniel, Joh.-apoc.): erst 10, dann 3, dann 1, gekennzeichnet durch Schreckenszeichen der Natur, in deren Folgen sich die von Trismegistus (d.i. Ps.-Apuleius, *Asclep.* 26) geweissagte *mundi senectus et defectio* (Ermattung) kundgiebt. Die zweite Periode dieser Endzeit eröffnet der Antichrist, der zwei Drittel der Menschheit ausrottet: das letzte Drittel flieht in die Einöde. Der Schluss lautet wie in den Instit.: *sed ille vecors ira inplacabili furens adducet exercitum et obsidebit circumsessos, implorabunt auxilium dei voce magna et exaudiet eos et mittet illis Liberatorem.* Anspielungen an Hystaspes sind hier weniger zu finden als im Hauptwerk.

Soviel ergiebt zunächst die Analyse des Lactantiustextes. Wir haben eine

unzweideutige Anführung des Hystaspes (18, 2) und eine episodenreiche Darlegung christlicher Eschatologie (17), zu der auch Hystaspes wichtige Motive beigetragen hat. In gewissen Grundzügen zeigt — das ist eine überraschende Beobachtung — letztere (nicht die eigentliche Anführung 18, 2) grosse Verwandtschaft mit dem Hystaspeszitat des Ps.-Paulus. Dessen sehr einfaches Schema: Krieg der Könige gegen die „Gläubigen", das Ausharren (der Christen), die Parusie (des Sohnes Gottes) liegt eigentlich auch bei Lactanz zu grunde. Wie bei Lactanz (c. 17) scheint somit auch in Ps.-Paulus ein christianisierter Hystaspes zu grunde zu liegen. Unterschiede drängen sich freilich eben sehr auf. In dem Krieg der Könige gegen den Christus und gegen die, die seinen Namen tragen (Ps.-Paulus), ist die Herrschaft der 10 Könige und das Schreckensregiment des Antichrist (Lactanz) in eine grosse Verfolgungsperiode zusammengezogen. Wenn die Haltung der Gläubigen nur als ὑπομονή bezeichnet ist, dann ist das etwas anders als die *segregatio* und das leidenschaftliche Schreien um Hilfe, wovon Lactanz spricht. Aber die Inhaltsangabe bei Ps.-Paulus kann ja ungenau sein. In jedem Fall laufen die zwei eschatologischen Skizzen, Ps.-Paulus und Lactanz c. 17, auffallend parallel. Von Lactanz c. 17 wissen wir, dass hier ein christianisierter Hystaspestext, bezw. eine christliche Apokalypse mit Hystaspeselementen vorliegt, von Ps.-Paulus haben wir vermutet, dass sein Text ein von christlicher Hand aufgefüllter Hystaspestext sei. Diese Vermutung erhält hier erhöhte Wahrscheinlichkeit. Natürlich ist Lactantius c. 17 von dem christianisierten Hystaspestext des Ps.-Paulus unabhängig zu denken: hieraus und aus dem Umstand, dass Ps.-Paulus einige wenige Punkte frei herausnimmt, erklären sich die Verschiedenheiten. Dann haben wir mit einem Male — diese Folgerung hat jedenfalls grosse Wahrscheinlichkeit — den für Ps.-Paulus postulierten Urtext, und können daraus und aus der christlichen Apokalypse des Lactanz (c. 17) ersehen, wie der Hystaspestext des Ps.-Paulus interpoliert war und wie Ps.-Paulus zitiert. Christliche Interpolationen sind: die Erscheinung des Sohnes Gottes; der Kampf der Könige gegen die Gläubigen und die Parusie Christi. Die Grundlage wies auf: Ueberhandnehmen der Bosheit, Secession der Gläubigen, Gebet um Hilfe und Parusie Gottes d.i. die Vernichtung der Gottlosen. Ps.-Paulus hat sich bei seiner Inhaltsangabe beschränkt auf die secundären christlichen Motive — sehr begreiflich: denn hier war die Uebereinstimmung zwischen der Bibel und dem „griechischen Buche" am wunderbarsten.

Diese Betrachtung des Verhältnisses der zwei Texte ist jedenfalls die einfachste. Denn sie rechnet nur mit gegebenen Grössen. Dass die christlichen Motive bei beiden sich so nahe berühren (trotzdem Lactanz den christianisierten Hystaspestext des Ps.-Paulus nicht gekannt haben kann), ist nicht verwunderlich. Beide Male ist eben der Hystaspestext mit bekannter biblisch-christlicher Ueberlieferung (speciell der Apoc. des Joh.) aufgefüllt. Es liegt ja auch keine volle Uebereinstimmung vor. Zweimal ist also dies eine Hystaspescapitel christianisiert worden: in einer Hystaspesrecension

und in einer von einem Kirchenvater entworfenen Beschreibung der von Profeten und „Sehern" übereinstimmend geweissagten Endzeit.

Nun könnte man aus der Vergleichung von Ps.-Paulus und Lactanz c. 17 noch die Folgerung ziehen, dass e i n gemeinsamer Zug, den wir bisher als „christlich" bezeichnet haben, doch zum ursprünglichen Text gehört habe, nämlich die Verfolgung der Gläubigen durch den oder die Könige der Endzeit. Wir wollen diese Möglichkeit, dass schon Hystaspes Könige gegen die Gerechten auftreten liess, nicht ganz von der Hand weisen, halten sie indes für nicht sehr wahrscheinlich, da 1) bei Lactanz sehr deutlich zu sehen ist, dass Könige wie Antichrist mit den biblischen Bestandteilen zusammenhängen, da 2) den Königen wie dem König Antichrist als Retter der Christus correspondiert, der in Hystaspes sicher ursprünglich fehlte, und da 3) das Hystaspeszitat bei Lactanz (18, 2) jedenfalls auch, vielleicht sogar besser ohne vorausgehende Verfolgung durch einen König verständlich ist.

Was dann bei Ps.-Paulus angeführt ist, ist in der Tat im Wesentlichen christliche Interpolation. Ob der Interpolator für den Angriff der Könige und für die Parusie des Sohnes Gottes auch parsistische Ueberlieferungen verwertet hat, ist nicht zu sagen: im Blick auf Lactantius c. 17 ist das nicht sehr wahrscheinlich. Nur die Hypothese, dass er in der dem eschatologischen Stück vorangehenden Beschreibung des Sohnes Gottes eine parsistisch-christliche Tradition eingearbeitet habe, bleibt durch unsere Analyse des Lactantiustextes unberührt (vgl. o. S. 39 ff.).

Für das Hystaspeszitat selbst, dem wir uns nun wieder zuwenden, folgt aus unseren Befunden, dass es als n i c h t - c h r i s t l i c h anzusprechen ist. Das ergiebt sich schon aus der Anführung und der Schlussbemerkung des Lactantius selbst: eine Apokalypse, in der der Retter der Frommen und Vernichter der Gottlosen weder „Gott" noch Christus, sondern Juppiter ist, kann nicht christlich sein. So weit ist christliche Pseudepigraphie nie gegangen, dass sie um ihre propagandistischen Zwecke zu erreichen dem Gott und Vater Jesu Christi den Namen Juppiter—Zeus untergeschoben hätte. Wenn Zeus in christlichen Sibyllinen genannt wird, ist immer der Gott der Griechen oder Römer gemeint und liegt Anspielung an heidnischen Glauben, an Mythologie oder Sage vor [1]. Origenes spricht also wohl im Namen aller Christen, wenn er gegen die Aeusserung von Celsus protestiert: *μηδὲν διαφέρειν Δία Ὕψιστον καλεῖν ἢ Ζῆνα ἢ Ἀδωναῖον ἢ Σαβαὼθ ἢ ὡς Αἰγύπτιοι Ἀμοῦν, ἢ ὡς Σκύθαι Παπαῖον* (V 45, 1) und diesem Synkretismus den christlichen Exclusivismus gegenüberstellt: *καὶ διὰ τὰ τοιαῦτα πᾶσαν αἰκίαν ὑπομένειν μᾶλλον αἱρούμεθα ἢ τὸν Δία ὁμολογῆσαι θεόν; οὐ γὰρ τὸν αὐτὸν εἶναι ὑπολαμβάνομεν Δία καὶ Σαβαώθ, ἀλλ' οὐδ' ὅλως θεῖόν τι τὸν Δία, δαίμονα δέ τινα χαίρειν οὕτως ὀνομαζόμενον, οὐ φίλον ἀνθρώποις οὐδὲ τῷ ἀληθινῷ θεῷ* (46). Legt man solche Gesinnung

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[1]) Vgl. V 7. 87. 131. 140. VIII 46. XI 141. 197. XII 7.

als Masstab an, dann kann eine Apokalypse, die Juppiter für Gott sagt und den Erhörer der Gebete und den künftigen Richter der Gottlosen Juppiter nennt, unmöglich in christlichen Kreisen entstanden sein.

Christliche Herkunft wird dann auch nicht durch auffallende christliche Parallelen erwiesen, die sich zu unserem Hystaspesstück anführen lassen. Diese erklären sich dann einfach aus der allgemeinen Verwandtschaft christlicher, jüdischer, parsistischer und synkretistischer Eschatologie. Die Parallelen sind gleichwohl interessant. Sie beziehen sich 1. auf die aus alttestamentlich-jüdischer Tradition übernommene Idee der zunehmenden Bosheit am Ende der Tage, vgl. Mc. 13, 9 ff., 14 ff. Par., Apoc. 13—18, u. ö.; 2. auf die Trennung der Frommen von den Gottlosen, vgl. den oben schon angeführten, gleichfalls alttestamentlich inspirierten Ruf Apoc. 18, 4; weiter Hebr. 13, 12—14, endlich die Secession der Christen von Jerusalem nach Pella (o. S. 73); 3. auf das Schreien der Gläubigen um Hilfe vgl. Luc. 18, 7 f. (wo freilich dies Schreien unaufhörlich bei Tag und bei Nacht geschieht), Matth. 6, 13 (die letzte Bitte des Vaterunsers), u. ö.; 4. auf den Akt der Vernichtung der Gottlosen durch Gott (Juppiter) vgl. die synoptischen Gerichtsparabeln, Apoc. 19 ff., paulinische Sprüche wie I Thess. 5, 3 II Thess. 1, 4—9 u. s. w.; 5. auf den auch in Hystaspes vorauszusetzenden Stand der Seligkeit, den die Frommen nach der Austilgung der Gottlosen zu erwarten haben; so würde z. B. der Engelsang auf Bethlehems Fluren vortrefflich auch in Hystaspes hineinpassen: wenn die Gottlosen, die Menschen des Zornes vernichtet sind, ist wirklich *ἐπὶ γῆς εἰρήνη ἐν ἀνθρώποις εὐδοκίας* (beachte, dass in dem kleinen Hymnus der „Sohn" nicht genannt wird: er passt also eigentlich in das Hystaspesbuch besser als in das Evangelium von der Geburt des Christus); vgl. weiter Apoc. 21, 1—8 u.s.w. Die christlichen Anklänge erklären übrigens auch das Urteil der Kirchenväter, dass Hystaspes ein, wenn auch unter Einfluss der Dämon stehender *vates* gewesen, und den Gebrauch, den sie von Hystaspes gemacht haben.

Gilt das selbe Urteil auch, wenn wir die Frage nach j ü d i s c h e r Herkunft stellen? Nicht unbedingt. Vor allem wäre das Fehlen des vom Himmel gesandten Retters, des Messias, in einer jüdischen Apocalypse kein schwerwiegendes Bedenken. Sowohl im A. T. wie in der jüdischen Apokalyptik ist es oftmals Gott (Jahwe) selbst, der die Rettung bringt und die Gerechten rettet, vgl. etwa Henoch 100; IV Esra 5_{56}—6_{6}; das ganze IV. Buch der Sibyllinen kennt nur ein Gericht G o t t e s. Und dass Gott (Jahwe) Juppiter (Zeus) genannt wird, scheint in einem jüdischen Pseudepigraphon durchaus möglich. So lesen wir bei Aristobul (Euseb. *Praepar. evang.* XIII 12, 12) im Anschluss an das bekannte Aratgedicht *ἐκ Διὸς ἀρχώμεσθα* die Bemerkung: *σαφῶς οἶμαι δεδεῖχθαι, ὅτι διὰ πάντων ἐστὶν ἡ δύναμις τοῦ θεοῦ. Καθὼς δὲ δὴ σεσημάγκαμεν περιαιροῦντες τὸν διὰ τῶν ποιημάτων Δία καὶ Ζῆνα, τὸ γὰρ τῆς διανοιάς αὐτῶν ἐπὶ θεὸν ἀναπέμπεται.* Aehnlich lässt Ps.-Aristeas (*Epist.* 16) den Griechen Demetrius zum König Ptolemaeus sagen: *τὸν γὰρ πάντων ἐπόπτην καὶ*

κτίστην θεὸν οὗτοι (sc. *οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι*) *σέβονται, ὃν καὶ πάντες, ἡμεῖς δέ, βασιλεῦ, προσονομάζοντες ἑτέρως Ζῆνα καὶ Δία*: der jüdische Verfasser will damit sagen, dass Zeus nur ein griechischer Name für Gott ist und dass die Zeusverehrer durchaus Gottesverehrer sind. Freilich, das sind Belege aus dem hellenistischen Judentum, und aus Philo sind, nach Ausweis von Leisegang's Index [1]), keine Parallelen beizubringen: die dort angeführten Stellen beziehen sich immer auf den Gott der griechischen Mythologie und des griechischen Kultus. Dazu kommt, dass der Gedanke, Juppiter für Gott zu sagen, der jüdischen Apokalyptik ebenso fremd ist wie der christlichen: auch in den jüdischen Sibyllinen kommt Zeus nur in einem mythologischen Zusammenhange vor (III 141). Daraus kann man wohl folgern, dass die Identificierung Juppiter's mit Gott nur in hellenistischen Kreisen vorkam, dass an dem Namen Juppiter in einer Apokalypse jüdische Leser ebenso Anstoss genommen haben würden wie Lactanz, dass also „Juppiter" in unserem Hystaspesbuch auch auf n i c h t - j ü d i s c h e Herkunft schliessen lässt.

Dann können jüdische Sachparallelen ebenso wenig etwas beweisen als die christlichen, die wir oben aufführten. Diese stammen ja zumeist aus alttestamentlicher oder jüdischer Tradition. Wir führen gleichwohl einiges an, da die Sachverwandtschaft zwischen Hystaspes und jüdischer Eschatologie auch und gerade wenn Hystaspes als ein heidnisches Buch sich erweist, sehr bedeutsam ist. Wir gliederen die jüdischen Parallelen nach den oben (S. 71) angegebenen Punkten.

Eine grausige Illustration *(ad 1)* zu der *iniquitas saeculi huius extremi*, die Lactanz in Hystaspes beschrieben fand, ist die Deutung des „letzten schwarzen Wassers" in der Vision Baruch's, syr. Baruchapoc. 70, (wo nur als letzter Schrecken noch die Hände des Messias aufgeführt sind, denen die Frevler schliesslich verfallen); vgl. auch Or. Sib. IV 152 ff. [2]). Auch (2) die Abscheidung der Frommen von den Sündern kann als Motiv der jüdischen Eschatologie angemerkt werden; sie ist wenigstens verschiedentlich vorausgesetzt, insbesondere da, wo gesagt ist, dass Israel durch das Vernichtungsgericht, das über die Gottlosen geht, nicht betroffen wird: vgl. Bar. 71, 1: das heilige Land beschirmt seine Bewohner; Ass. Mos. 10, 8: Israel schwebt auf Adlersflügeln über der Erde [3]); Henoch 100, 5: die Gerechten werden durch Engel bewacht, bis Gott aller Schlechtigkeit und aller Sünde (d.i. allen Sündern) ein Ende gemacht hat. Der concrete Act einer freiwilligen *secessio* der Gerechten hat freilich, soweit ich sehe, in eschatologischer Ueberlieferung keine Parallele; dagegen ist sie einmal in der Geschichte Wirklichkeit geworden, in dem Religionskrieg des Antiochus Epiphanes, der die frommen Juden dazu nötigte, sich in die Wüste zurückzuziehen, von wo aus dann freilich,

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[1]) Philonis opera, vol. VII, 1, 1926, p. 10.

[2]) Weiteres bei D. Volz, Jüdische Eschatologie, S. 179 f.

[3]) Vgl. zu dieser Anschauung R. Eisler, Jesus basileus II 220.

unter Führung der Makkabäer, der Aufstand gegen die Syrer vorbereitet wurde (I Macc. 2, 27 ff.) : diese *secessio* ist das Vorbild für die Flucht der Gemeinde in der christlichen Eschatologie geworden. Typisch jüdisch ist dagegen (3) das Schreien der Gerechten um Errettung von den Bösen : wir finden es in vielen Psalmen (z. B. Ps. 74 ; 80 ; 83 ; 94), weiter in der rabbinischen Gebetsüberlieferung, so im Schemone esre-gebet :

> Sieh auf unsere Not und führe unsern Streit
> und erlöse uns um deines Namens willen (7) ;
>
> Den Abtrünnigen sei keine Hoffnung
> und das Königreich der Gewalttat richte eilends zu Grunde (12).

Sehr nahe verwandt scheint die Stelle Orac. Sibyll. III 558 ff. :

> *πᾶσαι δ' ἀνθρώπων ψυχαὶ μεγάλα στενάχουσαι*
> *ἄντα πρὸς οὐρανὸν εὐρὺν ἀνασχόμεναι χέρας αὐτῶν*
> *ἄρξονται βασιλῆα μέγαν ἐπαμύντορα κλήζειν*
> *καὶ ζητεῖν ῥυστῆρα χόλου μεγάλοιο τίς ἔσται.*

Aber hier kommt der Schrecken nicht von den Gottlosen, sondern von Gott selbst, dessen Zorngericht bevorstehend ist.

Am schärfsten wird die in Hystaspes gezeichnete Situation in den Mahnreden des Henochbuchs getroffen, wo (97, 3—5) den Sündern zugerufen wird : „Was wollt ihr Sünder tun und wohin wollt ihr an jenem Tage des Gerichts fliehen, wenn ihr die Gebetsstimme der Gerechten hören werdet ?...... In jenen Tagen wird das Gebet der Gerechten zum Herrn dringen und die Tage eures Gerichts werden euch überraschen." Es ist hier sicher nicht speciell an die entschlafenen Gerechten zu denken, die um Rache für ihr Martyrium flehen (Apoc. Joh. 6, 10 : Henoch 47, 2): ständig flehen die Gerechten auch auf Erden und sie haben die Verheissung, dass am Ende ihr Gebet Einfluss auf das Gericht über die Sünder haben wird. Ja, nach 99, 3 sollen die Gerechten gerade „in jenen Tagen" sich bereit machen, ihre Gedenkgebete zu erheben. Das Rache- und Gerichtsgebet der Gerechten ist sonach eine feste Grösse in der jüdischen Eschatologie [1]).

Zu dem Zustand der Frommen (*ad 4*), wenn sie von den Gottlosen befreit sind, liefert fast jede jüdische Apokalypse ihre Belege.

Man kann also von einem gemeinsamen Typus der Eschatologie reden,

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[1]) Nach IV Esr. II, 43 f. wird der Höchste durch das Wüten des letzten Weltreichs gegen die Frommen veranlasst, sich nach den „Zeiten" umzusehen und, weil sie „voll" sind, das Gericht herbeizuführen ; dass der Uebermut des Feindes zu ihm aufsteigt, kann von den Gebetsschreien der bedrängten Gerechten bewirkt sein, die sich über ihn beklagen. Wird doch nach einem Ausspruch von R. Akiba bei jedem Neujahrsfeste Gott daran erinnert, Israel Gutes zu erweisen (b. Rosch hasch. 16*a*). Vgl. Volz, a. a. O., S. 187.

der in Hystaspes wie im Judentum seine Ausprägung gefunden hat. Eine vollgültige Parallele weist freilich auch die jüdische Eschatologie nicht auf.

Aller Wahrscheinlichkeit nach ist dann unser Hystaspesorakel als ein parsistisch-synkretistisches Erzeugnis zu betrachten. Wir haben also nun zu untersuchen, ob und inwieweit sich seine Gedanken im Parsismus oder im orientalischen Synkretismus nachweisen lassen.

„Juppiter" kann hierfür natürlich keinerlei Bedenken hervorrufen. Die Ineinssetzung von Ahuramazda mit Zeus und Juppiter ist in der griechisch-römischen Literatur von Anfang an üblich, vgl. vor allem Xenophon, *Kyropaed.* [1]), dann etwa Strabo, Geogr. 13, 732 *θύουσι δ' (οἱ Πέρσαι) ἐν ὑψηλῷ τόπῳ, τὸν οὐρανὸν ἡγούμενοι Δία*, Dio Chrysost. Or. 36, 39 ff.[2]). Plutarch. de *Alex. M. fort.* II 6 (p. 338 F.), wo Darius betet: *εἰ . . . οἴχεται τὰ ἐμά, Ζεῦ πατρῷε Περσῶν καὶ βασίλειοι θεοί, μηδεὶς εἰς τὸν Κύρου θρόνον ἄλλος ἢ Ἀλέξανδρος καθίσειε* [3]), Celsus bei Origenes c. *Celsum* V 44 *παραπλησίως τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις τοὺς Πέρσας τῷ Διὶ θυσίας ἐπιτελεῖν*. Dass die Identificierung auch von hellenischen Mazdagläubigen angenommen wurde, beweisen u. a. die Inschriften des Königs Antiochus von Commagene, wo die Namen *Ζεὺς Ὠρομάσδης* mehrmals zusammengenannt erscheinen [4]).

Schon in den Gathas findet sich der Ausspruch (Yasna 53, 8): „Deren Tun übel ist, die sollen die betrogenen sein und dem Verderben preisgegeben, sollen sie alle aufschreien. Durch gute Herrscher soll er Mord und Blutbad (unter ihnen anrichten) und (so) Frieden vor ihnen schaffen den frohen Dörfern. Qual soll er über sie bringen, er, der der Grösste ist, sammt der Fessel des Todes; und alsbald soll es geschehen!" [5]) Das Wort ist an Vistaspa gerichtet: er soll die Religionsfeinde austilgen und so den Gläubigen Ruhe und Frieden verschaffen. Charakteristisch ist auch die Fortsetzung (58, 9): „Dem Missgläubigen gehört der Ort der Verwesung zu. Sie die darauf ausgehen, die Würdigen herabzusetzen, die Missächter des heiligen Rechts, die ihren Leib verwirkt haben." So entscheidet der Prophet Zarathustra. Aber noch werden die Gläubigen von den Gesetzlosen bedroht und verfolgt. Daher fährt der Profet fragend und bittend fort: „Wo ist der des Rechtes wahrende Gerichtsherr, der sie des Lebens und der Freiheit beraube? Dein, o Mazdah, ist die Macht, durch die du dem rechtlebenden Armen das bessere Los schaffen kannst." Letztlich muss also die Hilfe für die Gerechten und die Vernichtung der Ungläubigen von Mazda-Juppiter kommen.

Hier haben wir also schon in der ältesten Quelle der Zarathustra-

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[1]) S. die Stellen bei Clemen, *Fontes*, 16 ff.

[2]) Clemen *Fontes* 44 f.

[3]) Anderwärts belässt freilich Plutarch den persischen Namen Ὠρομάζης, so z. B. de Is. et Is. 46 f.; ad princip. inerudit. 3; Artax. 29.

[4]) S. Dittenberger, *Orient. Graeci. Inscr.* 383.

[5]) Ich zitiere nach der Uebersetzung Ch. Bartholomae's in: *Die Gatha's des Avesta* (1905) S. 117. Vgl. auch J. Hertel, *Die Zeit Zarathustra's* S. 44 f., der manches etwas anders übersetzt, z. B. die letzte Zeile von Vs. 8: und bald soll er (sc. Vistaspa) der Grösste sein.

religion und gar in einer auf Hystaspes abzielenden Gatha die Grundgedanken des apokryphen Hystaspesorakels: die Plage der Gerechten, das Aussehen nach Hilfe, die von Mazda kommt, und die Gewissheit des göttlichen Eingreifens, die den Profeten beseelt. Es ist freilich Gegenwartsglaube, keine Eschatologie. Doch liegen in den Worten auch schon Keime der eschatologischen Lehre. Ueberträgt man die Gedanken in eine Eschatologie, dann rückt die Gatha Zarathustra's dem Orakel des Hystaspes schon sehr nahe. Vielleicht ist letzeres das älteste Zeugnis für solche Uebertragung parsistischen Gegenwartsglaubens in eine Eschatologie.

Der Gedanke, dass Ahuramazda die Gottlosen straft und ihr Richter ist, kommt sehr eindrucksvoll in Plutarch's Biographie des Artaxerses zum Ausdruck, wo der König nach der verdienten Hinrichtung seines Sohnes Darius ausruft: *εὐφραίνεσθε ἀπιόντες, ὦ Πέρσαι, καὶ λέγετε τοῖς ἄλλοις, ὅτι τοῖς ἄθεσμα καὶ παράνομα διανοηθεῖσιν ὁ μέγας Ὠρομάζης δίκην ἐπιτέθεικεν* (c. 29 a. E.). So könnten auch nach dem Hystaspesorakel die Gerechten rühmen, nachdem Juppiter ihre Bitten erhörte! Auch hier ist das Gericht noch kein eschatologisches, aber die Uebertragung der Gedanken in die Eschatologie war leicht zu vollziehen.

Man hat freilich bezweifelt, ob die Eschatologie des Awesta, insbesondere die Lehre von einer Verschlimmerung der Bosheit in ferner Zukunft und von einer sie für alle Zeiten verschlingenden Endkatastrophe schon in die ältere Zeit zurückreiche, und es sind in der Tat sehr späte Texte, in denen das berühmte Traumgesicht Zarathustras von dem Baum mit den vier Zweigen, einem von Gold, einem von Silber, einem von Stahl, einem von gemischtem Eisen, vorkommt, womit vier Zeitalter angedeutet sind, deren letztes sich durch allgemeine sittliche und religiöse Wirrnis von den anderen abhebt [1]). Die historische Deutung, die der Vision beigegeben ist, ist zweifellos frühmittelalterlich. Aber die Tradition, die zugrunde liegt kann viel älter sein. Selbst wenn wir annehmen wollten, der Parsist schöpfe aus Hesiod oder aus Daniel [2]), dann kann diese Uebernahme schon in der frühesten Kaiserzeit, ja sogar schon in vorchristlicher Zeit stattgefunden haben. Wieder kann unser Hystaspesorakel als Beweis für frühe Uebernahme gelten.

Aber die Lehre von den vier Weltaltern, die nach vier Metallen bezeichnet sind, kann ja auch im Parsismus und im Orient original sein. Schon längst besassen wir ein griechisches Zeugnis für ein Schema parsistischer Eschatologie: Plutarch de Is. et Osir. 47, der mindestens z. Tl. aus Theopomp geschöpft hat (4. Jhdt. v. Chr.), zum anderen Teil aus anderweitiger magischer Tradition, die sicher schon Jahrhunderte bestand, als Plutarch sie aufzeichnete [3]). Uns interessiert hier vor allem der Satz:

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[1]) West *Pahlavi Texts* I 191 f. u. IV 180 f.

[2]) Jüdischen Einfluss nimmt I. Scheftelowitz an: *Die altpers. Religion u. das Judentum*, 1920, S. 220 f.

[3]) Clemen *Fontes* p. 49: *Nachrichten*, S. 167 ff.

ἔπεισι δὲ χρόνος εἱμαρμένος ἐν ᾧ τὸν Ἀρειμάνιον λοιμὸν ἐπάγοντα καὶ λιμὸν ὑπὸ τούτων ἀνάγκη φθαρῆναι παντάπασι καὶ ἀφανισθῆναι, τῆς δὲ γῆς ἐπιπέδου καὶ ὁμαλῆς γενομένης, ἕνα βίον καὶ μίαν πολιτείαν ἀνθρώπων μακαρίων καὶ ὁμογλώσσων ἁπάντων γενέσθαι.[1]) Das ist echte Eschatologie, nur nicht genau die des Hystaspesorakels. Gleich ist: die Vernichtung des Bösen und das Uebrigbleiben einer einsgesinnten Menschheit, das Reich der Guten und Gerechten auf Erden. In Hystaspes ist alles Mythologische getilgt, aber auch der Gedanke des *χρόνος εἱμαρμένος* ausgeschaltet, da ja Juppiter-Ahuramazda erst durch das Schreien der Gerechten aufmerkt und sich bewegen lässt, die Gottlosen zu vertilgen. Vielleicht ist die Art der Hystaspesapokalypse als hellenisierter oder latinisierter Parsismus zu bezeichnen.

Fast noch wichtiger ist der Nachweis R. Reitzenstein's[2]), dass ein Motiv der Apokalypse des Bahman-Yast: die Dämonen, die den Ledergürtel tragen, auch in dem graeco-aegyptischen Töpferorakel vorkommt und da nicht bodenständig sein kann. Damit ist das Alter jener ganzen Apokalypse, insbesondere der persischen Lehre von den vier Weltaltern ganz sicher für vorchristliche Zeit bezeugt, insbesondere die mit Hystaspes sich nahe berührende Lehre, dass nach Ablauf des goldenen Zeitalters, in dem Zarathustra lebte, des silbernen, in dem Vishtaspa die Religion von Zarathustra annahm, und des stählernen die eiserne erscheint: in ihm wird das Reich der Religion zerstört, zerfällt Sitte und Ordnung und schwindet Ehre und Weisheit aus Iran[3]) (so Dinkart IX, 8). Hiermit ist das erste „Kapitel" dieses Teils der Hystaspesapokalypse als eranisch erwiesen, Natürlich kennt diese Tradition aber auch ein Eingreifen Ahura Mazda's. Sie ist dann, vielleicht in vereinfachter Form in dem zweiten Capitel unseres Zeugnisses wiedergegeben.

Wir könnten hier unsere Untersuchung abbrechen: aber der Umstand, dass die Hystaspesorakel keinen reinen Parsismus vertreten, dass sie bei Lactanz in latinisierter Form wiedergegeben werden und dass schon das erste Lactanzzitat auch aus griechisch-römischer Literatur reiches Licht empfing, nötigt uns, zum Schluss noch darnach zu fragen, ob und wo auch die Gedanken des zweiten Zitats bei Griechen und Lateinern charakteristische Analogien haben, die uns ihre Verbreitung auch in Griechenland und Rom, in Ost und West beweisen. Es handelt sich jetzt vornehmlich 1. um die *iniquitas saeculi huius extremi*. 2. die Haltung der Frommen und 3. das Eingreifen Juppiters. Wir suchen also jetzt das Hystaspesorakel als ein Document echter Zeus- und Juppiterreligion zu begreifen.

[1]) Vgl. hierzu die oben S. 29 angeführte mandäische Parallele (Ginza R., II 1, 118).

[2]) In: R. Reitzenstein (u. H. H. Schaeder), *Studien zum antiken Synkretismus* (Studien d. Bibliothek Warburg III (1926), S. 38 ff.; vgl. auch R. Reitz., *Altgriechische Theologie u. ihre Quellen* (Vorträge d. Bibl. Warburg 1924/25, 1927) S. 1 ff. Der Text auch bei H. Gressmann, *Altorientalische Texte zum A. T.* 2. A. 1926, S. 49 f.

[3]) Vgl. Söderblom, Artikel: *Ages of the World (Zoroastrian)* in Hasting's Enc. of Rel. a. Eth. I 206. *Sacr. b. of the East* 37, p. 181.

Es ist schon oben darauf hingewiesen, dass zwischen der parsistischen Lehre von den Weltaltern und Hesiod ein Zusammenhang besteht. Auch wenn wir annehmen müssten, dass Hesiod nach Persien hinübergewirkt habe, wäre doch ganz unwahrscheinlich, dass Hesiod seine Lehre von den vier Weltaltern und den Vergleich mit Metallen von stetig absteigender Qualität „aus dem Vorstellungskreis seiner böotischen Landsleute" entnommen haben sollte [1]). Ist Böotien ein Land, in dem solche tiefsinnige Geschichtsmythologie entstehen konnte? Die kritische Analyse zeigt, dass Hesiod alte griechische Ueberlieferung und Sage mit einer Weltzeitalterlehre zusammenschweisst, die er anderswoher übernommen haben muss: das Wahrscheinlichste ist, dass sie aus Asien, vielleicht aus Babylon kommt, wo wir ja schon die Lehre von den Weltuntergangs- und Welterneuerungscyklen gefunden haben [2]).

Es ist nun reizvoll zu sehen, wie einige von den Gedanken des Hystaspesorakels schon in Hesiod's „Werken und Tagen" anklingen, auffallenderweise schon in der Beschreibung des silbernen Geschlechts. Hier schon bricht die *ὕβρις* herein und verleitet zur Verweigerung der den Göttern geschuldeten Ehrfurcht: und was geschieht?

τοὺς μὲν ἔπειτα
Ζεὺς Κρονίδης ἔκρυψε χολούμενος, οὕνεκα τιμάς
οὐκ ἐδίδουν μακάρεσσι θεοῖς οἳ Ὄλυμπον ἔχουσιν.

(137—139).

Der Traditionszusammenhang mit Hystaspes ist unleugbar: *Jovem respecturum ad terram ...... atque inpios extincturum.*

Breiter wird dann die Sittenverwilderung des fünften, eisernen Geschlechts geschildert (174 ff): es ist wirklich die *iniquitas saeculi huius extremi* — vielleicht hat Lactanz speciell an Hesiod bei diesem Ausdruck gedacht — und die Beschreibung berührt sich sehr nahe mit den Ausführungen bei Lactanz (VII 17, 9 und Epit. 6, 1), die wohl aus Hystaspes genommen sind. Nicht ganz deutlich ist, wie sich Hesiod die Zukunft gedacht hat. Nach dem ergreifenden Ausruf am Anfang (174 f.) zu urteilen:

Μηκέτ' ἔπειτ' ὤφελλον ἐγὼ πέμπτοισι μετεῖναι
ἀνδράσιν, ἀλλ' ἢ πρόσθε θανεῖν ἢ ἔπειτα γενέσθαι,

scheint er zu hoffen, dass dem fünften miserabelen Geschlecht, dem er angehört, ein (sechstes) besseres folgen werde. Doch das ist die einzige

[1]) So Seeliger: Art. *Weltalter* in W. H. Roscher's Lexikon d. griech. u. röm. Mythol. VI Sp. 394; der Artikel ist im übrigen ausserordentlich lehrreich. Vgl. zur Sache noch K. F. Smith, Art. *Ages of World (Greek a. Roman)* in Hasting's Encycl. of Rel. a. Eth. I 192 ff; W. Bousset, *Die Himmelsreise der Seele* (Archiv f. Relig.-wiss. IV, S. 236 ff.)

[2]) Vgl. A. Jeremias, *Handbuch der altoriental. Geisteskultur*, 1913, S. 193 ff.; R. Reitzenstein, *Vom Töpferorakel zu Hesiod* (Studien d. Bibl. Warburg 1926) a. a. O. Dass auch die Sibylla die Kennzeichnung der Zeitalter durch Metalle lehrte, bezeugt Servius in s. Comm zu Vergil's IV Ecloge, s. Ed. Norden, *Die Geburt des Kindes* S. 15.

positive Andeutung. In einem, etwas verloren dastehenden, und daher der Interpolation verdächtigen Vers (180):

Ζεὺς δ' ὀλέσει καὶ τοῦτο γένος μερόπων ἀνθρώπων

wird auch diesem Geschlecht die Vernichtung durch Zeus angedroht, aber wir hören nicht, ob Zeus darnach eine neue, wirklich bessere Menschheit schaffen wird. Das letzte Wort der Weltalterlehre ist ganz trostlos: nachdem *Αἰδὼς* und *Νέμεσις* die Erde verlassen haben [1]), heisst es:

τὰ δὲ λείψεται ἄλγεα λυγρὰ
θνητοῖς ἀνθρώποισι, κακοῦ δ' οὐκ ἔσσεται ἀλκή
(200 f.).

Hesiod kennt also, wie es scheint, noch nicht die Idee einer Wiederkehr des goldenen Zeitalters, einer Erneuerung der Menschheit, auch nicht die Erwartung, die Hystaspes lehrt, dass eine Gemeinde der Frommen übrig bleibt. Seine Eschatologie bleibt im Negativen stecken.

Mit diesem rein pessimistischen Abschluss wirkt die Lehre von den Weltaltern noch lange Zeit nach in der Literatur [2]). Erst in der letzten Epoche der Republik und in der beginnenden Kaiserzeit tritt eine eigentliche Heilseschatologie in der Literatur hervor, die dann der in der Tradition von den vier oder fünf Weltaltern festgelegten Idee von der ständig fortschreitenden Verwilderung der Menschheit entgegengesetzt wird. Meist erscheint diese Lehre von der Welterneuerung in der Form der stoischen Lehre von der *ἐκπύρωσις*, die zwar eine Läuterung des Kosmos, aber auch eine vollständige, auch die Sittenverderbnis mit einschliessende *παλιγγενεσία* profezeit.

Als Beispiel führe ich Seneca an, der diese Lehre in seinen *Naturales Quaestiones* vorträgt (III 29 f.). Ein *terminus* ist den *res humanae* bestimmt, *cum partes eius interire debuerint abolerique funditus totae, ut de integro totae rudes innoxiaeque generentur nec supersit in deteriora praeceptor* (29, 5). Das scheint die endgültige Vernichtung der Bösen zu sein, heisst es doch auch im Schlusswort (30, 8): *omne ex integro animal generabitur dabiturque terris homo inscius scelerum et melioribus auspiciis natus.* Das erinnert an Plutarch's Beschreibung des Heilszustandes nach persischer Lehre (s. o. S. 80 f.). Aber Seneca, der Stoiker, endet doch mit den trostlosen Worten: *Sed illis quoque innocentia non durabit, nisi dum novi sunt. Cito nequitia subrepit: virtus difficilis inventu est rectorem ducemque desiderat: etiam sine magistro vitia discuntur.* Die „sechste" Generation, wenn wir so sagen wollen, entwickelt sich also trotz anfänglicher Unschuld ganz und gar zu der Verdorbenheit

1) Vgl. zu diesem Teilmythos Seliger a. a. O. 381 f., 386 ff. und aus jüdischer Apokalyptik den Mythus von der Weisheit in Henoch 42.

2) Seliger 386 ff.

der fünften (bei Hesiod). Aber Seneca muss auch die Lehre von einer dem Weltuntergang folgenden, dauernden Heilszeit kennen, wo es keine Verbrechen und keine Verführung mehr giebt. Er hat sie nur eben mit der stoischen Kosmologie, die nur ewigen Wechsel und ewige Wiederkehr lehrt, künstlich zusammengeschmolzen [1]).

Erst in dem hermetischen Tractat Asclepius, der dem Apuleius von Madaura zugeschrieben wird [2]), kommt die Heilseschatologie als Abschluss der Weltzeitalterlehre, wie mir scheint, zur reinen Entfaltung. Die Lehre verläuft in den drei Stadien, die auch im Hystaspesorakel angedeutet sind: 1. die sittliche und religiöse Verwilderung der Menschheit, die zur *deorum ab hominibus dolenda secessio* führt und in der sich die *senectus mundi* auswirkt (c. 24 f.); 2. die Vertilgung aller Schlechtigkeit durch Sintflut oder Feuerbrand: *tunc lle dominus et pater deus primipotens et unius gubernator dei intuens in mores factaque voluntaria voluntate sua, quae est dei benignitas, vitiis resistens et corruptelae omnium, errorem revocans, malignitatem omnem vel inluvione diluens vel igne consumens vel morbis pestilentibus* [2]) *iisque per diversa loca dispersis furiens ad antiquam faciem mundum revocabit* (c. 26): endlich 3. dieser neue Heilszustand, der also gezeichnet wird: *cunctarum reformatio rerum bonarum et naturae ipsius sanctissima et religiosissima restitutio peracta temporis cursu <dei voluntate>, quae est et fuit sine initio sempiterna* (c. 26). Zwei Momente sind hier wichtig, (1) dass die Erneuerung der Welt nicht ein reiner Naturprocess ist, wie in der Stoa, sondern „nach Gottes Willen" geschieht, durch Strafgericht und Neuschöpfung und dass (2) die Reformation hier einen definitiven Zustand schafft. Beides entspricht der parsischen, jüdischen und christlichen Eschatologie. Diese hebt sich nur darin von der hermetischen ab, dass sie keine Totalvernichtung und keine Totalerneuerung kennt, sondern Erhaltung und Errettung einer Gemeinde oder eines Volkes von Gerechten (gerecht gebliebenen Frommen). Das ist eine Correctur der radical gedachten babylonisch-stoischen Kosmologie, die von entscheidender Bedeutung ist. Sie ist religiös bestimmt: setzt menschlicherseits den Bestand einer concreten Gemeinde voraus, die dem Gotte treu und in Gebetsgemeinschaft mit ihm geblieben ist, während sie von Gott her gesehen, auf dem, was Hystaspes-Lactantius die *fides Jovis* nennt, beruht: d.i. die Treue „Juppiter's", der seine Gläubigen, seine Gemeinde nicht im Stiche lässt [4]).

Neben dieser eschatologisch orientierten Vernichtungs- und Erneuerungslehre kennt die griechisch-römische Religion, ebenso wie die biblische und

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[1]) Vgl. für Seneca noch *Consol. a. d. Marciam* C. 26; *Octavia*, vs. 377 ff.

[2]) Vgl. J. Kroll, *Lehren des Hermes Trismagistos* 1914, S. 166 ff.

[3]) Vgl. hiermit den λοιμός Ahriman's bei Plutarch, o. S. 81.

[4]) Vgl. zu diesem echt lateinischen Ausdruck, den natürlich der lateinische Rhetor Lactantius in sein Referat über Hystaspes aufgenommen hat, die Ausführungen von R. Heinze, *Fides* (Hermes 1929, S. 153 ff.): es ist damit ein Schutz- und Treuverhältnis gemeint und ein Appell an die bereits gegebene *fides*.

persische, auch einen Gegenwartsglauben, der das Gericht von Zeus-Juppiter in fortlaufenden Manifestationen sich auswirken lässt: das eschatologische Gericht ist dann ständige Gegenwart, oder es liegt ein Glaube vor, der ohne Eschatologie auskommt. Ich führe zwei merkwürdige Zeugnisse an, eins aus Hesiod, eins aus Plautus[1]).

Zunächst ist der Abschnitt gemeint, der bei Hesiod unmittelbar auf die so düster endigende Weltalterlehre folgt (Op. et dies 201 ff.). Es ist eine Art Zweiwegelehre (vgl. 216 f.), eine Warnung vor der Hybris, die von der göttlichen Dike gestraft wird, während die Gerechtigkeit vielfältigen Segen empfängt.

οἷς δ' ὕβρις τε μέμηλε κακὴ καὶ σχέτλια ἔργα,
τοῖς δὲ δίκην Κρονίδης τεκμαίρεται εὐρύοπα Ζεύς.
πόλλακι καὶ ξύμπασα πόλις κακοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἀπηύρα,
ὅστις ἀλιτραίνῃ καὶ ἀτάσθαλα μηχανάαται.
τοῖσιν δ' οὐρανόθεν μέγ' ἐπήγαγε πῆμα Κρονίων,
λιμὸν ὁμοῦ καὶ λοιμόν· ἀποφθινύθουσι δὲ λαοί κτλ.
(238—243).

Zeus übt ständiges Gericht an Menschen, Städten und Völkern. Es folgt ein profetisches Wort, das erklären will, wie solch die ganze Erde umfassendes Weltregiment möglich ist. Die Unsterblichen sind ja den Menschen, namentlich den Frevlern immer nahe. Drei Myriaden Unsterblicher schweben um den Erdkreis

ἀθάνατοι Ζηνὸς φύλακες θνητῶν ἀνθρώπων

als die Organe der göttlichen Vergeltung. Hesiod hat noch eine zweite Ueberlieferung (256 ff.). Die Dike selbst, die jungfräuliche Tochter des Zeus, waltet über den Menschen, und wenn sie einen auf schändlicher Tat ertappt, setzt sie sich eilends zum Vater Zeus und kündet ihm das Unrecht, bis das Volk gebüsst hat für die Freveltat der Könige. Schliesslich ist es Zeus' eigenes Auge, das alles sieht und bemerkt (267 f.).

Dies Gedicht darf nicht mit dem vorangegangenen Lied von den Weltaltern zusammengeworden werden. Dort lässt Zeus in jeder Generation die Menschen freveln, bis er sie alle in einem grossen Zorngericht vernichtet. Hier wird ein Weltregiment gelehrt, das allen Frevel sofort zur Bestrafung bringt. Dort ist ein Mythus, der von Dichtern und Priestern ausgesonnen ist. Hier ist lebendiger Glaube, der sich in der Vergangenheit tausendfach bewährt hat und seine Verwirklichung auch in der Gegenwart und in aller Zukunft postuliert.

Die Verschiedenheit dieses Glaubens von der eschatologischen Lehre macht auch der Hystaspestext deutlich: bei Hystaspes wird Juppiter erst durch das Massengebet der Frommen auf den Frevel aufmerksam gemacht, der auf Erden sich breit macht. In dem Gedicht Hesiods hat Zeus seine

[1]) Weitere Belege finden sich wie bekannt bei Homer, überhaupt in vielen Mythen; auch in der Tragödie, u. s. w.

ständigen Wächter, seine Vertreterin, sein eigenes Auge, so dass kein Frevel ihm entgeht, keine Anhäufung der Sünde möglich ist, das Verbrechen sofort gesühnt wird.

Ein paralleles Zeugnis liefert Plautus in dem schönen Prolog zu *Rudens* [1]). Hier ist der Arcturus am Wort, der erzählt, wie Juppiter, *imperator divom atque hominum*, die verschiedenen Völker unter die Aufsicht der Sterne gestellt hat [2]), damit diese auf die Taten, Sitten, auf Frömmigkeit und Treue der Menschen achten. Sie haben den Auftrag, die Namen derer, die Betrug oder Meineid begehen, schriftlich Juppiter zu überbringen. Täglich erfährt er auf diese Weise, wer hier das Böse sucht; er wird dann gestraft. Auf anderen Tafeln hat Juppiter die Namen der Guten vor sich. So kommt es, dass die Sünder, wenn sie Juppiter durch Opfergaben versöhnen wollen, Mühe und Kosten umsonst opfern; denn leichter findet Vergebung der Fromme als der Uebeltäter [3]).

Ich stehe nicht an, diesen Prolog für eins der schönsten Zeugnisse „heidnischer" Frommigkeit zu erklären. Die Verwandtschaft solcher Juppiterreligion mit dem biblischen Gottesglauben ist frappant: die Verteilung der Völker an die Sterne (Deut. 31, 8); die himmlischen Bücher, in denen die Namen der Bösen und die der Guten verzeichnet sind [4]); Organe, durch die Gott sein Regiment verwirklicht [5]); die Allwissenheit Gottes, der kein Mensch sich entzieht; der Glaube, dass nur bei guter Gesinnung das Opfer angenommen wird und „Vergebung" (*venia*) geschenkt wird — all diese Ideen sind auch der Bibel vertraut und werden teilweise auch im Neuen Testament betont. An biblische Beeinflussung des Prologs ist nicht zu denken. Schon der Vergleich mit Hesiod, der schliesslich ähnliches lehrt, verbietet solche Ableitung. Es ist beiderseits ein kräftiger Gottes- und Vergeltungsglaube, nur mythologisch eingekleidet — dort sind die Myriaden Unsterblichen, zuhöchst die Jungfrau Dike, hier die Sterne die Diener Gottes. Es ist ein Glaube, der keine Eschatologie nötig hat, weil er das göttliche Gericht täglich am Werke sieht. Es ist aber auch ein Glaube, der noch keine Erschütterung, kein Aergernis erlebt hat, der an der Wirklichkeit volles Genügen hat, ein lebendiger, aber unproblematischer, naiv optimistischer Glaube.

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[1]) Mein Collega F. Muller machte mich auf diesen Text aufmerksam.

[2]) *Quist imperator divom atque hominum, Juppiter, is nos per gentis aliud alia disparat, qui facta hominum, mores, pietatem, et fidem noscamus.*

[3]) *Facilius siqui pius est a dis supplicans quam qui scelestust, inveniet veniam sibi* (cf. Matth. 6, 14 f.).

[4]) Vgl. Ex. 32, 32 f.; Luc. 10, 20; Phil. 4, 3. Ueber das Vorkommen der Idee in nichtchristl. Lit. s. Ruhl, *De mortuorum judicio*, 1903, p. 101 ff.; I. Scheftelowitz, a. a. O., S. 188.

[5]) Eine besonders deutlicher Beleg s. Henoch 100, 10: „Wisset nun, dass die Engel im Himmel von der Sonne, dem Mond und den Sternen (aus) eure Taten hinsichtlich eurer Sünde durchforschen", usw. In der Juppiterreligion sind es die Sterne, in der jüdischen Jahwereligion die Engel als Bewohner der Gestirne, die die Aufsicht über die Menschen üben. Zur Auswirkung kommt das Gericht in der Henoch-apokalypse freilich erst am (baldigen) Ende der Tage.

Und doch ist ein Zusammenhang zwischen den beiden Conceptionen der Juppiterfrömmigkeit, wie sie einerseits bei Hesiod und Plautus, andererseits bei Hystaspes gegeben sind, unleugbar; er ist im Gedanken der göttlichen Vergeltung und in dem furchtbaren Postulat dieses strengen Glaubens gegeben, dass der Frevler nicht am Leben bleiben kann: Die Erde darf nur Fromme und Gerechte tragen. Nach der einen Conception wird sie ständig von den Frevlern gereinigt, nach der einen giebt es am Ende der Zeit eine radicale Reinigung der Erde. Nach jener Auffassung hält Gott durch seine Diener ständig Aufsicht und reagiert er unmittelbar auf jede frevelhafte Tat, nach der anderen gewährt er zeitweise Duldung und greift erst ein, wenn die Bosheit zur vollen grausigen Blüte sich entfaltet. Die Besonderheit der Juppiter-anschauung unseres Hystaspesorakels ist die, dass der Gott erst eingreift, wenn die Frommen in höchster Verzweiflung ihn anschreien[1]. Er verfügt also über keine Diener, Wächter und Vertreter, die ihm beständig Nachricht geben über die Menschen, weder über Götter, noch über Sterne, und er ist auch selbst nicht wachsam. So erklärt es sich hier auch, dass sich die *iniquitas* inzwischen auf Erden ungehindert entfalten kann. Sonst liegt des Zögern des göttlichen Gerichts daran, dass Gott an einen Termin gebunden ist, oder dass er auf Bekehrung der Frevler wartet oder an anderem; hier ist es mangelnde Wachsamkeit und Mangel an göttlichen Organen, die sonst dem Gotte dazu helfen, das Weltregiment zu führen. Denn auch der Juppiter des Hystaspes ist ein Gott, der den Frevel hasst und straft und der Macht hat, den Frevler zu vernichten. Sein Orakel gipfelt ja in der Manifestation des Gottseins Juppiters. So dienen auch diese Offenbarungen eines ganz uneschatologischen Juppiterglaubens dazu, die religiöse Bedeutung des Hystaspesorakels aufzuhellen.

Zwei Arten von Gerichtsmanifestationen kennt somit die Zeus-Juppiterreligion; ständig nach Bedarf sich auswirkende und rein eschatologische. Nun bezeugt aber auch die Geschichte Krisiszeiten, in denen beide Arten des Gerichts sich zusammenschliessen: Gerichtsaktionen in der Zeit, die gleichwohl eschatologischen Charakter tragen, geschichtliche Ereignisse, die den Handelnden oder den mit dichterisch-profetischem Tiefblick begabten Zuschauern so gewaltig erscheinen, dass sie sie nur in der Sprache der Eschatologie zu begreifen und verständlich zu machen vermögen. Die schönsten Illustrationen bietet hier wieder die römische Geschichte und die Literatur, in der sie sich wiederspiegelt. Es handelt sich abermals vornehmlich um die zwei grossen Ereigniscomplexe, die Catilinarische Verschwörung und die Krisis, die nach dem Tode Caesars eintrat und in der Regierung des Augustus ihre vorläufige Lösung fand.

Schon aus den oben angeführten Mitteilungen Cicero's in seinen

[1] Hier kommt zur Anschauung, dass Gebet eben ursprünglich wirklich Anrufen Gottes ist, das nötig ist, weil der Gott von sich aus um die Nöte der Menschen sich nicht bekümmert. Erst durch das Gebet erfährt der Gott, was der Fromme „bedarf" (vgl. dagegen Matth. 6, 8!).

catilinarischen Reden ist zu ersehen, dass die Verschwörer ebenso wie der Consul die Situation als eine eschatologische betrachtet haben. Eine furchtbare Krisis naht für die Stadt und ihre Bewohner. Nach Schicksalsspruch ist sie verhängt. Es fragt sich für beide Teile, ob das Böse einen Totaltriumpf erlangen oder ob ihm selbst die Krisis, der Untergang bereitet werden kann. Cicero's eigene Schau kommt am Schluss der ersten Rede zur vollen Offenbarung. Er wünscht den Auszug der Verschwörer aus der Stadt; denn die Folge wird dann sein: *exstinguetur atque delebitur non modo haec tam adulta rei publicae pestis, verum etiam stirps ac semen malorum omnium* (12, 30). Dann kennzeichnet er die Gefahr, in die die Stadt durch die Verschwörung gebracht ist, mit den Worten: *nescio quo pacto omnium scelerum ac veteris furoris et audaciae maturitas in nostri consulatus tempus erupit* (13, 31). Das ist unverkennbar eschatologische Sprache: Cicero identificiert sein Consulat mit der Krisis der nun endlich zur Reife gelangten Bosheit. Was man jetzt mit Schaudern sich entfalten sieht, ist die *iniquitas saeculi huius extremi.* Wie ist dann die Lösung zu finden? Cicero weist zwei Wege. Der eine ist die *secessio* der Bösen, die Trennung der Guten von den Bösen: *qua re secedant improbi, secernant se a bonis unum in locum congregentur, muro denique quod saepe iam dixi, secernantur a nobis* (32). Rom soll von ihnen gereinigt werden. In Rom soll nur eine fromme und rechtliche Bürgerschaft zurückbleiben — vergleichbar dem Jerusalem der jüdischen Eschatologie. Dann wird es — auch dies ein eschatologisches Motiv (vgl. Ezech. 9, 4 ff.; Apoc. 7, 2 ff.) — auf eines jeden Stirne geschrieben stehen (*inscriptum*), wie er vom Staate denkt. Das andere Heilmittel ist das Gebet zu Juppiter, mit dem der Consul als Vertreter der Guten seine (erste) Rede endet: *Tu Juppiter, qui iisdem quibus haec urbs auspiciis a Romulo es constitutus, quem Statorem huius urbis atque imperii vere nominamus, hunc et huius socios a tuis caeterisque templis, a tectis urbis ac moenibus, a vita fortunisque civium omnium arcebis, et homines bonorum inimicos, hostes patriae, latrones Italiae, scelerum foedere inter se ac nefaria societate coniunctos aeternis suppliciis vivos mortuosque mactabis* (33).

Kaum irgendwo ist die Situation des Hystaspesorakels so scharf wiedergegeben wie in dieser Rede Cicero's. Rom, die Hauptstadt der Welt, die eigene Stadt Juppiter's ist mit Untergang bedroht; die Verschwörung will sowohl die Tempel wie die guten Bürger ins Verderben ziehen (I 5, 12): das Böse ist zur vollen Reife entwickelt. Das ist das erste. Das zweite ist die Reaction der Guten und Frommen; sie erstreben die Scheidung, nur dass in Rom die Bösen „sich trennen", weil Rom von ihnen befreit werden muss und die inmitten der Tempel wohnende Bürgerschaft die Gemeinde der Endzeit repräsentiert, die im Gerichte „bleibt". Und sie flehen Juppiter um Hilfe: *implorant fidem Jovis,* könnte man sagen.

Also drei eschatologische Motive: die Ausreifung des Bösen, die Scheidung der Frommen und der Bösen und die Anrufung Juppiter's, des höchsten Gottes. Dazu dann das vierte Motiv: die Erhörung, d.i. die

sichtbare Rettung der bedrohten Juppitergemeinde. Am Ende der zweiten Rede erscheint sie mitten im Vollzug. Cicero kann jetzt die Rettung mit grösserer Sicherheit versprechen, und zwar — hier spricht er im Stile echter, fast möchte ich sagen: biblischer Frömmigkeit — nicht im Vertrauen auf eigene Klugheit und auf menschliche Ratschläge, sondern *multis (fretus) et non dubiis deorum immortalium significationibus*, auf Grund deren er von ihnen bezeugen kann: *qui iam non procul, ut quondam solebant* — auch bei Hystaspes scheint Juppiter ehe die Frommen ihn anrufen, wie fern und abwesend zu sein — *ab externo hoste atque longinquo, sed hic praesentes suo numine atque auxilio sua templa atque urbis tecta defendunt*. Das ist das Grösste, was ein Frommer bezeugen kann: die „Präsenz" der Gottheit, wie sie sich beweist in sichtbaren Rettungstaten, in Actionen, die wie Einleitungen zum entscheidenden Schlage, zum Gerichte wirken. So kann man nur weiter beten, dass die Götter die Rettung vollziehen. Cicero's letztes Wort: *Quos vos, Quirites, precari, venerari, implorare debetis, ut quam urbem pulcherrimam florentissimamque esse voluerunt, hanc...... a perditissimorum civium nefario scelere defendant* (II 13, 29). Jetzt sind die Quirites die fromme Gemeinde, die sich in inbrünstigem Gebete vereinen muss, um von den Göttern Rettung und Sieg zu erflehen. Was Cicero *defensio* nennt, ist die *extinctio der inpii* (Hystaspes).

Und in der dritten Rede kann Cicero von der vollführten Errettung zeugen. Er will sich nicht selbst den Retter nennen, sondern schreibt dankbar, demütig und fromm — so klingen die Worte jedenfalls — das übermenschlich erscheinende Werk den Göttern zu, die ihre Präsenz durch Zeichen offenbart haben, dass man sie beinahe mit den Augen sehen konnte (8, 18). Nicht sich selbst darf der Consul den Sieg zuschreiben: *ille, ille Juppiter restitit, ille Capitolium, ille haec templa, ille hanc urbem, ille vos omnes salvos esse voluit* (9, 22). Darum geziemt es sich den Quiriten, nun feierliche *supplicatio* zu halten (10, 23) und Juppiter *(custodem huius urbis ac vestrum)* zu huldigen (11, 29). Rom gleicht jetzt der Gemeinde der Gerechten, die die Vernichtung der Gottlosen erlebt hat und ihrem Gotte danken muss (vgl. Luc. 2, 14: o. S. 76).

Die Gedankensphäre der zwei Documente und der zwei Krisen ist somit in Wesentlichem die gleiche. Man könnte sie kurz als eschatologische Juppiterreligion bezeichnen: ihre Hauptmotive sind die Krisis der Bösen und die Gemeinde, die sich abscheidet oder die die Bösen ausscheidet und die Götter um Hilfe anfleht und die Hilfe erfährt. Es ist ausserordentlich wichtig zu constatieren, dass der Gedankenkreis eines orientalischen Orakels in einer kritischen Situation des römischen Staats sich fast restlos realisiert.

Fast restlos — denn es giebt natürlich auch Unterschiede. Die römischen Frommen bitten nicht nur, sie handeln auch: jedenfalls handelt ihr Führer. Die Frömmigkeit bei Cicero ist stark national gefärbt, die des orientalischen Orakels übernational: es ist denationalisierte Juppiter-

religion. Endlich — und das ist besonders wichtig: im Hystaspesorakel haben die Frommen weder Führer noch Mittler; keinen „Retter" schickt Juppiter — er erscheint selbst. In der römischen Krisis ist ein Mittler und Retter und Führer geschenkt, in der Person des ersten Consuls, jedenfalls nach dessen eigenen Zeugnis. Trotz aller Ehre, die er den Göttern zollt, weiss er sich als das berufene Werkzeug der Götter und hofft, dass die Tat ihm zum Ruhme gereiche — eine Verbindung von Demut und Ruhmfreudigkeit, wie wir sie, natürlich anders gelagert und motiviert, auch bei Paulus finden. Sehr charakteristisch ist der Ausspruch (III 11, 26): *eandemque diem intelligo, quam spero aeternam fore, propagatam esse et ad salutem urbis et ad memoriam consulatus mei, unoque tempore in hac republica duos cives exstitisse, quorum a l t e r fines vestri imperii non terrae sed caeli regionibus t e r m i n a r e t, a l t e r eiusdem imperii domicilium sedesque s e r v a r e t.* Vermehrer und Retter des Reichs sind hier einander gegenübergestellt, Pompeius und Cicero. Was Cicero von Pompeius rühmt: *de caelo delapsus (De imp. Gn. Pomp.* 14, 41), mag er auch auf sich bezogen haben. Diese Figur des vom Himmel Gesandten fehlt dem Hystaspesorakel. Es ist verständlich, dass auch Lactanz sie vermisst.

Vom Schicksalsjahre 63 v. Ch. wenden wir uns noch einmal zu dem anderen „grossen Jahr", dem J. 40 (vgl. o. S. 59 f.). Zwei berühmte Gedichte erschienen in ihm, die ihm sein Gepräge geben: die IV. Ecloga von Vergil und die 16. Epode von Horatius [1]).

Dass die Ecloga V e r g i l s ein eschatologisches Gedicht ist, in dem die verschiedensten Speculationen zusammengefasst sind, ist allgemein anerkannt [2]): es sind 1. Hesiod's Lehre von den Weltaltern, 2. die etruskische Lehre von den auf einander folgenden *saecula*, 3. die stoische Lehre von der Palingenesie, die indes in ihrer concreten Exemplificierung (vs. 34—36) wie ein Fremdkörper wirkt [3]), 4. die eschatologische Lehre von der Wiederkehr des goldenen Zeitalters, 5. eine Lehre der „Magier", die die verschiedenen Zeitperioden verschiedenen Göttern und wohl auch Gestirnen unterstellt [4]). Schon hieraus ergiebt sich Structurverwandtschaft mit Hystaspes. Ausdrücklich nennt Vergil als Quelle seiner Weisheit ein *Cumaeum carmen*. Sibyllinische, vielleicht sibyllinisch-orientalische Zukunftsweissagung liegt also in erster Linie seinem eschatologischen Gedicht zu Grunde.

Ultima Cumaei venit iam carminis aetas:
magnus ab intego saeclorum nascitur ordo,
iam redit et Virgo, redeunt Saturnia regna.

Mit der *ultima aetas* Vergils und der Sibylle correspondiert das *extremum*

1) Vgl. Seliger a. a. O. 419 ff.

2) Vgl. F. Marx, a. a. O., S. 109 f.; Nilsson, Artikel: *Saeculares Ludi* in: *Pauly—Wiss.*'s R. E., II Reihe I 1708 ff.; Seliger a. a. O. Sp. 421 f.

3) Es ist dieselbe *complexio oppositorum*, die wir oben bei Seneca feststellten (s. S. 83 f.).

4) Vgl. das Fragment von Nigidius Figulus (s. o. S. 30).

hoc saeculum des Hystaspes. Die *ultima aetas* geht der Erneuerung der Welt und der Wiederkehr des goldenen Zeitalters voraus, sie fällt keineswegs mit diesem zusammen. Sie ist die Epoche, „in der der Verfall, nachdem er seine Höhe erreicht hat, in allmählicher Besserung von dem neuen Glück überwunden wird" [1]). Denn auch Vergil weiss davon zu sagen, dass ehe die Heilszeit kommen kann, das Schlechte restlos getilgt sein muss. Ruft er doch dem Consul Pollio, diesem zweiten Cicero, zu:

> *te duce, si qua manent sceleris vestigia nostri,*
> *inrita perpetua solvent formidine terras* (13 f.).
> Du wirst jegliche Spur, die von unserem Frevel zurückblieb,
> tilgen und so vom beständigen Grauen die Länder erlösen [2]).

Sehr optimistisch redet Vergil von letzten Spuren unserer Frevel, die noch (durch Sühnhandlungen, Gerichtsactionen und Sittenreformen) zu tilgen sind. Ueberhaupt fällt bei ihm aller Nachdruck auf das Werden des Neuen, während Hystaspes das Vergehen des Alten, Schlechten betont.

Doch der wichtigste Unterschied gegenüber Hystaspes ist auch hier, dass im Mittelpunkt des Gedichts die Person des gottgesandten Retters und Heilbringers steht, über den Hystaspes zur Verwunderung des Lactanz vollkommen schweigt. Vergil schöpft hier aus reicher sibyllinischer Ueberlieferung [3]), während Hystaspes eine andersartige orientalische Tradition verwertet, Messianismus ohne Messias, die indes in den Sibyllinen gleichfalls vertreten ist (l. IV, vgl. o. S. 76). Ein letzter Unterschied ist der, dass Hystaspes die für Vergil fundamentale astrologische Festlegung der Zeiten und Termine nicht kennt. Der Orientalismus erscheint bei ihm in dieser Hinsicht stark verblasst [4]).

Von ganz anderen Stimmungsgehalt ist die 16. Epode des Horaz; sie klingt denn auch viel unmittelbarer an Hystaspes an [5]). Horaz erwartet den baldigen Untergang von Rom.

> *Altera iam teritur bellis civilibus aetas,*
> *suis et ipsa Roma viribus ruit* (vs. 1 f.).

Die Stadt, die auswärtige Feinde nicht zu bezwingen vermochten, vernichten wir selbst, wir *inpia aetas* (vs. 9) und geben sie den Tieren und den Barbaren preis. Das ist wieder der Untergang Roms, wie er ganz ähnlich von der Sibylle geweissagt ist (vgl. VIII 41 ff.). Die Situation it ähnlich wie

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1) Seliger a. a. O.

2) Uebersetzung von H. Lietzmann, *Der Weltheiland*, S. 3.

3) Ed. Norden, *D. Geburt des Kindes* S. 145 ff.

4) Lactanz zitiert die Weissagung der Geburt des Gotteskindes freilich nicht (er zitiert VII 24, 11 nur die Beschreibung des Paradieszustandes, vs. 38—45, 21 f. 28—30); wohl aber spielt er auf sie an: *et erit suboles eorum sancta et deo cara*, was er freilich auf die Gotteskinder bezieht.

5) Ich benutzte für Horatius Ausgabe und Commentar von A. Kiessling, 6. A. v. R. Heinze, 1. Teil, 1917. Ueber die Frage der gegenseitigen Beziehungen von Ecloga und Epode vgl. Seliger 419.

die zur Zeit Catilina's. Aber Horatius kennt keinen Cicero. Er, der Vates (66), weiss keinen anderen Ausweg für die *pia gens* als den, die um ihrer Frevel willen dem Untergang geweihte Stadt zu verlassen und nach den Inseln der Seligen zu fliehen. Das ist wieder deutlich das Motiv der Flucht der Frommen, die den Frevlern und dem Verderben entrinnen wollen (vgl. o. S. 73), eine schöne Parallele zu der Flucht der Frommen auf einen Berg bei Hystaspes-Lactantius und zu der Flucht der Christen (aus Jerusalem) nach Pella.

Juppiter illa piae secrevit litora genti
ut inquinavit aere tempus aureum,
aere, dehinc ferro duravit saecula, quorum
piis secunda, vate me, datur fuga (63—66).

Horaz hat hiernach Krisis und Flucht ganz eschatologisch vorgestellt. Die Gegenwart ist das eherne, noch ärger das eiserne Zeitalter. Aus ihm entfliehen die Frommen in das goldene zurück [1]. Dieses besteht ja noch, in weiter Ferne, auf den Inseln der Seligen, deren Strand Juppiter der *pia gens* vorbehalten hat.

Auch hier haben wir eine *segregatio* der Frommen, die sich unter den Schutz Juppiters stellen und nach dem Untergang der Frevler den Segen des goldenen Zeitalters geniessen. Das Gedicht des Horaz fasst gewissermassen die zwei Hystaspesorakel des Lactantius zusammen: die *iniquitas saeculi huius extremi* ist auf Rom concentriert. Das Gebet der Frommen und seine Erhörung zielt auf das *subblatuiri ex orbe imperium nomenque Romanum* ab. Aber da Lactanz die beiden Orakel doch deutlich auseinander hält, sehen wir keinen Anlass, wegen der Analogie der Epode die zwei Texte auf einander zu beziehen. Es ist Horaz, der die eschatologische Situation, die in Orakeln und heiligen Traditionen ihm gegeben war, in profetischem Geiste neu produciert und auf Rom und die Krisis des J. 40 bezogen hat.

Die pessimistischen Gedanken dieser frühen Ode wirken bei Horaz noch lange nach. In den Oden aus der glorreichen Regierungszeit des Augustus klingen sie immer wieder an: sie erscheint ihm wie ein ständiger Kampf zwischen den guten und den bösen Mächten. Niemand hat treffender die *iniquitas extremi huius saeculi* und die Gefahr, die droht, umschrieben, als Horaz in den berühmten Versen (III 6, 45—48):

D a m n o s a q u i d n o n i n m i n u i t d i e s ?
aetas parentum peior avis tulit
nos nequiores mox daturos
progeniem vitiosiorem.

Wenn die Sittenverderbnis und die Verachtung der Götter nicht aufzuhalten ist, erwartet der Dichter, der auch hier wie ein Prophet oder Seher

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1) Vgl. zu den schwierigen Versen Heinze a. a. O., S. 569 f.

redet, die *damnosa dies,* wo (nach vs. 1 ff.) das jetzige Geschlecht auch die Sünden der Väter büssen muss.

Etwa gleichzeitig (nach Heinze) entstand Carmen 2 des ersten Buches. Die Gefahr eines Strafgerichts steht noch am Horizont. Schon hat der „Vater" (d.i. Juppiter) durch allerlei Vorzeichen den Menschen Schrecken eingejagt. Eine neue Sintflut, Bürgerkrieg, ein neuer Einfall der Parther ist zu erwarten. Es ist Zeit die Götter um Hilfe, um Sühnung des Frevels, um Vergebung anzuflehen.

Cui dabit partis scelus expiandi
Juppiter?

Juppiter wird hier (vs. 29 f.) als der dem griechischen *Ζεὺς καθάρσιος* ähnliche Gott der Sühne angerufen. Dementsprechend ist das Volk als eine Frevler und Fromme umschliessende Einheit aufgefasst — im Unterschied von Epode 16 und von Hystaspes, wo die Frommen, weil sie sich von den Frevlern geschieden haben, gerade um Verhängung des Strafgerichts flehen. Bei Horaz ist Juppiter als Wächter über die Frevel der Menschen bereits in Zorn entbrannt; bei Hystaspes müssen die Frommen ihn erst aufrufen. Die Ode nennt auch einen persönlichen Retter: Augustus, den *ultor Caesaris,* und fleht ihn mit den merkwürdigen Worten an (45 ff.):

Serus in caelum redeas diuque
laetus intersis populo Quirini
neve te nostris vitiis iniquum
ocior aura
tollat

Augustus weilt wie ein vom Himmel herabgesandter Gott unter den Römern. Solange er bleibt, wird Rom bestehen bleiben. Aber Gefahr ist, dass er wegen der anhaltenden Frevel der Menschen ihnen vorzeitig entrückt wird. Dann kommt das Unheil unabwendbar [1]).

In dem etwas späteren Gedicht I 12 richtet Horaz sein Gebet direct an Juppiter als den *gentis humanae pater atque custos* (49 ff.), bittet ihn, Caesar im Reiche walten zu lassen und ihm Siege über die Parther, Serer und Indier zu verleihen; selbst möge er den Olymp erschüttern und den *parum castis* seine Blitze senden. Hier redet Horaz wieder als der Sprecher der *pii et fideles* und erfleht er das Strafgericht über die Frevler.

Endlich findet sich unter den Liedern des Horaz auch ein Hymnus auf den göttlichen Augustus (wohl nach dem Saecularfest gedichtet IV 5).

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[1]) Eine ähnliche Vorstellung Ovid *Metamorph.* I 204 f. und XV 867 ff.; auch an den Seufzer Jesu Marc. 9, 19 kann erinnert werden, vgl. meinen Artikel: *Urchristentum und Hermesmystik* (Theol. Tijdschr. 1918) p. 214 ff.; R. Reitzenstein, *Poimandres* 1904, S. 176 f. Verwandt ist auch die Lehre Hesiod's, dass Aidos und Nemesis in den Himmel zurückkehren, weil die Schlechtigkeit auf Erden zu sehr überhand nimmt, (*Opera et dies* 200) und die entsprechende Ueberlieferung bei Arat, dass die Dike zum Himmel flieht (Phaenomena 197 ff.); ähnlich auch der Mythus von der Weisheit, Henoch 42.

in dem der Zustand in Rom geradezu als ideal geschildert wird. Augustus hat sein Werk vollbracht: die Sittenlosigkeit und Gottlosigkeit ist bezwungen. Als Gott weilt der Kaiser unter den Menschen. Der einzige Wunsch des Dichters ist, dass diese paradiesische Zeit recht lange währe. Es ist das Unglück der Römer, dass die „Endzeit", in der sie leben, nicht unendlich ist. Eschatologie, die in der Zeit sich verwirklicht, ist immer nur von beschränkter Dauer.

Wir brechen hier ab. Wir haben auch das zweite Hystaspesorakel des Lactanz in die Geschichte der Zeus-Juppiter-religion eingereiht und gesehen, dass es ebenso wie das erste auch gut als ein Zeugnis dieser abendländischen Religion verstanden werden könnte. Das ist ein neuer Beweis für die Geistesverwandtschaft aller antiken Religionen und für den Einfluss orientalischer Religion und Speculation auf Hellas und Rom, wie er sich seit den letzten Jahrhunderten vor Chr. überall geltend macht. Hystaspes vertritt eine Eschatologie, die im Parsismus, in der Bibel, im Judentum ebenso eingewurzelt ist, wie im Hellenismus und in Rom. Von besonderem Interesse ist, zu sehen, dass die eschatologischen Gedanken des Hystaspes sehr enge Beziehungen zu Rom und zur lateinischen Geschichte und Literatur haben, dass sie während einiger Jahrhunderte in Rom ganz besonders actuell gewesen sein müssen. Das liegt an den geschichtlichen Wirren, die Rom erlebte und die in eminentem Sinn eschatologische Art hatten, doch nicht an ihnen allein. Was wir bei Cicero, Vergil, Horatius fanden, war nicht einfach Wiedergabe von Geschehenem und Gefürchtetem und Erhofftem, sondern hier spielen alte Ueberlieferungen hinein, die dem Gesagten und Gedichteten ihr besonderes Gepräge geben. Ganz deutlich sagen sie es ja, dass die Gedanken, Hoffnungen und Befürchtungen durch Orakel der Sibylle und durch verwandte Sprüche bestimmt sind. Diese sind gewiss zum Teil aus bodenständigen Theorien und Traditionen zu erklären, die in Rom und Etrurien gepflegt wurden. Doch genügt diese Ableitung ganz und gar nicht. Es ist vielmehr daneben auch an den Einbruch orientalischer und hellenistisch-orientalischer Ideen zu denken, der seit den punischen Kriegen in Italien und Rom sich vollzog, seit dem 1. vorchristl. Jahrh. in verstärktem Masze. Ein typischer Vertreter solchen orientalisierten Romanismus ist, wie wir sahen, der Neupythagoräer Nigidius Figulus, der auch Lehren der Magier in seine Speculationen hineinzog [1]). Neben ihm sind aber auch Vergil und Horaz zu nennen, Dichter, die römisches Fühlen oft in der Sprache des Orients zum Ausdruck bringen. Darum die Hystaspesorakel einem orientalisierten Römer zuzuschreiben, geht natürlich nicht an. Sie sind griechisch-orientalischer Import und erst Lactanz hat sie durch seine Uebersetzung ein wenig latinisiert und sie zu einem Document orientalisierter Juppiter-religion gemacht [2]). Aber es ist für die Entwicklung, die die römische Religion im Zeitalter Cicero's und

[1]) Chantepie de la Saussaye, *Lehrb. d. Relig.-gesch.* 4. A. Bd. II, S. 476.

[2]) Ein Latinismus ist die schöne Wendung: *et imploraturos fidem Jovis* (vgl. o. S. 84)

Augustus' genommen hat, charakteristisch, dass gerade Documente lateinischer Juppiter-religion so reiche und schöne Illustrationen zu den orientalisch-hellenistischen Hystaspesorakeln liefern. Wir wissen nicht, wie weit die Hystaspesorakel auch im Westen verbreitet gewesen sind. Da Lactanz sie lateinisch zitiert (während er die Sibyllinen im griechischen Text anführt), ist es möglich, dass er eine lateinische Uebersetzung kannte und benutzte. Aber auch in griechischer Form können sie ja in Rom und im Westen gelesen worden sein, in Kreisen, die für griechisch-orientalische Offenbarungsliteratur empfänglich waren. Jedenfalls hat es seit dem letzten Jahrhundert vor Chr. in Rom Kreise gegeben, die auch die Hystaspesorakel als göttliche Offenbarungen hinzunehmen bereit gewesen wären. Zeuge ist schliesslich Lactantius selbst, der auch als Christ in seiner Vorliebe für eschatologische Traditionen sich von heidnischen Freunden und Jüngern der Apokalyptik wenig unterschieden haben mag und die Hystaspesorakel vielleicht schon vor seiner Bekehrung gekannt hat.

SCHLUSS

Es gilt jetzt nur noch, unsere Ergebnisse zusammenzufassen.

Zunächst ein Wort über das Verhältnis des Lactanz und der von ihm angeführten Hystaspesfragmente zu den drei anderen Hystaspeszeugnissen.

An zwei bedeutsame Vermutungen, die wir oben (S. 29 und S. 74) äusserten, ist da zu erinnern: 1. dass aus Instit. VII 21, 4 f. wahrscheinlich zu machen ist, dass Lactanz in seinem Hystaspes auch die Profetie des Feuerbrandes gelesen und diese im weiteren Verlauf seiner Darlegung der Eschatologie mit verwertet hat, nur eben ohne ausdrücklich die Autorität des Hystaspes noch einmal anzuführen; 2. dass der Text, aus dem sein zweites Zitat genommen ist, höchstwahrscheinlich der Grundtext der von Ps.-Paulus angeführten Hystaspesprofezeiung ist. Die Annahme, dass es zwei verschiedene Hystaspesapokalypsen gegeben habe, eine heidnische, die Lactanz zitiert, und eine jüdisch-christliche, die Ps.-Paulus und die Theosophie anführen, ist also als wenig wahrscheinlich zur Seite zu legen. Es ist ein und dieselbe Hystaspesschrift parsistisch-hellenistischer Herkunft in griechischer Sprache, im 1. vorchristlichen oder im 1. nachchristlichen Jahrhundert entstanden [1]), die Justin und Lactanz in ihrer ursprünglichen Gestalt, Ps.-Paulus und die Theosophie in christlichen Bearbeitung gekannt haben.

Wie mag nun Form und Composition dieses synkretistischen Offenbarungsbuches ausgesehen haben? Da wir keine wörtlichen Zitate, sondern nur fünf verstreute Anführungen, besser Inhaltsangaben besitzen, ist darüber schwer zu urteilen. Nur die Weise, wie Lactanz den Hystaspes anführt, erlaubt einige Schlüsse (vgl. o. S. 45 f.). Die Weissagung vom Untergang Roms hatte eine besondere Einführung: das Traumgesicht, das von einem jugendlichen Wahrsager gedeutet wird. Die anderen Orakel müssen dann eine selbständige Einführung und Form gehabt haben. Ob die Beschreibung des Feuergerichts zu der Beschreibung der Vernichtung der Gottlosen durch Juppiter gehörte, ist schwer zu sagen. Mir erscheint möglich, dass sie für sich stand, wie sie denn auch Lactanz an einer anderen Stelle seines Werkes zu verwerten scheint. Dann hätten wir Zeugnisse für drei verschiedene Orakelstücke: der Untergang Roms; die Bosheit des letzten Zeitalters, die Sammlung der Frommen und die Vernichtung der Gottlosen durch Juppiter-Ahura Mazda; die Vernichtung der Welt durch Feuer...... Doch wird das Hystaspesbuch noch weitere Kapitel, jedenfalls noch weitere Themata gehabt haben; vor allem wird die Auferstehung,

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1) Vgl. o. S. 70.

vielleicht auch ein Weltgericht, sicher die Seligkeit der Frommen nach Abschluss der „Eschatologie" einen Platz in den Orakeln gehabt haben.

Ueber die Form wissen wir nichts. Sie könnten wie die Sibyllinen in Hexametern abgefasst gewesen sein. Dafür spräche der Titel : *Χρήσεις*, *Oracula* oder *Vaticinia*. Aber sollte ein Buch, das einem orientalischen König zugeschrieben war, wohl gerade das Versmass Homers und der griechischen Sibyllen gebraucht haben ? Es wird also doch wohl in griechischer Prosa geschrieben gewesen sein.

Wir haben somit erwiesen, dass christlicher Ursprung der Hystaspesorakel nicht in Frage kommt, nur christliche Ueberarbeitung des einen Kapitels, das von dem Antagonismus der Frommen und Gottlosen und von der Vernichtung der Gottlosen handelte. Aber auch jüdische Abfassung ist nicht zu erweisen, wie wir gesehen haben. Allerdings ist sowohl in dem Zeugnis des Ps.-Paulus wie in den beiden Zitaten des Lactanz jüdischer Einfluss sehr ernst zu erwägen. Aber das „jüdische" erklärt sich einmal aus der nahen Verwandtschaft jüdischer und syncretistisch-parsistischer Ideen, sodann aus der christlichen Bearbeitung, die auch alttestamentl. Texte verwertete. Ganz deutlich ist, dass das Juppiterstück auch nicht jüdisch sein kann. Dann wird auch die an Daniel erinnernde Vision orientalisch-parsistisch und höchstens indirect vom Judentum her beeinflusst sein. Dass wir indes immer wieder an alttestamentlich-jüdische Texte erinnert werden, ist für die Geschichte und Art der jüdischen Apokalyptik und für ihre Beziehungen zu persisch-synkretischer Eschatologie von grosser Wichtigkeit.

Dass die Hystaspesorakel an echte parsistische Traditionen anknüpfen, steht ausser Zweifel. Dafür bürgt schon der Name des Orakelempfängers, der auch schon in der parsistischen Geschichte Zarathustra's und in der Zarathustralegende eine wichtige Rolle spielt. Das Feuergericht, die Sittenverderbnis im letzten Zeitalter, die Vertilgung der Gottlosen, das Uebrigbleiben einer frommen Gemeinde sind genuine parsistische Lehren. Persisch, wenn nicht parsistisch, ist der Anspruch des Orients auf Wiedergewinnung der Weltherrschaft und die Erwartung des Untergangs oder der Unterwerfung des Westens. Auch das religiös-politische Traumgesicht ist persische Ueberlieferung. Doch ist in den griechischen Hystaspesorakeln wahrscheinlich der Parsismus nicht mehr rein tradiert, sondern schon mit babylonisch-chaldäischer und hellenistischer Speculation und Apokalyptik synkretistisch verschmolzen. Einfluss der orientalisch-griechischen Sibyllinen ist nicht ausgeschlossen. So würden sich auch die merkwürdigen Analogien in der lateinischen Literatur erklären.

Der Verfasser kann hellenisierter Parsist oder orientalisierter Hellene gewesen sein. In beiden Fällen war er ein Mann, der an die Einheit von Ahura Mazda, Zeus und Juppiter glaubte, vielleicht auch Jahwe in diesen Synkretismus einbezog. Er glaubte weiter an die religiöse und politische Suprematie des Ostens. Höchste Weisheit war für ihn nur im persischen Osten zu finden. Denn diese östliche Weisheit war älter als alle griechische

Kultur und Weisheit. Aber dem Volk und Land, das die ältesten und höchsten Offenbarungen empfangen, gebührte auch die Weltherrschaft. Darum musste das frevelhafte Rom, das die Suprematie des Ostens nicht anerkennen wollte, erniedrigt werden und zu grunde gehen.

Dass die Orakel des Hystaspes synkretistischer, und nicht jüdischer Herkunft sind, ist das wichtigste Ergebnis unserer Untersuchung. Das Urteil Schürers, das bisher für viele Theologen massgebend war, ist darnach zu revidieren [1]). In eine Geschichte der jüdischen Apokalyptik gehören die Orakel nicht. Dafür haben wir aber ein neues Document für den antiken Synkretismus gewonnen, dessen Bedeutung nicht gering ist. Hystaspes wird ein heidnisches Gegenstück zu Daniel und zur jüdischen Sibylle. Gerade wenn die Selbstständigkeit des Hystaspes gegenüber Daniel anerkannt wird, wird seine Ideengemeinschaft mit dem jüdischen Apokalyptiker um so bedeutsamer.

Die Orakel des Hystaspes haben viel Verwandtschaft mit den sibyllinischen Orakeln; sie haben auch eine ähnliche Geschichte gehabt. Kein Motiv in Hystaspes, das nicht auch in den Sibyllinen vorkommt, ausgenommen natürlich die Traumvision und dann allerdings die Sammlung der Gerechten und ihr Schreien um Hilfe. Wie die Sibylle ist auch Hystaspes christianisiert worden. Ein Unterschied ist der, dass Hystaspes zwar jüdisch klingende Motive aufweist, aber kaum durch die Hände eines Juden gegangen ist. Und dann sind die Hystaspesorakel nie so populär und verbreitet gewesen wie die Sibyllinen. Das ist begreiflich. Orientalische Apokalyptik war Geheimliteratur und nur in beschränkten Kreisen verbreitet. Die Sibyllinischen Orakel machen eine Ausnahme, weil die Person, die hinter ihnen steht, in verschiedenen Teilen der Welt, in Ost und in West, localisiert und verehrt war, und weil die Orakel hohe politische Bedeutung hatten und bei allen grossen Feldzügen und in allen Krisiszeiten befragt und zitiert und neu gezeugt wurden.

So kommt es, dass die Hystaspesorakel immer nur neben den Sibyllinen und viel seltner zitiert werden als die Sibyllinen. Dass Justin, Lactanz und der Verfasser der Theosophie die Hystaspesorakel kennen, ist nicht verwunderlich. Justin und Lactanz waren beide aufs höchste für heidnische Weisheit interessiert, die mit der christlichen Offenbarung verwandt war und geeignet war, sie zu bestätigen: *teste David cum Sibylla necnon cum Hystaspe*. Sie waren beide durch ihre Gesamtanschauung darauf angelegt, den Offenbarungs-anspruch des Hystaspes gläubig zu bejahen. Lactanz geht ja darin so weit, dass er den Inhalt dieser heidnischen Orakel in seine Darlegung der Eschatologie einflicht und sie mit den biblisch-kirchlichen Traditionen vermischt. Die Theosophie ist eine Sammlung von griechischen Orakeln und griechischen Zeugnissen für die Wahrheit des christlichen Glaubens. So konnten dem Verfasser die Orakel des

[1]) Ich bin von dieser Annahme ausgegangen; allmählich zeigte sich mir ihre Unhaltbarkeit und die Richtigkeit des Urteils von Ganschinietz (s. o. S. 6).

Hystaspes nicht entgehen. Verwunderlich kann scheinen, dass auch der Autor eines Paulusbuchs die Orakel kannte und sogar den Apostel sie zitieren liess. Aber auch er war ja erfüllt von dem Glauben, dass auch in den „griechischen Büchern" die apostolischen Heilswahrheiten gelehrt waren. Er muss aus Kreisen stammen, in denen solche Bücher gelesen wurden. Und im Zitieren heidnischer Zeugen hatte er ja ein Vorbild in Paulus selbst (Act. 17).

Der Verfasser der Theosophie (Ende 5. Jahrh.) ist der späteste Zeuge für Hystaspes. Obschon sein Buch, nach den Handschriften zu urteilen, viel gelesen worden ist, hat es nicht zur Verbreitung der Hystaspesorakel beigetragen. Auch Lactantius scheint nicht dazu angeregt zu haben, nach diesen Hystaspesorakeln zu forschen. Merkwürdig und bezeichnend ist, dass Augustin, der doch mit den Sibyllinen bekannt ist, Hystaspes nicht kennt [1]). Im Mittelalter sind dann Name und Buch ganz verschollen.

Die Seltenheit der Zeugnisse für Hystaspes erklärt sich also einmal aus der Geheimhaltung der apokalyptischen Literatur; weiter wohl auch aus dem obscuren Namen — wer wusste denn in christlichen Kreisen von König Hystaspes und von seinen Beziehungen zu Zoroaster? Es ist aber auch mit der Strömung zu rechnen, die alle derartige „apokryphe" Literatur verpönte. Erschwert wurde ja die Verbreitung schon durch das kaiserliche Verbot, das Justin erwähnt (s. o. S. 31 ff.). Dem kam aber auch aus dem Christentum selbst eine Richtung entgegen. Celsus führt unter den christlichen Sekten auch eine Gruppe der *Σιβυλλισταί* auf und Origenes bemerkt dazu: *τάχα παρακούσας τινῶν ἐγκαλούντων τοῖς οἰομένοις προφῆτιν γεγονέναι τὴν Σίβυλλαν καὶ Σιβυλλιστὰς τοὺς τοιούτους καλεσάντων* (c. Cels. V 61 a. E.). Es muss also unter den Zeitgenossen des Celsus wie unter denen des Origenes ein Streit um die Echtheit der Sibyllenorakel, d.i. um die Profetenwürde der Sibylle geführt worden sein: die Skeptiker nannten die Sibyllengläubigen Sibyllisten. Alle Hystaspeszeugen würden zu ihnen zu rechnen sein. Wenn aber schon die profetische Würde der überall gefeierten Sibylle bezweifelt wurde, wie viel näher lag es, ein Hystaspesbuch mit Skepsis aufzunehmen. Dass Zoroaster in christlichen Kreisen für einen Betrüger gehalten wurde, ist bezeugt (S. o. S. 17 ff.). Da die synkretistische Ueberlieferung den Hystaspes eng mit Zoroaster verbindet, wird man annehmen können, dass auch Hystaspes und seine Orakel mit Argwohn betrachtet oder gar verworfen wurden. Auch durch die Vorliebe der Gnostiker für diese ganze apokryphe synkretistische Literatur wurde sie und mit ihr Hystaspes für die Kirche discreditiert. Sibylle und Hystaspes verdanken das Ansehen, das sie bei kirchlichen Schriftstellern geniessen, vornehmlich einer bestimmten apologetischen Tendenz: man braucht die heidnische Literatur, um auch ihr Beweise, *testimonia*, für die Wahrheit des

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[1]) Was frühere Zeiten angeht, ist auffallend, dass Clemens v. Alexandrien den Hystaspes nur aus dem „Paulus"-Zitat kennt und dass Origenes ihn überhaupt nicht erwähnt.

kirchlichen Glaubens, vor allem der kirchlichen Enderwartung (mit der man vor allem schrecken und zum Glauben bewegen wollte) zu entnehmen. Diese Apologetik hatte ein offenes Auge und ein weites Herz für die auch dem Heidentum geschenkten Offenbarungen und für die in heidnischer Philosophie und in heidnischer Offenbarungsliteratur enthaltene Wahrheitserkenntnis. Sie hatte diese Blickweite geerbt vom hellenistischen Judentum, das gleichfalls der Propaganda wegen Parallelen und Analogien zur eigenen Offenbarung aus der griechischen Literatur herauszog und dem Christentum darin vorgearbeitet hatte. Meist bedeutete solche Offenheit für die Wahrheitselemente in der Weisheit der synkretistischen Heidenwelt, dass man gleichzeitig die eigene Lehre mit solchen Wahrheitselementen bereicherte und unbewusst die christliche Tradition in den Strom des Synkretismus hineinstellte. Die Reaction dagegen konnte nicht ausbleiben. Schon das beherrschende Urteil Alten und Neuen Testaments über die „Heiden" war dieser Apologetik nicht günstig. Und was sich in der täglichen Berührung mit dem Heidentum vordrängte, musste die Abneigung gegen alles Heidentum verstärken. Folge war radicale Verurteilung des Heidentums und aller seiner Erzeugnisse, zunehmender Exclusivismus der Kirche und ihrer Theologie, die sich jedenfalls bewusst auf die biblisch-kirchliche Tradition beschränkte und diese für sufficient in jeder Hinsicht erklärte. Das hatte aber weiter zur Folge, dass die Apologetik sich gezwungen sah, auf *testimonia* des Heidentums zu verzichten und den Beweis der Wahrheit ausschliesslich aus der Bibel, aus der directen Ueberlieferung vom menschgewordenen Gottessohn und aus der rettungslosen und restlosen Verdorbenheit der gesamten ausserchristlichen Menschheit zu ziehen. Damit schwand das Interesse für die heidnische Literatur und insbesondere für „heidnische Offenbarungsliteratur": dies wurde ein unsinniger Begriff, eine *contradictio in adiecto*. Diese „apokryphe" Literatur, die sich selbst „apokryph" (im Sinne geheimer, und für Wenige bestimmter Weisheit) nannte, wurde nun als „apokryph" (im Sinn von unbekannt, nicht anerkannt) discreditiert und ihre Lecture auch von kirchlicher Seite verboten.

Die wenigen Zeugnisse für Hystaspes, die wir besitzen, haben wir dann den Schriftstellern und Kirchenlehrern zu danken, die dem immer stärker sich geltend machenden kirchlichen Exclusivismus sich nicht unterwarfen oder die inconsequent blieben. Die merkwürdigste Erscheinung in dieser Hinsicht ist L a c t a n z. Dass man im 2. Jhdt. Hystaspes anzuführen wagte, ist nicht erstaunlich. Aber dass noch am Anfang des 4. Jhdts. ein kirchlicher Schriftsteller den Glauben, dass es auch heidnische Profeten gebe und dass dazu Hystaspes gehöre, zu einem Leitmotiv seiner grossen Apologie und Beschreibung der kirchlichen Lehre macht, ist auffallend. Ihm danken wir die wichtigsten und ausführlichsten Zeugnisse, insbesondere das wichtigste über die Autorität und die Form der Schrift; nur die Theosophie liefert dazu eine Ergänzung. Bei ihm ist aber noch ein besonderes Interesse wirksam, neben dem apologetischen, das seine Hochschät-

zung des Hystaspes mit erklärt: das ist sein Interesse für die „letzten Dinge". Weil ihm die Eschatologie so am Herzen liegt, ist sein Auge auf die heidnische Apokalyptik gefallen, hat er Hystaspes gelesen, ward jeder Zweifel an seiner Echtheit unterdrückt, hält er auch dessen Zeugnis seinen Lesern vor. Schon bei Justin tritt dies Motiv der Berufung auf Hystaspes und die Sibylle hervor; auch dem Ps.-Paulus ist es nicht fremd. Aber am stärksten kommt es bei Lactanz zur Erscheinung. Die Verbreitung der Sibyllinen ist Beweis, dass dies Interesse auch weiter in der Kirche erhalten blieb, bis zu Thomas von Celano hin und weiter: neben der Literatur ist ja auch die bildende Kunst mit ihren Sibyllenfiguren bis in die Renaissancezeit hinein das Zeugnis [1]). Aber die Sibylle ist neben „Hermes" und Vergilius die einzige heidnische Profetenfigur, die sich allem Exclusivismus und allem Zweifel gegenüber zu behaupten gewusst hat. Hystaspes fiel den der Erhaltung heidnischer Apokalyptik feindlichen Tendenzen zum Opfer. Die wenigen und wortkargen Zeugnisse, die uns bewahrt geblieben sind, sind, wie sich uns ergeben hat, bedeutsam genug: scharf interpretiert, lassen sie in grossen Umrissen Herkunft, Art und Geschichte dieses Orakelbuchs vor uns erstehen, und in die Geschichte des Synkretismus hineingestellt, liefern sie einen wertvollen Beitrag zur Geschichte der antiken Eschatologie in einem Umkreis, der von Persien und Babylonien über Jerusalem, Alexandrien bis nach Rom hin reicht.

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1) In Niederland ist hier an die Deckengemälde der Walburgiskirche zu Zutphen zu erinnern!

REGISTER

DIE BEDEUTUNG UND DIE REKTION
DER GOTISCHEN PRAEPOSITIONEN

GOTISCHE CASUS-SYNTAX II

DIE BEDEUTUNG UND DIE REKTION DER GOTISCHEN PRAEPOSITIONEN

GOTISCHE CASUS-SYNTAX II

VON

M. J. VAN DER MEER

VERHANDELING DER KONINKLIJKE AKADEMIE
VAN WETENSCHAPPEN TE AMSTERDAM
AFDEELING LETTERKUNDE
NIEUWE REEKS, DEEL XXVIII, N° 4

UITGAVE VAN DE KONINKLIJKE AKADEMIE
VAN WETENSCHAPPEN TE AMSTERDAM 1930

FRIEDRICH PANZER

in verehrung

VORWORT

Ueber die einrichtung und den zweck dieser abhandlung wurde schon in der einleitung das nötige mitgeteilt.

Es bleibt dem verfasser jetzt nur noch die angenehme pflicht, den herren cand. phil. M. ITTENBACH und FR. WIESCHKE, die ihn bei der umarbeitung und fertigstellung des manuskripts und bei der korrektur unterstützt haben, dafür seinen herzlichsten dank auszusprechen.

Frankfurt a. M., den 18. März 1930.

INHALTSANGABE

us.

fairra.

hindana, innana, utana, utaþro.

neƕa, neƕ.

faura.

faur.

wiþra.

afar c. dat.

hindar c. dat. und c. acc.

ana

and.

in.

in c. acc. und du.

du.

du c. instr.

at c. dat.

bi c. dat. in übertragener bedeutung.

bi c. dat. und c. acc., die in verschiedenen anwendungen miteinander wechseln.

bi c. instr.

þairh.

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EINLEITUNG

Vorliegende arbeit war ursprünglich als eine fortsetzung der im jahre 1901 in niederländischer sprache erschienenen *Gotische Casus-syntaxis I.* [1]) gedacht. Sie unterscheidet sich aber in mancher hinsicht von dem älteren werk. Der unterschied besteht nicht nur darin, dass auch die bedeutung der präpositionen der gegenstand der erörterung geworden ist, sondern auch in der behandlung des stoffes selber. Mit recht tadelte Reiss in seiner kritik des ersten bandes [2]) dass nicht regelmässig der gotische gebrauch mit dem der vorlage verglichen wird. Dass das nötig ist, war dem verfasser vor dem erscheinen seiner arbeit schon längst klar geworden, nur fehlte ihm die zeit, das material aufs neue zu sammeln, als er zu dieser überzeugung gekommen war. Als er vor einigen jahren in der lage war, seine unterbrochene wissenschaftliche arbeit wieder aufnehmen zu können, und sich zunächst den gotischen casus wieder zuwandte, richtete er bei der neuen sammlung des materials sein augenmerk besonders auf eine genaue vergleichung des gebrauchs der gotischen präpositionen mit dem der vorlage, was nach dem erscheinen von Streitbergs Wulfila-Ausgabe [3]) auch viel fruchtbringender zu werden versprach. Eine genaue vergleichung der übersetzung und der vorlage ist selbstverständlich an erster stelle nötig um festzustellen, was man für idiomatischen gotischen sprachgebrauch zu halten habe und was als blosse nachahmung des griechischen zu betrachten sei. Schon Hattala hat in seinem referat über Moureks *Syntax der gotischen Präpositionen* [4]) es als notwendig erkannt, dass man sich bei dem studium der syntax der deutschen präpositionen sicherheit darüber verschafft, ob der gotische übersetzer gräzismen gebraucht oder nicht. Er sagt: „obige bedingung lautet kurz gesagt so, dass der herr verfasser sich auf einige ausführliche beispiele beschränke, übrigens aber möglichst kurz den leser namentlich auf die stellen verweise wo es möglich ist durch vergleichung des wulfilanischen gotisch mit den übrigen germanischen sprachen und deren verwandten sich darüber sicherheit zu verschaffen, ob Wulfila gräzismen gebraucht hat. (Míněná výminka zní zkrátka tak, že by p. původce měl přestati na několika zevrubných dokladech, k ostatním pak jen co nejkratčeji odkázati čtenáře zejmena tam, kdekoli lze srovnáním gotštiny Ulfilovy s ostatními řečmi

[1]) M. J. van der Meer, *Gotische Casus-syntaxis I* (Groninger Dissert.), Leiden, 1901.

[2]) *Zfdph.* XXXV, 120 ff.

[3]) *Die Gotische Bibel*, herausgegeben von Wilhelm Streitberg (Germanische Bibliothek, zweite Abteilung: Untersuchungen und Texte herausgegeben von Wilhelm Streitberg III), Heidelberg 1908, 2te Aufl. 1919.

[4]) *Syntaxis Gotských předložek*, V. Praze 1890 nález Str. 2.

germanskými a příbuznými jejich nabyti jistoty o tom, že se Ulfilas dopustil graecismů)." Mourek sagt selber über diesen punkt in seinem vorwort folgendes: [1]) „An diese arbeit trat ich heran mit einer meinung deren es nicht möglich ist sich zu entschlagen. Weil nämlich Wulfilas text kein original, sondern eine übersetzung ist, das heisst ein werk, das immer mehr oder weniger von der vorlage abhängig ist, weiter eine übersetzung heiliger schriften, die schon aus pietät in jede sprache mit einer sogar ängstlichen ehrfurcht vor dem ursprünglichen text übersetzt sind, endlich in einer sprache geschrieben, die bis dahin noch nicht literarisch ausgebildet war, so liegt die meinung nahe, dass es nicht „eine so reine und wertvolle syntaktische quelle ist wie ein ursprüngliches werk" [2]); dass der satzbau ausschliesslich auf der grundlage des originals richtig beurteilt werden kann, und dass es nun auch bei den präpositionen unvermeidlich ist vom griechischen auszugehen, wie das im wesentlichen schon getan wurde im jahre 1843 im glossar von V. d. Gabelentz und Löbe.

Aber schon die vergleichung einiger vorläufigen belege hat diese meinung erheblich erschüttert und der verlauf der ganzen untersuchung führte zu dem unzweifelhaften ergebnis, dass es wenigstens sofern es die präpositionen betrifft, wirklich nur eine vermutung ist.

Erstens ist niemals das verhältnis einer gotischen und einer griechischen präposition fest, d. h. weder gibt es eine einzige präposition im gotischen, die immer und überall nur einer und derselben griechischen präposition entspricht, noch umgekehrt eine einzige griechische präposition, die immer durch eine und dieselbe gotische übersetzt wird. Weiter hat der gotische text manchmal eine präposition wo der griechische text keine hat und umgekehrt. Oder im gotischen kommen zwei präpositionen vor, im griechischen dagegen eine, oder endlich ist manchmal die gotische präposition von der eigentlichen bedeutung der griechischen gänzlich verschieden und manchmal bezeichnet sie auch besser die situation. Obgleich also die gotische sprache vor Wulfila noch nicht literarisch ausgebildet war, hatte dennoch jede präposition von haus aus im mündlichen gebrauch schon ein bestimmt umrissenes bedeutungsgebiet, woraus Wulfila offenbar gewählt hat, was ihm eben jeweils das geeignetste erschien.

Hieraus ergibt sich im ganzen für das werk des vortrefflichen übersetzers ein interessantes neues zeugnis für seine selbstständigkeit, die uns von anderer seite auch schon bekannt war; dass er nämlich nicht sklavisch, wie man sagt, übersetzt hat, sondern sorgfältig seine übersetzung überlegt und sich bestrebt hat in den geist seiner vorlage einzudringen, nicht die wörter, sondern den sinn des griechischen textes übersetzend. Und wie er sich bei den präpositionen unabhängig gezeigt hat, so verhielt er sich gewiss überall und viele konstruktionen die auf den ersten

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[1]) Předmluva, s. I. ff.

[2]) Zitiert aus Hattala, *Probierstein der čechischen Sprache*, s. 36.

blick eine zu enge anlehnung an das griechische zu sein scheinen, sind auch von gotischem standpunkt zweifellos sehr gut möglich gewesen.

Darum schien es mir nicht richtig bei der erklärung der gotischen präpositionalkonstruktionen vom griechischen auszugehen, obgleich für das leichtere verständnis und eine instruktive vergleichung jedem beleg der griechische text beigegeben wurde. Nur auf wunsch der herren referenten dieser arbeit [1]), aufgefordert von der königlich čechischen Gesellschaft der wissenschaften als verwalterin des jubiläumsfonds habe ich in dem schlussparagraphen der einleitung (s. 11 u. 12) eine übersicht über das verhältnis zwischen den griechischen und den gotischen präpositionen hinzugefügt. (K dílu přistoupil jsem s míněním, kterému ani nelze se vyhnouti. Poněvadž totiž Ulfilův text není originál, nýbrž překlad, t. j. práce, jaká vždycky větší menší měrou visí na prvopise; dále překlad písem svatých, která už z piety do všech jazyků přeložena jsou až i s úzkostlivým šetřením původního textu; konečně psán jazykem, jenž do té doby literárně nebyl vzděláván: jest na snadě přesvědčení, že „není tak čistým a vzácným pramenem syntaktickym, jako původní práce" [2]), že vazby jeho správně posouditi možno výhradně jen na základě originalu a že tedy i při předložkách nezbytno jest vycházeti od řečtiny, jak to podstatou učiněno již r. 1843. v glossáři Gabelentzově a Loebově.

Ale již srovnání několika prvních dokladů zviklalo tuto domněnku podstatně a průběh vší práce vedl k bezpečnému poznání, že aspoň pokud předložek se týká, jest právě jen domněním. Nejprve žádný poměr předložky gotské a řecké není stálý, t. j. ani jedné předložky není v gotštině, která by vždy a všude odpovídala jen jedné a téže řecké, a naopak ani jedné řecké není, která by vždy jedinou a touže gotskou byla překládána. Dále v gotském znění bývá předložka, kde v řeckém textu žádné není, a naopak; nebo naskytají se gotsky dvě předložky proti řecké jedné, nebo dokonce gotsky bývá předložka od řecké původním významem zcela různá a leckdy situaci i lépe označuje.

Jakkoli tedy gotština před Ulfilou nebyla vzdělávána literárně, přece každá předložka přirozeně měla v ústním užívání již určitě vymezený obvod platnosti, ze kterých Ulfilas patrně vybíral, co právě vždy se mu zdálo nejpřípadnějším.

Plyne z toho vůbec pro práci výborného překladatele zajímavé nové svědectví samostatnosti, s jiných stránek již uznané, že totiž nepřekládal jak se říká otrocky, nýbrž bedlivě přemýšlel a vnikati se snažil v ducha své předlohy, převáděje nikoli slova, nýbrž smysl znění řeckého. A jako při předložkách si počínal neodvisle, tak zajisté vedl si vůbec, a mnohá

[1]) Auch der zweite ref. A. Ludwig hatte einen dahinzielenden wunsch geäussert. Er sagt in seinem referat: „Es würde erwünscht gewesen sein, dass der verfasser seiner abhandlung einen überblick über die art und weise, wie Ulfilas die griechischen präpositionen übersetzt, beigegeben hätte. (Žádoucím doplňkem by bylo, kdyby p. spisovatel byl přidal ke své práci krátký přehled toho, jak Ulfilas řecké předložky překládá).

[2]) M. Hattala, Brus jazyka českého, str. 36.

vazba, která na pohled zdá se býti příliš těsným nápodobením řečtiny, nepochybně i na podkladě gotském zcela dobře byla možna.

Proto nevidělo mi se správno, při výkladě gotských vazeb předložkových vycházeti od řečtiny, jakkoli pro snažší srozumění a poučné přirovnání ke každému dokladu řecké znění jest připsáno. Jen po přání pp. posuzovatelů práce, dožádaných sl. Král. Českou Společností Náuk jakožto správkyní jubil. fondu, přidal jsem v posledním § úvodu (str. 11 a 12) přehled poměrů mezi předložkami řeckými a gotskými)."

Im allgemeinen muss man sich mit Moureks ansicht einverstanden erklären: wenn, wie auch aus meiner arbeit sich ergibt, bei den präpositionen eine so grosse verschiedenheit in der übersetzung der griechischen präpositionen besteht, so kann die abhängigkeit des übersetzers vom original auch in anderer hinsicht nicht so sehr gross sein. Es mutet denn auch sonderbar an, wenn Kauffmann in seinen Beiträgen zur Quellenkritik der gotischen Bibelübersetzung sich folgendermassen äussert [1]. „Als hauptresultat der quellenkritischen untersuchung darf schon an dieser stelle ausgesprochen werden, dass wir bei den bisher behandelten alttestamentlichen fragmenten und bei dem Matthäus-Evangelium eine und dieselbe übersetzungstechnik gefunden haben und dass diese technik durchaus derjenigen verwandt erscheint, die wir aus der althochdeutschen evangelienübersetzung zur genüge kennen". Auch der standpunkt, den Havers dem gotischen gegenüber einnimmt, scheint mir nicht richtig zu sein [2]. Wilmanns hat in seiner deutschen Grammatik *niman* als beweis dafür angeführt, dass die ältere sprache oft da präpositionen fordere, wo die jüngere den dativ gestatte oder verlange auf grund der tatsache, dass im gotischen dieses verbum einige male mit *af* verbunden wird. Nun behauptet Havers, dass dies für das wahre germanische sprachempfinden nichts beweise, weil die lokale ausdrucksweise mit ausnahme einer stelle eine wörtliche wiedergabe des griechischen textes sei. Auch die von Wilmanns genannten verben *briggan* und *sandjan* die nur mit präpositionen belegt sind, während sie nhd. auch den dativ zulassen, dürften nach Havers nichts für den unterschied zwischen älterer und jüngerer sprache beweisen, weil auch hier wortgetreue übersetzungen der griechischen präpositionalverbindungen vorliegen. In dem einzig abweichenden beispiel würde auch nhd. die präposition stehen. Es ist mir nicht vollkommen klar, was Havers mit diesen letzten beispielen beweisen will. Will er daraus schliessen, dass diese belege nicht beweisen, dass im gotischen auch der dativ nicht statthaft gewesen wäre, dann kann man ihm nur beistimmen. Wenn er aber behauptet, dass wörtliche übersetzungen nichts für das wahre germanische sprachempfinden beweisen, dann möchte ich zunächst fragen, ob man denn überhaupt von einem germanischen sprachempfinden schlechthin sprechen könne, und ob

[1] *Zfdph.* XXX, 183.

[2] *Untersuchungen zur Kasussyntax der Indo-germanischen sprachen*, Strassburg, 1911, s. 262 u. fussn.

z. B. das altnordische sprachempfinden in mancher hinsicht nicht ein ganz anderes gewesen sei als das gotische, das althochdeutsche als das neuhochdeutsche. Zweitens möchte ich noch beiläufig bemerken, dass *briggan at* keine ganz wortgetreue übersetzung des griechischen ist; das wäre *briggan du* gewesen, das auch einmal vorkommt. Weiter aber möchte ich darauf hinweisen, dass *qiþan du* beispielsweise hunderte male den griechischen dativ vertritt, woraus sich ergibt, dass der gotische übersetzer sich nicht gescheut hat, von der vorlage abzuweichen, wo er das für nötig erachtete; wir müssen also annehmen, dass er bei *niman* nicht das bedürfnis gehabt hat, die konstruktion der vorlage zu ändern, woraus zu schliessen ist, dass *niman af* im gotischen auch sprachgemäss war. Auf einem ganz andern standpunkt steht Curme [1]. Er hat die richtige beobachtung gemacht, dass Wulfila sehr oft von seiner vorlage abweicht und schliesst daraus, dass der übersetzer sich bemüht hat, reines gotisch zu schreiben, er weist weiter nach, dass ihm das sehr oft gelungen ist und dass er dabei ein bewundernswertes sprachtalent gezeigt hat. Wenn er nun nach *swaswe und swaei* auch, in übereinstimmung mit dem griechischen einen accus. c. inf. findet den Wulfila gewöhnlich anders übersetzt, so sagt er darüber folgendes [2]: „Usually Wulfila employs a clause with a finite verb here just as in choice literary style in English. The fact remains, however, that Wulfila also used the accusative with the infinitive here. It does not seem probable that he merely imitated the Greek mechanically. It was not his way. Language talent asserts itself spontaneously, not by jerks. Wulfila regularly shows a fine feeling for his native speech, and we must remember that he is usually a free translator in rendering the greek infinitive. In this case there was a naturel tendency to follow in this category of clause of result the analogy of the usage in other categories and thus employ the accusative with the infinitive", was im grunde darauf hinauskommt dass Wulfila keine gräzismen geschrieben haben kann, weil er im allgemeinen idiomatisches gotisch schreibt. Der verfasser vorliegender schrift hat seinen standpunkt in dieser sache schon früher dargelegt [3]. Er meint dass in jedem besondern fall untersucht werden muss, ob man es mit einem gräzismus zu tun hat oder nicht.

Dies kann aber nur dadurch geschehen, dass man vorlage und übersetzung genau vergleicht und darum scheint es ihm nicht richtig, dass Mourek das griechische nicht systematisch zur vergleichung herangezogen hat. Nicht nur die abweichungen vom original kommen, wie gesagt, für die gotische syntax in betracht, auch dort, wo Wulfila eine bestimmte konstruktion regelmässig wörtlich überträgt, muss diese, wenn sonst nichts dagegen spricht für die wahre gotische syntax in anspruch genommen werden. Aber auch aus andern gründen empfiehlt es sich das griechische

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[1] *Is the gothic bible gothic?* Journ. of engl. a. germ. phil., X, s. 151—190 u. 335—377.
[2] s. 365. — [3] *PBB.*, XXXIX. s. 202.

original zu vergleichen. Es gibt uns nämlich oft den schlüssel zum richtigen verständnis der gotischen präpositionen in die hand. Wenn wir sehen dass eine gotische präposition verschiedene griechische übersetzt, so ist das höchst wichtig um die gebrauchssfäre der gotischen präposition zu bestimmen. Weiter bietet die vergleichung ein willkommenes einteilungsprinzip der gebrauchskategorien, das vom subjektiven ermessen des bearbeiters des materials unabhängig ist. Aber fast noch wichtiger ist die frage, auf welche verschiedene weise die griechische präposition ins gotische übertragen wird. Dies gibt einen einblick in die synonymik der gotischen präpositionen und zugleich in die übersetzungstechnik des Wulfila, wie ihn Stolzenburg und Kapteijn [1]) in dem rahmen ihrer arbeit nur zum teile geben konnten. Wenn wir beobachten auf wie verschiedene weise dieselbe konstruktion oft, so weit wir sehen können, in derselben bedeutung übersetzt wird, so ist das hauptproblem, das untersucht werden muss, nicht an erster stelle mehr die frage, in wiefern der übersetzer von der vorlage abhängig ist, sondern weshalb er in jedem einzelnen fall eine präposition so und nicht anders übersetzt hat, ein problem das nach meiner erfahrung nicht immer leicht zu lösen ist. Bevor ich hierauf noch etwas näher eingehe, möchte ich noch einen anderen punkt besprechen. Mourek fragt ob es richtig ist, von dem griechischen auszugehen. Der verfasser dieser arbeit hat dies ursprünglich vorgehabt und auch das material nach diesem prinzip geordnet. Er wollte diese arbeit als ersten band veröffentlichen und dann später in einem zweiten band umgekehrt von dem gotischen ausgehen und aus dem im ersten band vorliegenden material seine schlüsse ziehen. Später schien es ihm besser, gleich das ganze zu geben und dasjenige was ursprünglich für den ersten band bestimmt war in das werk hineinzuarbeiten. Dass dadurch die übersichtlichkeit gelitten hat, verhehlt er sich nicht. Durch eine übersicht über die weise, wie die griechischen präpositionen übersetzt werden mit hinweisen auf die davon handelnden stellen, wird diesem Uebel hoffentlich abgeholfen. Ursprünglich hatte der verfasser in verhältnismässig vielen fällen die verschiedene übersetzung einer und derselben griechischen konstruktion auf rythmische oder satzmelodische gründe zurückgeführt. Weil aus äusserungen von Streitberg [2]) hervorgeht, dass dem verfasser für satzmelodische unterschiede das organ abgeht, hat er darauf bezügliche bemerkungen meistens gestrichen.

Im allgemeinen hat er auf vergleichung mit anderen sprachen verzichtet. Es ist ihm an erster stelle darum zu tun gewesen, aus dem gotischen selber heraus zu ergründen, inwiefern der gotische präpositionalgebrauch idiomatisch und wo er nur griechische nachahmung ist und die begriffskategorien dieser wörter zu bestimmen. Nur wo sich eine vergleichung spontan darbot oder wo sie unbedingt notwendig war, um den

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[1]) *Zfdph.*, XXXVII, 145—193 u. 352—392; *IF.*, XXIX 260—367.
[2]) *Elementarbuch*$^{5-6}$, s. 180 fussn. *Die gotische Bibel*^{2}, 486 (zu L. IV 36).

richtigen standpunkt zu gewinnen, von woraus man die gebrauchssfären einer präposition überblicken kann, ist er von diesem prinzip abgewichen.

Auf eine ursprünglich geplante vergleichung mit dem altnordischen, wofür er schon ziemlich viel material gesammelt hat, hat er verzichtet, weil sonst diese arbeit wahrscheinlich niemals erscheinen würde. Dass eine vergleichung mit dieser sprache sehr nutzbringend sein würde, verhehlt er sich aber nicht. Auf ein paar punkte möchte er hier hinweisen. In seiner *Casus-Syntax*, I, hat er ein beispiel verzeichnet, wo ein genitivobjekt zum subjekt des passivum wird [1]). Weil hier die vorlage wörtlich übersetzt wird, hat er dies für einen gräzismus erklärt. Nun finden sich aber im altnordischen auch beispiele derartiger konstruktionen u. a. bei dem verbum *afla: var mest aflat* [2]). Also wäre es auch möglich, dass auch das gotische hier eine idiomatische konstruktion hätte. Der zweite punkt betrifft die bedeutungen von *us*. Der verfasser hat nachzuweisen versucht, dass bei allen bedeutungen, auch bei den causalbedeutungen der ursprüngliche sinn noch mehr oder weniger bewusst war, ebenso wie das in der modernen sprache der fall ist wo „aus" ungefähr in denselben bedeutungen vorkommt, wie im gotischen. Möglich wäre es allerdings auch, dass die modernen bedeutungsschattierungen, wie zum beispiel die kausale bedeutung, ebenso wie die gotischen unter einfluss der bibelsprache stünden. In dieser meinung würde uns die angabe von Gebhardt [3]) bestärken, dass ór altn. temporal und kausal nicht vorkomme. Auch eine bedeutung von mhd. *ûz* wie *ein frouwe ûz rechtem jâmer schrei* (*Parz.*, 138, 13) könnte biblischen einflüssen zugeschrieben werden. Wenn wir nun aber im altn. ausdrücke finden, wie *andaz, deya ór sárum, (Egilssaga*, IX 10, s. 31 u. 19 s. 33) oder *andaz, deya ór sótt (Landnámabók*, 1900, 196, 15, *Forn. sǫgur*, II, 164, *Konungs-skuggja*, 594), dann muss man, wenn diese bedeutung auch in der poesie zu fehlen scheint, wohl annehmen, dass die kausale bedeutung von ór sich unabhängig von der bibelsprache aus der grundbedeutung entwickelt hat, und dann kann das auch im gotischen und in der modernen sprache der fall sein. Diese beispiele mögen genügen, um zu zeigen, in wiefern die untersuchung der casus-syntax einer sprache, die wie das altnordische viel weniger von klassischen einflüssen abhängig ist, die aus dem gotischen gewonnenen ergebnisse modifizieren und ergänzen kann.

In einem punkt ist der verfasser dieser arbeit seinem ursprünglichen plan treu geblieben, er hat nur die präpositionen berücksichtigt, sofern sie wirklich präpositionen sind, d. h. sofern sie einen casus regieren. Mourek hat sein ziel viel weiter gesteckt, er hat diese wörter auch als wortbildungselemente gewürdigt. Ich habe gemeint, das

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[1]) § 1. s. 2.

[2]) *Egilssaga*, ed. Finnur Jónsson, XII, 4. Vgl. fussn. 14 s. 39.

[3]) *Beiträge zur Bedeutungslehre der altwestnordischen Präpositionen* (Leipziger Diss.), Halle, 1896, s. 89.

ohne schaden für meine arbeit unterlassen zu können. M. e. ist es unwichtig für die bedeutung der eigentlichen präpositionen, ob das adverb, womit das verbum zusammengesetzt ist dasselbe oder ein anderes ist als die präposition, die dazu gehört. So bringt Mourek zu verschiedenen rubriken: *afnimada af uns sa bruþfaþs* und *afsatjaidau us fauragaggja*. Das ist m. e. nur von wichtigkeit sofern es beweist, dass die bedeutung von *afsatjan* sich so ändern kann dass es *us* zu sich nehmen kann. Es beweist nichts für die bedeutung von *us* im lebendigen gebrauch, ebenso wie im hochdeutschen „ich gehe davon aus" nur beweist dass „aus" hier seine ursprüngliche bedeutung eingebüsst hat.

Nicht nur mit Mourek, sondern auch mit Winklers Casus-Syntax [1]) berührt sich diese arbeit sehr oft. Winkler behandelt nicht nur die präpositionen die den dativ regieren, sondern zieht zur vergleichung auch diejenigen heran, die den accusativ regieren. Sehr oft gehen unsere ansichten auseinander. Das liegt zunächst daran, dass Winkler bei dem dativ, auch wenn er von präpositionen abhängt, überall die idee der beteiligung sehen will. Dass der beweis, dass der gotische dativ eigentlich überall der casus der beteiligung ist, als misslungen betrachtet werden muss, hat Delbrück in seinem *Synkretismus* [2]) überzeugend dargetan. Auch auf dem gebiet der präpositionen hat diese vorgefasste meinung W. sehr oft verhindert, die tatsachen im rechten licht zu sehen. Fast komisch mutet an was ihm bei *þairh* passiert ist. Aus dem umstand, dass ihm offenbar ein grosser teil seines materials abhanden gekommen ist, der zufälligerweise fast alle stellen enthielt, wo *þairh* eine abstraktere bedeutung hat, folgert er, dass *þairh* weil es nur den akkusativ regiert, eigentlich keine innerliche beziehung bezeichnen kann. Dieses missgeschick ist die folge des umstandes dass arbeiten auf anderm gebiet ihn daran gehindert haben, seine arbeit, die schon „seit 1879 ganz oder grösstenteils druckfertig gelegen" hatte, nocheinmal nachzuprüfen. Hätte er dies tun können, dann hätte er auch noch allerhand kleinere versehen ausmerzen können. Auf einen bezeichnenden fall will ich hier noch hinweisen. Als ein beispiel von *ustiuhan du* [3]) führt er die unterschriften der Briefe an: z. b. *du Rumonim ustauh* eine übersetzung von πρὸς Ῥωμαίους ἐτελέσθη, während er ganz richtig *du Rumonim* u.s. *anastodeiþ* als abhängig von einem selbstverständlichen und deshalb nicht genannten substantiv [4]) betrachtet. Offenbar hat er nicht gesehen dass diese beiden Ausdrücke, die ziemlich oft vorkommen, einen gegensatz bilden.

Der verfasser dieser arbeit ist bei der erörterung der bedeutung der präpositionen von der örtlichen beziehung ausgegangen. Sehr oft hat sich ihm ergeben, dass besonders in übertragenem sinne soweit er sehen kann, verschiedene präpositionen in genau derselben bedeutung ge-

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[1]) Heinrich Winkler, *Germanische Casussyntax*. I. *Der Dativ, instrumental, örtliche und halbörtliche Verhältnisse*. Berlin, 1896.

[2]) Delbrück, *Synkretismus*, ein Beitrag zur germanischen Kasuslehre. Strassburg. 1907 s. 236 ff. — [3]) s. 282. — [4]) s. 284.

braucht werden. Er hat das dahin gedeutet dass ursprünglich die vorstellung beim gebrauch verschiedener präpositionen auch verschieden war, dass aber später der unterschied nicht mehr gefühlt wurde. A. Ludwig [1]) denkt sich die sache anders: er sagt: „Wenn wir uns nun der Schrift selber zuwenden, so stossen wir uns einigermassen daran, dass der verfasser, indem er die örtlichen verhältnisse ganz mathematisch zeichnet, sie als vollständig konkret einführt, während sie uns als sehr abstrakt erscheinen. Seiner meinung steht am meisten dies entgegen dass die örtlichen verhältnisse in den alten denkmälern keiner Sprache auch nicht im entferntesten sich so deutlich unterscheiden und sich in ihrer späteren reinheit finden, dass sie als die ursprünglichen grundlagen betrachtet werden können in welchen jede sprache ihre wurzeln hat... Allmählich hat sich der mensch mehr und mehr gewöhnt an eine genauere angleichung des ausdrucks an die gedanken, an eine strengere trennung jedes satzteiles und deren funktion und wegen der deutlichkeit an eine fleissigere ausnutzung der mittel, die die sprache ihm bietet. Es kann nicht geleugnet werden, liegt sogar am hellen tage, dass die menschen sich in dem lauf der zeit einen klareren, genaueren und leichter verständlichen sprachgebrauch angeeignet haben. (Přistoupime-li již ke spisu samému, zarazíme se poněkud nad tím, že původce jeho líče poměry místní docela matematicky, považuje je za úplně concretné, kdežto se nám zdají býti velmi abstractními. Mínění jeho nejvíc odporuje to, že místní poměry (pohybu a klidu) ve starých památkách žádného jazyka ani z daleka tak pilně se nerozlišují a ve své pozdější přesnosti se nezachovávají, aby mohly býti považovány za původní základy, ve kterých zvyk jazyků své kořeny má... Časem člověk přivykl víc a více přesnému připodobnění výrazů ku myšlénkám, přísnějšímu rozlišování částí jednoho a téhož děje, a pro jasnost' pilnějšímu využitkování prostředků, kterých mu jazyk poskytuje. Nedá se zapříti, ano jest nabíledni, že lidé během času jasnějšímu, přesnějšímu a snadněji srozumitelnému způsobu mluvení se přiučili)."

Diese meinung Ludwigs berührt sich nahe mit der Van Ginnekens [2]). „Toutes les prépositions comme telles sont au fond dans celui qui parle des mots de sentiment, et spécialement du sentiment d'association. Avec cela je ne nie pas que pour des gens instruits surtout dans la langue écrite, mais aussi dans la conversation, elle ne puissent avoir une signification logique. Cependant cette signification est presque toujours née par une réflexion sur le sentiment dans celui qui écoute. En tout cas le sentiment pur emploie aussi très souvent ces prépositions prétendues logiques fort illogiquement." Es ist hier nicht der ort auf diese punkte näher einzugehen. Genügen möge die bemerkung, dass nach dieser be-

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[1]) Referat über Mourek Nález, str. 3.

[2]) Jac. van Ginneken, *Principes de linguistique psychologique*, essai de synthèse (Bibliothèque de philosophie experimentale IV), Paris, Leipzig, Amsterdam, 1907, § 182, s. 146.

trachtungsweise die sogenannte verwechslung der präpositionen der ursprüngliche zustand gewesen ist, und dass man die präpositionen noch viel mehr als der verfasser dieser arbeit getan hat, auf ihren gefühlswert zu prüfen hat.

So lautete im grossen und ganzen unverändert die einleitung, die im jahre 1914 der arbeit vorherging, die dem dozentenkollegium der damaligen Akademie für Sozial- und Handelswissenschaften als habilitationsschrift vorgelegen hat. Die kriegsjahre haben damals die drucklegung verhindert. Andere arbeiten waren die ursache, dass es erst jetzt dazu kommt. Dass die Königlich Niederländische Akademie der Wissenschaften (sektion Letterkunde) bereit ist diese umarbeitung und verkürzung noch jetzt in ihre werke aufzunehmen, ist für den verfasser eine hohe ehre. Er dankt ihr und besonders den herren Sijmons und Kern, den beiden berichterstattern, die die aufnahme befürwortet haben, herzlichst dafür.

DER VERFASSER.

Frankfurt a. M., 18. März 1929.

Die präpositionen af, fram, us

§ 1. Die präpositionen *af, fram, us* bezeichnen alle eine *trennung*. Sie regieren sämtlich den dativ. Delbrück [1]) hat nachgewiesen, dass dieser dativ an die stelle eines älteren ablativs getreten ist, wie denn überhaupt der ablativ sich im germanischen mit dem dativ vereinigt hat. [2])

Dadurch wird Winkler's theorie hinfällig, dass der dativ bei präpositionen im gotischen ursprünglich ein dativ der beteiligung gewesen wäre. [3]) Freilich steht seine ganze auffassung von dem got. dat. als ausschliesslichem dativ der beteiligung [4]) auf schwachen füssen. [5])

af

§ 2. In drei fällen regiert *af* scheinbar den genitiv: qam manna gabigs af Areimaþaias *ἦλθεν ἄνθρωπος πλούσιος ἀπὸ Ἀριμαθαίας* M. XXVII 57. — Josef af Areimaþaias *Ἰωσὴφ ὁ ἀπὸ Ἀριμαθαίας* Mc. XV 43. — Lazarus af Beþanias *Λάζαρος ἀπὸ Βηθανίας* J. XI 1. — Offenbar hat der übersetzer die griechischen genitivi für indeklinabilia angesehen und die form unverändert gelassen. Dass wir hier mit alten genitivi des ursprungs zu tun hätten, wie Mourek für möglich hält, [6]) ist angesichts der tatsache, dass der genitiv sonst bei dieser präposition nicht belegt ist, nicht wohl möglich.

§ 3. In verbindung mit *bewegungs*verben bezeichnet *af* sehr oft eine entfernung, und zwar sind die gegenstände, von denen das subjekt sich entfernt, meist sachen. In einigen dieser fälle, z. b. atsteigadau nu af þamma galgin *καταβάτω νῦν ἀπὸ τοῦ σταυροῦ* M. XXVII 42 und: ik jabai ushauhjada af airþai *ἐγὼ ἐὰν ὑψωθῶ ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς* J. XII 32 legt Mourek [7]) *af* die bedeutung einer bewegung von oben nach unten oder umgekehrt bei (pohyb ... shora dolů; zdola vzhůru); dies liegt aber an der bedeutung des begleitenden verbums; von einer besonderen begriffskategorie der präposition kann wohl nicht die rede sein: dafür sind die beispiele zu selten. Bei namen von städten steht neben *af* auch *us* zur übersetzung von *ἀπό* oder *ἐκ*. [8])

af dient zur übersetzung von *ἀπό*: qimandan af akra *ἐρχόμενον ἀπ' ἀγροῦ* Mc. XV 21 u. ö. —

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[1]) *Syncr.* § 14, s. 162. — [2]) a. a. o., s. 230 ff. — [3]) *Germ. C. S.*, s. 145 ff.
[4]) a. a. o., s. 143 ff. — [5]) *Syncr.*, s. 236 ff., verf. *C. S.*, s. 65 u. 67 ff.
[6]) *Synt. gotsk. předl.*, s. 23: I kdyby gotský překladatel genitivy tyto ve vlastní platnosti byl cítil, což jest pochybno, nebyly by to vazby výpustkové, nýbrž vzácné zbytky genitivu odlukového. — [7]) § 19,3, s. 21. — [8]) §§ 25, 27.

af übersetzt *ἐκ*: atgaggandin af haiþjai *εἰσελθόντι ἐκ τοῦ ἀγροῦ* L. XVII 7. — galeiþands af markom Twre jah Seidone *ἐξελθὼν ἐκ τῶν ὁρίων Τύρου καὶ Σιδῶνος* Mc. VII 31. Aus diesen zwei belegen ebenso wie aus Sk. IV 10 [1]) scheint sich zu ergeben, dass *af* vor namen von gegenden die bevorzugte präposition ist.

Anm. Als übersetzung von *ἀπ' οὐρανοῦ* findet sich auch *us himina*: Mc. VIII 11 u. ö.; hier bezeichnet *us* aber stets eine entfernung aus dem innern des gegenstandes heraus.

Der gegenstand, von dem sich etwas entfernt, kann auch eine person sein, die ein böser geist verlässt. Hier hat die vorlage *ἀπό*, das der übersetzer mit *af* wiedergibt. (Daneben kommt aber auch *us* zur übersetzung von *ἀπό* vor [2]): ahma . . .aflinniþ af imma *πνεῦμα . . . ἀποχωρεῖ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ* L. IX 39. u. ö). In einer ähnlichen bedeutung: þrutsfill aflaiþ af imma *ἀπῆλθεν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἡ λέπρα* Mc. I 42.

§ 4. Während *fram* den ursprungsbegriff hervorhebt, [3]) ist *af* stets reine trennungspräposition.

Damit hängt es zusammen, dass es meistens mit sachbestimmungen verbunden wird; wo die präpositionalbestimmung eine person bezeichnet, wird diese meist als passiv, als nicht in die handlung eingreifend hingestellt; dies ist auch deutlich L. VIII 46: maht usgaggandein af mis *δύναμιν ἐξελθοῦσαν ἀπ' ἐμοῦ*. In der parallelstelle Mc. V 30 steht aber *us* = *ἐκ* [4]). Bei *fram* ist es gerade umgekehrt. Eine ausnahme bildet nur: af fraujin nimiþ andalauni arbjis *ἀπὸ κυρίου ἀπολήψεσθε τὴν ἀνταπόδοσιν τῆς κληρονομίας* C. III 24.

§ 5. Ortsbestimmungen sind auch *af taihswon* und *af hleidumein*. Gräzismen sind es nicht, weil die vorlage *ἐκ* hat. Mit Winkler [5]) muss man annehmen, dass sie ursprünglich das „woher" bezeichneten, was sich bei: þaim af hleidumein ferai *τοῖς ἐξ εὐωνύμων* M. XXV 41 noch herausfühlen lässt und dann analogice auch zur bezeichnung des „wo" verwandt wurden. Mourek [6]) vergleicht č. „se strany". Auch lat. *a dextra* und *a sinistra* liessen sich vergleichen: ushramidedun twans waidedjans, ainana af taihswon jah ainana af hleidumein is *σταυροῦσιν δύο λῃστάς, ἕνα ἐκ δεξιῶν καὶ ἕνα ἐξ εὐωνύμων αὐτοῦ* Mc. XV. 27. — u. ö.

§ 6. Bei verben und adjektiven, die eine *trennung* bezeichnen, tritt der örtliche begriff vielfach in den hintergrund. Hier drückt *af* mehr eine ablative beziehung aus, was sich auch daraus ergibt, dass es dreimal einen griechischen reinen casus (dat., gen. oder acc.) umschreibt: þamma nimandin af þus wastja *τοῦ αἴροντός σου τὸ ἱμάτιον* L. VI 29 — afwandidedun sik af mis allai *ἀπεστράφησάν με πάντες* t. I 15. — friaþwa us hrainjamma hairtin jah miþwissein godai jah galaubeinai unhindarweisai,

[1]) § 14. — [2]) § 27 *anm.* — [3]) § 16 ff. — [4]) § 27. — [5]) s. 156. — [6]) s. 22.

af þaimei sumai afairzidai uswandidedun du lausawaurdein *ἀγάπη ἐκ καθαρᾶς καρδίας καὶ συνειδήσεως ἀγαθῆς καὶ πίστεως ἀνυποκρίτου, ὧν τινες ἀστοχήσαντες ἐξετράπησαν εἰς ματαιολογίαν* T. I 5, 6.

§ 7. Einen zweiten beweis für die ablativische bedeutung von *af* finde ich in der tatsache, dass zur übersetzung von *ἀπό* in derselben bedeutung *af* und der blosse dativ oder genitiv nebeneinander vorkommen; so steht Mc. IV 25 der dat.: jah saei ni habaiþ jah þatei habaiþ afnimada imma *καὶ ὃς οὐκ ἔχει, καὶ ὃ ἔχει, ἀρθήσεται ἀπ' αὐτοῦ* — dagegen *af*: jah saei ni habaiþ, jah þatei þugkeiþ haban, afnimada af imma *καὶ ὃς ἂν μὴ ἔχῃ καὶ ὃ δοκεῖ ἔχειν, ἀρθήσεται ἀπ' αὐτοῦ* L. VIII 18. Ebenso: galausiþs is qenai *λέλυσαι ἀπὸ γυναικός* K. VII. 27. neben: galausjada af þamma witoda abins *κατήργηται ἀπὸ τοῦ νόμου τοῦ ἀνδρός* R. VII 2 u. ö.[1]). Weiter wird eine *ἀπό*-bestimmung mit einem dativ übersetzt L. VI 29: þamma nimandin af þus wastja, jah paida ni warjais *ἀπὸ τοῦ αἴροντός σου τὸ ἱμάτιον καὶ τὸν χιτῶνα μὴ κωλύσῃς.*

Genitiv-bestimmungen neben *af*-bestimmungen finden sich bei verben und adjektiven, die ein *befreien*, ein *heilen* bezeichnen: hailjan sik sauhte seinaizo *ἰαθῆναι ἀπὸ τῶν νόσων αὐτῶν* L. VI 18. — frija ist þis witodis *ἐλευθέρα ἐστὶν ἀπὸ τοῦ νόμου* R. VII 3 u. ö[2]). Daneben: lausei uns af þamma ubilin *ῥῦσαι ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ τοῦ πονηροῦ* M. VI 13. — sijais haila af þamma slaha þeinamma *ἴσθι ὑγιὴς ἀπὸ τῆς μάστιγός σου* Mc. V 34 u. ö. — In demselben satz wechseln *af*-bestimmungen mit einem genitiv L. VII 21: gahailida managans af sauhtim jah slahim jah ahmane ubilaize *ἐθεράπευσεν πολλοὺς ἀπὸ νόσων καὶ μαστίγων καὶ πνευμάτων πονηρῶν.*

§ 8. Dass *af* sehr oft ablative bedeutung hat, könnte man weiter daraus schliessen, dass bei *afstandan ἀπό* dreimal mit *af* übersetzt wird, wo die entfernung mehr im geistigen sinn gemeint ist und einmal mit *fairra*, wo die örtliche bedeutung in den vordergrund tritt: afstand af þaim swaleikaim *ἀφίστασο ἀπὸ τῶν τοιούτων* T. VI 5. — afstandai af unselein *ἀποστήτω ἀπὸ ἀδικίας* t. II 19. — bi þatei þrim sinþam frauja[n] baþ ei (aggilus Satanins) afstoþi af mis *ὑπὲρ τούτου τρὶς τὸν κύριον παρεκάλεσα, ἵνα ἀποστῇ ἀπ' ἐμοῦ* k. XII 8. — (diabulus) afstoþ fairra imma und mel *ἀπέστη ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἄχρι καιροῦ* L. IV 13. — Zwar ist k. XII 8 auch von dem engel des satans die rede, der sich von dem briefschreiber entfernen sollte: die auffassung ist aber viel geistiger als L. IV 13.

Dies trifft aber nicht zu bei *skaidan* und seinen zusammensetzungen: ƕas uns afskaidai af friaþwai Xristaus *τίς ἡμᾶς χωρίσει ἀπὸ τῆς ἀγάπης τοῦ Χριστοῦ* R. VIII 35. — v. L. IX 33. — th. III 6. — Dagegen: qenai fairra abin ni skaidan *γυναῖκα ἀπὸ ἀνδρὸς μὴ χωρισθῆναι* K. VII 10.

§ 9. Zu den fällen, in denen *af* eine trennung bezeichnet, werden auch einige gerechnet, wo der begriff des bekommens sehr nahe liegt, wie

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1) Vgl. *C. S.*, § 68, s. 97. — 2) Vgl. *C. S.*, § 38 s. 173.

z. b. M. VII 16; weil der verfasser der ansicht ist, dass diese bedeutung bei *af* nicht sehr stark ausgeprägt ist, werden sie, wenn irgendwie möglich, in diese gruppe eingereiht.

Die vorlage hat einmal *ἐκ*: hvas afwalwjai unsis þana stain af daurom þis hlaiwis? *τίς ἀποκυλίσει ἡμῖν τὸν λίθον ἐκ τῆς θύρας τοῦ μνημείου* Mc. XVI 3. — sonst immer *ἀπό*: af allamma waihte ubilaizo afhabaiþ izwis *ἀπὸ παντὸς εἴδους πονηροῦ ἀπέχεσθε* Th. V 22. — ibai lisand[a] af þaurnum weinabasja aiþþau af wigadeinom smakkans *μήτι συλλέγουσιν ἀπὸ ἀκανθῶν σταφυλὰς ἢ ἀπὸ τριβόλων σῦκα* M. VII 16. — [1]) u. ö.

Anm. 1. Mc. V 4 galausida af sis þos naudibandjos *διεσπάσθαι ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τὰς ἁλύσεις* gehört wohl auch hierher. Hat der übersetzer *ὑπ' αὐτοῦ* „unter sich hinweg" verstanden oder steht die übersetzung unter einfluss einer lat. version: disruperat a se catenas? [2])

Anm. 2. Mourek [3]) sieht in R. IX 3 anaþaima . . . af Xristau *ἀνάθεμα . . . ἀπὸ τοῦ Χριστοῦ* ein causalverhältnis. Mit Winkler [4]) scheint mir der trennungsbegriff („fast = verbannt zu sein ‚von'') das einzig richtige.

Anm. 3. In einigen fällen, wo sich im got. *af* und im gr. *ἀπό* findet, wäre nach unserem empfinden *us* geeigneter, da doch im allgemeinen *us* unserem „aus", *af* unserem „von" entspricht, nämlich: usnimiþ þata waurd af hairtin ize L. VIII 12. — und: af þizaiei uswarp sibun unhulþons Mc. XVI 9. — Auch im klassischen griechisch hätte man hier *ἐκ* und nicht *ἀπό* gebraucht [5]). Möglicherweise steht die wahl der präposition unter dem einfluss der vorlage, es ist aber natürlich auch nicht ausgeschlossen, dass der ablativbegriff so sehr vorherrscht, dass das örtliche verhältnis nicht mehr empfunden wurde.

Anm. 4. Bei wörtern, die ein verbergen bezeichnen, steht einmal *af* als übersetzung von *ἀπό*, sonst *faura* [6]). *af* findet sich L. XVIII 34: was þata waurd gafulgin af im *ἦν τὸ ῥῆμα τοῦτο κεκρυμμένον ἀπ' αὐτῶν*. Hier liegt die annahme nahe, dass *af* ein gräzismus ist.

§ 10. Aus dem trennungsbegriff hätte sich auch ein teilungsbegriff entwickeln können und Mourek nimmt denn auch in 4 fällen diesen begriff an. Er sagt, dass *af* c. d. „ein ganzes bezeichne, dessen teile die handlung ergreife und dass diese bestimmung den teilungsgenitiv vertrete" [7]). Er bringt zu dieser kategorie: jota ains aiþþau ains striks ni usleiþiþ af witoda *ἰῶτα ἓν ἢ μία κεραία οὐ μὴ παρέλθῃ ἀπὸ τοῦ νόμου* M. V 18. — hundos . . . matjand af drauhsnom barne *τὰ κυνάρια . . . ἐσθίει ἀπὸ τῶν ψιχίων τῶν παιδίων* Mc. VII 28. — friaþwa us hrainjamma hairtin jah miþwissein godai jah galaubeinai unhindarweisai, af þaimei sumai afairzidai uswandidedun du lausawaurdein *ἀγάπη ἐκ καθαρᾶς καρδίας καὶ συνειδήσεως*

[1]) § 16. — [2]) Bernh. anm. — [3]) § 22, 10 s. 22 auctoritu nebo moc. — [4]) s. 156. — [5]) Blass, § 40, 2 s. 122. — [6]) § 52. — [7]) § 21, 8 s. 22: *af* s dat. značí celek, jehož částku děj postihuje: zastupuje tedy genitiv celkový.

ἀγαθῆς καὶ πίστεως ἀνυποκρίτου, ὧν τινες ἀστοχήσαντες ἐξετράπησαν εἰς ματαιολογίαν T. I 5. 6. — þamma fairnjin ni gatimid þata af þamma niujin τῷ παλαιῷ οὐ συμφωνεῖ τὸ ἀπὸ τοῦ καινοῦ L. V 36. — T. I 6 hat er offenbar falsch interpretiert [1]) und bei den andern fällen liegt der begriff der trennung oder des ursprungs so sehr nahe, dass mir Moureks ansicht sehr unwahrscheinlich erscheint. Auch spricht dagegen, dass an drei stellen ἀπό mit einem teilungsgenitiv übersetzt wird: ei akranis þis weinagardis gebeina imma ἵνα ἀπὸ τοῦ καρποῦ τοῦ ἀμπελῶνος δῶσιν αὐτῷ L. XX 10. vgl. auch Mc. XII 2., L. XVI 21.

§ **11.** Die bedeutung des *ursprungs* entwickelt sich sehr leicht aus der der entfernung. Es ist aber sehr wahrscheinlich, dass diese bedeutung bei *af* nicht sehr ausgeprägt war: wo ἀπό, ὑπό, παρά deutlich den ursprung bezeichnen, werden sie gewöhnlich mit *fram* übersetzt [2]). Bisweilen findet sich *us* [3]) für ἀπό, wo auch nach unserm sprachgefühl „aus" das richtige wäre. Ein einziges mal findet sich in einem solchen fall *af* für ἐκ: jah galisiþ þans gawalidans seinans af fidwor windam fram andjam airþos und andi himinis καὶ ἐπισυνάξει τοὺς ἐκλεκτοὺς αὐτοῦ ἐκ τῶν τεσσάρων ἀνέμων ἀπ' ἄκρου γῆς ἕως ἄκρου οὐρανοῦ Mc. XIII 27. — Hier wäre *us* nicht statthaft, weil von einer bewegung aus einem gegenstand heraus nicht die rede ist: der übersetzer hat offenbar *af* gewählt, um eine wiederholung von *fram* zu vermeiden.

Wo παρά c. g. einen ursprung bezeichnet, wird es einmal mit *af* übersetzt: mahts af imma usiddja δύναμις παρ' αὐτοῦ ἐξήρχετο L. VI 19, womit zu vergleichen ist: ik ... ufkunþa maht usgaggandein af mis ἐγὼ ... ἔγνων δύναμιν ἐξελθοῦσαν ἀπ' ἐμοῦ L. VIII 46, wo *af* zur übersetzung von ἀπό dient. Auch hier liegt der begriff der entfernung sehr nahe. Wenn man damit: uzuhiddja fram attin ἐξῆλθον παρὰ τοῦ πατρός J. XVI 28 vergleicht, ist der unterschied klar.

Bei verben des lernens wird ἀπό zweimal mit *at* [4]) und einmal mit *af* übersetzt: af smakkabagma ganimiþ þo gajukon ἀπὸ τῆς συκῆς μάθετε τὴν παραβολήν Mc. XIII 28. — Auch hier ist der begriff der entfernung leicht herauszufinden.

§ **12.** Wo ἀπό den urheber der handlung bezeichnet, wird es fünfmal mit *fram* [5]) und einmal mit *af* übersetzt: þo samon frisaht ingaleikonda af wulþau in wulþu swaswe af fraujins ahmin τὴν αὐτὴν εἰκόνα μεταμορφούμεθα ἀπὸ δόξης εἰς δόξαν, καθάπερ ἀπὸ κυρίου πνεύματος k. III 18. — In der rhetorisch gefärbten prosa der briefe wurde ebenso wie in der vorlage die präposition aus stilistischen gründen wohl absichtlich wiederholt.

Für ὑπό c. g. findet sich in derselben bedeutung meist *fram* [6]), zweimal aber *af*: þai sind þai[ei] gahausjandans jah af saurgom jah gabein jah gabaurjoþum þizos libainais gaggandans afhapnand jah ni gawrisqand

[1]) Vgl. § 6. — [2]) § 17. — [3]) § 32. — [4]) § 135 u. anm. 1. — [5]) § 18. — [6]) § 18.

οὗτοί εἰσιν οἱ ἀκούσαντες, καὶ ὑπὸ μεριμνῶν καὶ πλούτου καὶ ἡδονῶν τοῦ βίου πορευόμενοι συμπνίγονται καὶ οὐ τελεσφοροῦσιν L. VIII 14. — ni gajiukaizau af unþiuþa *μὴ νικῶ ὑπὸ τοῦ κακοῦ* R. XII 21. — L. VIII 14 ist es nicht deutlich, ob der übersetzer *af saurgom* wirklich auf *afƕapnand* bezogen hat [1]), da er *οἱ* relativ gefasst hat, sodass als sicherer beleg nur R. XII 21 übrigbleibt.

§ 13. In verbindung mit *sis silbin* findet sich meistens *af* als übersetzung von *ἀπό*; einmal wird sogar *ἐκ* in dieser verbindung so übersetzt, wo aber ein stilistischer grund vorliegt: ni þatei wairþai sijaima þagkjan ƕa af uns silbam, swaswe af uns silbam *οὐχ ὅτι ἱκανοί ἐσμεν ἀφ' ἑαυτῶν λογίσασθαί τι, ὡς ἐξ ἑαυτῶν* k. III 5. — Demgegenüber wird *ἐκ* in dieser verbindung J. XII 49 [2]) mit *us* übersetzt. Auch findet sich *fram*, wo ein stilistischer grund für die wahl der präposition bestimmend gewesen ist [3]); wir müssen also wohl annehmen, dass *af* die regelrechte präposition war: sa weinatains ni mag akran bairan af sis silbin *τὸ κλῆμα οὐ δύναται καρπὸν φέρειν ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ* J. XV 4 u. ö.

§ 14. Zur bezeichnung der herkunft dient *af* einmal in der Skeireins: fraujins laiseins anastodjandei af Iudaia jah and allana midjungard gaþaih Sk. IV 10. Ausser in den verbindungen mit *silba* ist die ursprungsbedeutung von *af* mindestens problematisch [4]); die dazu etwa gehörigen fälle, sofern sie in verbindung mit verben vorkommen, sind denn auch schon unter der kategorie der entfernung verzeichnet. Hier mögen noch die mit nomina verbundenen belege einen platz finden, weil in diesen der begriff des ursprunges oder der herkunft mehr in den vordergrund tritt: Pawlus apaustaulus, ni af mannam *Παῦλος ἀπόστολος, οὐκ ἀπ' ἀνθρώπων* G. I 1 [5]). Lazarus af Beþanias *Λάζαρος ἀπὸ Βηθανίας* J. XI 1 [6]) v. a. L. VI 17. — G. IV 24. — L. V 36.

Anm. Einmal findet sich in derselben bedeutung wie oben *fram* = *ἀπό* J. XII 21. [7]).

§ 15. In zeitlicher bedeutung hat *af* die bedeutung „seit".

Gewöhnlich wird *ἀπό* in zeitlichem sinne durch *fram* übersetzt [8]); ein einziges mal durch *us* [9]). *ἐκ* wird in zeitlicher bedeutung niemals durch *af*, stets mit *us* oder *fram* wiedergegeben. Auch findet man in denselben verbindungen, wo *af* „seit" bedeutet, an andern stellen *fram*.

af = „seit": af anastodeinai gaskaftais gumein jah qinein gatawida guþ *ἀπὸ . . . ἀρχῆς κτίσεως ἄρσεν καὶ θῆλυ ἐποίησεν αὐτοὺς ὁ θεός* Mc. X 6. — ak jah taujan (wiljan A) dugunnuþ af fairnin jera *καὶ τὸ θέλειν προενήρξασθε ἀπὸ πέρυσι* k. VIII 10. — Wenn wir aber damit vergleichen: swe ni was swaleika fram anastodeinai gaskaftais *οἵα οὐ γέγονεν τοιαύτη ἀπ' ἀρχῆς*

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[1]) Vgl. Bernh. anm. — [2]) § 35 anm. — [3]) § 19. — [4]) §§ 4, 16. — [5]) § 16. — [6]) § 2. — [7]) § 21 anm. — [8]) § 24. — [9]) § 39.

κτίσεως Mc. XIII 19. — Akaja gamanwida ist fram fairnin jera *Ἀχαΐα παρεσκεύασται ἀπὸ πέρυσι* k. IX 2. —, so scheint *fram* stärker den zeitpunkt hervorzuheben als *af*.

Unklar ist die bedeutung von *af* in: af maþla niba daupjand ni matjand *ἀπ' ἀγορᾶς ἐὰν μὴ βαπτίσωνται, οὐκ ἐσθίουσιν* Mc. VII 4. — Auch der griechische text ist nicht deutlich. Preuschen — Bauer [1]) nimmt als möglich an die übersetzung: „vom markte kommend, essen sie nicht, wenn sie sich nicht abgespült haben." Das würde übereinstimmen mit deutsch-niederländisch: „So vom markte, zo van de markt." Diese bedeutung könnte auch für das got. angenommen werden. In dieser sprache wird es aber wohl ein gräzismus sein.

Anm. In einem fall hat der übersetzer die zeitbestimmung offenbar als eine bestimmung der zeitdauer aufgefasst und sie also mit einem blossen acc. übersetzt: qino wisandei in runa bloþis jera twalif *γυνὴ οὖσα ἐν ῥύσει αἵματος ἀπὸ ἐτῶν δώδεκα* L. VIII 43. — [2]).

fram

§ **16.** Während bei *af* die bezeichnung der *entfernung* fast überall in den vordergrund tritt, dient *fram*, wie Winkler [3]) bemerkt, vorzugsweise zur bezeichnung der *herkunft*. Auch in der urkunde von Arezzo bezeichnet es deutlich ein ursprungsverhältnis: ik Gudilub dkn. þo frabauhtaboka fram mis gawaurhta þus dkn. Alamoda fidwor unkjane hugsis Kaballarja. Aber auch in stilistischer hinsicht scheint ein unterschied zu bestehen, sofern *fram* den ursprung stärker hervorhebt als *af* und ihm ein stärkerer gefühlston innewohnt. So z.b.: jah galisiþ þans gawalidans seinans af fidwor windam fram andjam airþos und andi himinis *ἐπισυνάξει τοὺς ἐκλεκτοὺς αὐτοῦ ἐκ τῶν τεσσάρων ἀνέμων ἀπ' ἄκρου γῆς ἕως ἄκρου οὐρανοῦ* Mc. XIII 27 [4]) neben: lisanda af þaurnum weinabasja aiþþau af wigadeinom smakkans *συλλέγουσιν ἀπὸ ἀκανθῶν σταφυλὰς ἢ ἀπὸ τριβόλων σῦκα* M. VII 16. — *fram* gehört besonders in den rhetorischen stil. So kommt es sehr oft vor in der verbindung *fram guda*. Es wird wohl kein zufall sein, dass das einzige mal, wo *ἀπό* abhängig von einem substantiv und verbunden mit einem personennamen durch *af* übersetzt wird, ist: Pawlus, apaustaulus, ni af mannam *Παῦλος ἀπόστολος οὐκ ἀπ' ἀνθρώπων* G. I 1, während *ἀπὸ θεοῦ* stets mit *fram guda* übersetzt wird [5]). Besonders bezeichnend ist auch, dass *παρά* c. d., das ein ruheverhältnis bezeichnet, in diesem falle so übersetzt wird [6]). In einigen fällen ist der gefühlston von *fram* so vorherrschend, dass der ursprungsbegriff in den hintergrund tritt und *fram* auch gebraucht wird, um eine trennung zu bezeichnen. Auch wo *ἐκ* mit *fram* übersetzt wird, tritt der begriff des

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[1]) *Vollst. griech.-dtsch. handwörterbuch zu den schriften des N. T. und der übr. urchristl. lit.* Giessen, 1910, (2. aufl. W. Bauer, *Gr.-dtsch. wörterbuch zu den schriften des N.T. und der übrigen urchr. lit.* 1928). s.v. *ἀγορά*. — [2]) *C.S.*, § 37 s. 61. — [3]) s. 157. [4]) § 11. — [5]) § 21. — [6]) § 17. Kapteijn, *IF.* XXIX. s. 270.

ursprungs sehr in den vordergrund: ƕarjizuh swesa giba habaiþ fram guda ἕκαστος ἴδιον χάρισμα ἔχει ἐκ θεοῦ K. VII 7. — ufkunnaiþ bi þo laisein framuh guda sijai, þau iku fram mis silbin rodja γνώσεται περὶ τῆς διδαχῆς πότερον ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ ἐστιν ἢ ἐγὼ ἀπ' ἐμαυτοῦ λαλῶ J. VII 17. — ik fram guda urrann jah qam; nih ... fram mis silbin ni qam ἐγὼ ... ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ ἐξῆλθον καὶ ἥκω· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἀπ' ἐμαυτοῦ ἐλήλυθα J. VIII 42. — Bezeichnend ist aber auch: ni þatei fram Mose sijai, ak us attam οὐχ ὅτι ἐκ τοῦ Μωσέως ἐστίν, ἀλλ' ἐκ τῶν πατέρων J. VII 22. —, wo wohl eine bedeutungsnuance ausgedrückt werden soll. Vielleicht ist aber der unterschied nur rein stilistisch [1]).

§ **17.** *Fram* zur bezeichnung des ursprunges zur übersetzung von ἀπό: saurga ni habau fram þaimei skulda faginon μὴ ... λύπην ἔχω ἀφ' ὧν ἔδει με χαίρειν k. II 3. — v. a. T. III 7. — M. XXVII 9. — K. IV 5.

fram zur übersetzung von ὑπό c. g.: fram Iudaium fimf sinþam fidwor tiguns ainamma wanans nam ὑπὸ Ἰουδαίων πεντάκις τεσσαράκοντα παρὰ μίαν ἔλαβον k. XI 24. — u. ö. —

fram = παρά c. g.: þanei ik insandja izwis fram attin ὃν ἐγὼ πέμψω ὑμῖν παρὰ τοῦ πατρός J. XV 26 — u. ö.

fram = παρά c. d.: bigast ... anst fram guda εὗρες χάριν παρὰ τῷ θεῷ L. I 30. — laun ni habaiþ fram attin izwaramma μισθὸν οὐκ ἔχετε παρὰ τῷ πατρὶ ὑμῶν M. VI 1.

Die änderung eines „wo" in ein „woher" findet sich auch K. VI 1, wo ἐπί c. g. durch *fram* übersetzt wird.: gadars ƕas izwara, wiþra anþarana staua habands stojan fram inwindaim jah ni fram ... τολμᾷ τις ὑμῶν πρᾶγμα ἔχων πρὸς τὸν ἕτερον κρίνεσθαι ἐπὶ τῶν ἀδίκων καὶ οὐχὶ ἐπὶ ... [2]).

§ **18.** Wenn der ursprung einer handlung eine person ist, ist diese auch sehr oft der urheber der handlung: dieses verhältnis findet sich besonders bei passiven verben. *fram* übersetzt ἀπό: uswaurhta gadomida warþ handugei fram barnam seinaim ἐδικαιώθη ἡ σοφία ἀπὸ τῶν τέκνων αὐτῆς M. XI 19. — u. ö. — Einmal ist der urheber eine sache: ni sprauto wagjan izwis fram ahin τὸ μὴ ταχέως σαλευθῆναι ὑμᾶς ἀπὸ τοῦ νοός th. II 2 [3]).

Einmal ist *fram* = ἐκ: nibai ist atgiban imma fram attin meinamma ἐὰν μὴ ᾖ δεδομένον αὐτῷ ἐκ τοῦ πατρός μου J. VI 65. — Man könnte einfluss der parallelstelle L. X 22 annehmen; nötig ist dies aber nicht, weil in passiven sätzen *us* sehr selten ist; in der verbindung *fram attin seinamma* ist *fram* in diesen sätzen wohl das einzig richtige.

fram = ὑπό c. g.: ni in waihtai afagidai fram þaim andastaþjam μὴ πτυρόμενοι ἐν μηδενὶ ὑπὸ τῶν ἀντικειμένων Ph. I 28. — sware ufblesans fram fraþja leikis εἰκῇ φυσιούμενος ὑπὸ τοῦ νοὸς τῆς σαρκός C. II 18. — u. ö. —

Anm. M. VIII 9 wird ὑπό c. g., wo es den ursprung bezeichnet, mit einem possessivum übersetzt: habands uf waldufnja meinamma gadrauhtins ὑπὸ ἐξουσίαν ἔχων ὑπ' ἐμαυτὸν στρατιώτας.

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[1]) § 31. — [2]) Kapteijn, *IF.* XXIX, s. 270. — [3]) nach Braun ist die lesart *fram ahin*, nicht *ahin* die richtige. Str. anm.

fram = παρά c. g.: fram guda unsaramma warþ usfulliþ þata waurstw παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ ἡμῶν ἐγενήθη τελειωθῆναι τὸ ἔργον τοῦτο Neh. VI 16. — v. a. L. I 45. —

Aus der Sk. gehören zu dieser gruppe: þo nu insakana wesun fram Johanne Sk. IV 24. — v. a. Sk. I 7. —

§ **19.** In der verbindung mit *silba* scheint *af* die regelrechte präposition zu sein [1]). Daneben tritt aber auch *fram* auf als übersetzung von παρά c. d.: ainƕarjanoh sabbate ƕarjizuh izwara fram sis silbin lagjai κατὰ μίαν σαββάτων ἕκαστος ὑμῶν παρ' ἑαυτῷ τιθέτω K. XVI 2 A. — Wulfila hat hier offenbar seine vorlage missverstanden; die bedeutung ist „bei sich zu hause"; hat er vielleicht verstanden „sua sponte", so wäre *fram* hier zu erklären.

= ἀπό: ik fram guda urrann jah qam; nih þan auk fram mis silbin ni qam ἐγὼ γὰρ ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ ἐξῆλθον καὶ ἥκω· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἀπ' ἐμαυτοῦ ἐλήλυθα J. VIII 42. — ufkunnaiþ bi þo laisein framuh guda sijai, þau iku fram mis silbin rodja. saei fram sis silbin rodeiþ γνώσεται περὶ τῆς διδαχῆς πότερον ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ ἐστιν ἢ ἐγὼ ἀπ' ἐμαυτοῦ λαλῶ. ὁ ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ λαλῶν J. VII 17, 18. — Wenn wir annehmen, dass ἐκ hier mit *fram* übersetzt wurde, um den ursprungsbegriff stärker hervorzuheben [2]), so scheint die wiederholung dieser präposition auf rhetorische gründe zurückzuführen zu sein [3]).

§ **20.** Aber auch, wo *fram* mit verben des *kommens* und *gehens* verbunden wird, ist in den meisten fällen der ursprungsbegriff deutlich erkennbar. Besonders dort liegt er klar zu tage, wo *fram* zur übersetzung von παρά c. g. dient, weil παρά c. g. diesen begriff ausdrückt: uzuhiddja fram attin ἐξῆλθον παρὰ τοῦ πατρός J. XVI 28. — u.ö. Einmal wird παρά mit *af* übersetzt; hier ist der trennungsbegriff klar [4]) [5]).

Auch wo *fram* in diesem fall zur übersetzung von ἀπό dient, ist der ursprungsbegriff meistens noch deutlich: faurþizei qemeina sumai fram Jakobau πρὸ τοῦ ... ἐλθεῖν τινας ἀπὸ Ἰακώβου G. II 12. — at qimandin Teimauþaiu at unsis fram izwis ἐλθόντος Τιμοθέου πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἀφ' ὑμῶν Th. III 6. — managai fram urrunsa jah saggqa qimand πολλοὶ ἀπὸ ἀνατολῶν καὶ δυσμῶν ἥξουσιν M. VIII 11. — qemun fram þamma swnagogafada ἔρχονται ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀρχισυναγώγου Mc. V 35. — Auch M. XXVII 55 þozei laistidedun afar Iesua fram Galeilaia αἵτινες ἠκολούθησαν τῷ Ἰησοῦ ἀπὸ τῆς Γαλιλαίας, liegt eine übersetzung „von Galiläa an" sehr nahe.

Dagegen ist der unterschied nicht deutlich: qam Jesus fram Nazaraiþ Galeilaias ἦλθεν Ἰησοῦς ἀπὸ Ναζαρὲθ τῆς Γαλιλαίας Mc. I 9. — und: bokarjos þai af Iairusaulwmai qimandans οἱ γραμματεῖς οἱ ἀπὸ Ἱεροσολύμων καταβάντες Mc. III 22. — Ebensowenig ist der ursprungsbegriff deutlich: eis tauhun Iesu fram Kajafin in praitoriaun ἄγουσιν ... τὸν Ἰησοῦν ἀπὸ τοῦ Καϊάφα εἰς τὸ πραιτώριον J. XVIII 28. — Nur ist zu beachten, dass *fram* in verbindung mit einem personennamen auftritt.

1) § 13. — 2) § 16. — 3) § 13. — 4) § 11. — 5) wegen fram = ἐκ § 16.

Anm. Eine deutliche trennung bezeichnet *fram*: fralust aiweinon fram andwairþja fraujins ὄλεθρον αἰώνιον ἀπὸ προσώπου τοῦ κυρίου th. I 9. — afhaimjai sijum fram fraujin ἐκδημοῦμεν ἀπὸ τοῦ κυρίου k. V 6. — Winkler[1]) nimmt mit unrecht ein kausalverhältnis an. Für die wahl von *fram* ist beabsichtigte alliteration bestimmend gewesen[2]).

§ **21.** In verbindung mit *mahteigs* und *unmahteigs* dient *fram* zur übersetzung von παρά c. d. und hier wird also das ruheverhältnis in ein ursprungsverhältnis umgewandelt[3]): fram mannam unmahteig ist, akei ni fram guda; allata auk mahteig ist fram guda παρὰ ἀνθρώποις ἀδύνατον, ἀλλ' οὐ παρὰ θεῷ· πάντα γὰρ δυνατά ἐστιν παρὰ τῷ θεῷ Mc. X 27. — L. XVIII 27 steht in der parallelstelle in übereinstimmung mit der vorlage *at*[4]). Daneben kommt auch der blosse dat. vor: nist unmahteig guda ainhun waurde οὐκ ἀδυνατήσει παρὰ τῷ θεῷ πᾶν ῥῆμα L. I 37. — [5]) Hier liest Sin*BDL τῷ θεῷ.

Der ursprungsbegriff ist besonders klar dort, wo *fram* in verbindung mit einem substantiv παρά c. g. übersetzt: so im fram mis triggwa αὕτη αὐτοῖς ἡ παρ' ἐμοῦ διαθήκη R. XI 27. — R. IX 14 inwindiþa fram guda ἀδικία παρὰ τῷ θεῷ übersetzt *fram* παρά c. d.

Aber auch, wo *fram* ἀπό übersetzt, kommt es fast immer in verbindung mit *guda* oder gleichbedeutenden ausdrücken vor: ansts, armaio, gawairþi fram guda attin jah Xristau Jesu fraujin unsaramma χάρις, ἔλεος, εἰρήνη ἀπὸ θεοῦ πατρὸς ἡμῶν καὶ Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν T. I 2. — vgl. t. I 2. — u.ö. —

Anm. Wo die herkunft aus einer gegend ausgedrückt werden soll, steht meistens *af*; *fram* steht nur J. XII 21[6]). Filippau þamma fram Beþsaeida Galeilaie Φιλίππῳ τῷ ἀπὸ Βηθσαϊδά, ohne dass der unterschied der bedeutung mit z. b.: Lazarus af Beþanias Λάζαρος ἀπὸ Βηθανίας J. XI 1 deutlich ist.

§ **22.** *Fram* bezeichnet bei verben des hörens auch die person, durch die man etwas erfährt. Auch hier ist der ursprungsbegriff deutlich. Das griechische hat παρά c. g.: ibai witoþ unsar stojiþ mannan, nibai faurþis hauseiþ fram imma jah ufkunnaiþ ƕa taujai? μὴ ὁ νόμος ἡμῶν κρίνει τὸν ἄνθρωπον, ἐὰν μὴ ἀκούσῃ παρ' αὐτοῦ πρότερον καὶ γνῷ τί ποιεῖ J. VII 51. — u. ö. Aus der Skeireins: in þis ei miþþan frumist hausida fram laisarja Sk. II 9. — In diesen verbindungen wird παρά c. g. auch als ruheverhältnis gefasst und mit *at*[7]) übersetzt. In zwei fällen bezeichnet *fram* in diesen verbindungen die person, über die man etwas erfährt; einmal als übersetzung von παρά c. g.; einmal wird περί c. g. so übersetzt: hausjandans fram imma bokarjos ἀκούσαντες οἱ παρ' αὐτοῦ Mc. III 21. — duƕe þata hausja fram þus? τί τοῦτο ἀκούω περὶ σοῦ; L. XVI 2. — Zu dieser gruppe gehört auch wohl: usiddja meriþa fram imma ἐξεπορεύετο ἦχος

1) s. 160. — 2) § 16. — 3) § 17. — 4) § 134. — 5) C. S., § 50 s. 81. — 6) § 14 anm. — 7) § 135.

περὶ αὐτοῦ L. IV 37. — L. IV 14 wird περί c. g. in derselben bedeutung übersetzt mit *bi* c. a. [1]). L. IV 37 wird wohl ein engerer zusammenhang zwischen *fram imma* und *usgaggan* gefühlt und L. IV 14 zwischen *meriþa* und *bi ina*.

Den grund bezeichnet *fram*, wo es ὑπό c. g. übersezt: þai namnidans unbimaitanai fram þizai namnidon bimait οἱ λεγόμενοι ἀκροβυστία ὑπὸ τῆς λεγομένης περιτομῆς E. II 11. —

§ 23. Die letzten fälle bilden einen übergang zu der bedeutung „in bezug auf, für" [2]); zwar kann die präpositionalbestimmung noch immer als die veranlassung der handlung aufgefasst werden; die handlung geschieht aber auch in hinsicht auf die bestimmung. *fram* übersetzt ὑπέρ c. g., περί c. g. und ἐπί c. d. Dass *fram* für das gotische sprachgefühl obenerwähnte bedeutung hatte, ergibt sich erstens daraus, dass es verschiedene griechische präpositionen übersetzt, und zweitens aus der tatsache, dass daneben in derselben bedeutung präpositionen auftreten, für die diese bedeutung feststeht. So z. b. = ἐπί c. d.: inuh þis gaþrafstidai sijum, broþrjus, fram izwis ana allai nauþai jah aglon unsarai in izwaraizos galaubeinais διὰ τοῦτο παρεκλήθημεν, ἀδελφοί, ἐφ' ὑμῖν ἐπὶ πάσῃ τῇ θλίψει καὶ ἀνάγκῃ ἡμῶν διὰ τῆς ὑμῶν πίστεως Th. III 7. —, wo *fram* auf variationsmotive zurückzuführen ist. Daneben: in gaþlaihtai þizaiei gaþrafstiþs was ana izwis ἐν τῇ παρακλήσει ᾗ παρεκλήθη ἐφ' ὑμῖν k. VII 7. — [3]) = ὑπέρ: bidjaid fram þaim anamahtjandam izwis προσεύχεσθε ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐπηρεαζόντων ὑμᾶς L. VI 28. — Daneben: bidjaiþ bi þans usþriutandans izwis προσεύχεσθε ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐπηρεαζόντων ὑμᾶς M. V 44. — [4]) oder: saei jah bidjiþ faur uns ὃς καὶ ἐντυγχάνει ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν R. VIII 34. — v. a. C. I 9. — E. VI 18, 19. — R. X 1. — k. I 11. — k. IX 14. — In bezug auf sachen finden sich in verbindung mit bidjan *bi* c. a. und *in* c. g.: bidjai bi galaubein izwara παρακαλέσαι ὑπὲρ τῆς πίστεως ὑμῶν Th. III 2. — [5]) bidjam izwis, broþrjus, in qumis u.s.w. ἐρωτῶμεν ... ὑμᾶς, ἀδελφοί, ὑπὲρ τῆς παρουσίας κτλ. th. II 1. —

Ebenso neben: gairnein izwara þizaiei fram izwis ƕopam τὴν προθυμίαν ὑμῶν, ἣν ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν καυχῶμαι k. IX 2. — ƕa imma fram izwis ƕaiƕop τι αὐτῷ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν κεκαύχημαι k. VII 14. — faur þana swaleikana ƕopa, iþ faur mik silban ni waiht ƕopa ὑπὲρ τοῦ τοιούτου καυχήσομαι, ὑπὲρ δὲ ἐμαυτοῦ οὐ καυχήσομαι k. XII 5. — v. a. k. V 12. — k. IX 3. — k. VII 4. — Sachlich kommt vor *in* zur übersetzung von ὑπέρ c. g.: ƕopam... in stiwitjis izwaris jah galaubeinais ἐγκαυχᾶσθαι ... ὑπὲρ τῆς ὑπομονῆς ὑμῶν καὶ πίστεως th. I 4. — Neben: fram im ik weiha mik silban ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἐγὼ ἁγιάζω ἐμαυτόν J. XVII 19 bei andren verben des opferns *faur*: sa gibands sik silban andabauht faur allans ὁ δοὺς ἑαυτὸν ἀντίλυτρον ὑπὲρ πάντων T. II 6. — v. a. E. V 2. — K. V 7. —

Neben: andbaht waurþanana [bimaitis] fram sunjai gudis διάκονον

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[1]) § 150. — [2]) *C. S.*, § 141 s. 174. — [3]) § 94 anm. 7. — [4]) § 149. — [5]) § 149.

γεγενῆσθαι περιτομῆς ὑπὲρ ἀληθείας θεοῦ R. XV 8 findet sich: saei ist triggws faur izwis andbahts Xristaus Iesuis *ὅς ἐστιν πιστὸς ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν διάκονος τοῦ Χριστοῦ* C. I 7. — v. a. Phil. 13. —

Neben: awiliuda fram allaim mannam *εὐχαριστίας ὑπὲρ πάντων ἀνθρώπων* T. II 1 (v. a. E. V 20) kommt vor: awiliudo in izwara *εὐχαριστῶν ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν* E. I 16. — und von sachen: duƕe anaqiþaidau in þize ik awiliudo *τί βλασφημοῦμαι ὑπὲρ οὗ ἐγὼ εὐχαριστῶ* K. X 30. v. a. R. XV 9. —

fram dient in diesem sinn zur übersetzung von *περί* c. g.: ƕarjizuh unsara fram sis raþjon usgibiþ guda *ἕκαστος ἡμῶν περὶ ἑαυτοῦ λόγον δώσει τῷ θεῷ* R. XIV 12. — v. a. L. V 14. —

Bei *bida* übersetzt *fram* *ὑπέρ* c. g. und *περί* c. g.: bidom fram allaim þaim weiham jah fram mis *δεήσει περὶ πάντων τῶν ἁγίων καὶ ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ* E. VI 18, 19. — Vielleicht ist die wiederholung derselben präposition beabsichtigt.

Ohne entsprechung steht *fram* L. II 24: ei gebeina fram imma hunsl *τοῦ δοῦναι θυσίαν*. — Es ist hier ein erklärender zusatz [1]).

§ **24.** In *zeitbestimmungen* übersetzt *fram* *ἀπό* oder *ἐκ*. Wie in § 15 schon bemerkt wurde, hebt *fram* in gegensatz zu *af* deutlich den zeitpunkt hervor, an dem eine handlung oder ein zustand anfängt, deren folgen bis in die gegenwart fortdauern. Daher kommt es gewöhnlich in verbindung mit durativen oder iterativen verben (stets, wo es *ἐκ* übersetzt) [2]) vor und es ist wohl nicht zufällig, dass es in den ausdrücken *fram aiwam*, *fram fruma*, *fram anastodeinai aiwis*, *fram fadreinai* gebraucht wird. Auch spielt der gefühlston eine rolle.

fram übersetzt *ἀπό* in verbindung mit durativen oder iterativen verben. — fram þamma daga ei anabauþ mis ei weisjau fauramaþleis ize in Iudaia *ἀπὸ τῆς ἡμέρας ἧς ἐνετείλατό μοι εἶναι εἰς ἄρχοντα αὐτῶν ἐν τῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ* Neh. V 14. — fram himma qiþa izwis *ἀπ' ἄρτι λέγω ὑμῖν* J. XIII 19. — v. a. J. XIV 7. — L. I 48. — L. V 10. — weis fram þamma nu in ainnohun kunnum bi leika *ἡμεῖς ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν οὐδένα οἴδαμεν κατὰ σάρκα* k. V 16. — fram þammei innatiddja ni swaif bikukjan fotuns meinans *ἀφ' ἧς εἰσῆλθον οὐ διέλειπεν καταφιλοῦσά μου τοὺς πόδας* L. VII 45. — u. ö.

Wo *fram* in verbindung mit momentanen verben auftritt, bezieht es sich auf den zustand, der durch die handlung hervorgerufen wird. Besonders deutlich ist dies bei *wairþan*, wo auch der endpunkt der hervorgerufenen handlung bezeichnet wird.: runos þizos gafulginons fram aiwam *τοῦ μυστηρίου τοῦ ἀποκεκρυμμένου ἀπὸ τῶν αἰώνων* E. III 9. — v. a. C. I 26. — jah ganas so qino fram þizai ƕeilai jainai *καὶ ἐσώθη ἡ γυνὴ ἀπὸ τῆς ὥρας ἐκείνης* M. IX 22. — fram saihston ... ƕeilai warþ riqis ufar allai airþai und ƕeila niundon *ἀπὸ ... ἕκτης ὥρας ἐγένετο σκότος ἐπὶ πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν ἕως ὥρας ἐνάτης* M. XXVII 45. —

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[1]) Str. anm. — [2]) Bei den zeitbestimmungen mit us bezeichnen die verben auch stets eine fortdauernde handlung oder einen dauernden zustand (§ 39).

Auch wo die *fram*-bestimmung von einem substantiv abhängt, wird ein fortdauernder zustand bezeichnet: jains manamaurþrja was fram frumistja *ἐκεῖνος ἀνθρωποκτόνος ἦν ἀπ' ἀρχῆς* J. VIII 44. V. a. L. I 2. 70. V 10.

fram übersetzt *ἐκ*: fram aiwa ni gahausiþ was þatei uslukiþ ƕas augona blindamma gabauranamma *ἐκ τοῦ αἰῶνος οὐκ ἠκούσθη ὅτι ἤνοιξέν τις ὀφθαλμοὺς τυφλοῦ γεγεννημένου* J. IX 32. — þata izwis fram fruma ni qaþ *ταῦτα . . . ὑμῖν ἐξ ἀρχῆς οὐκ εἶπον* J. XVI 4. — framuh þamma sokida Peilatus fraletan ina *ἐκ τούτου ἐζήτει ὁ Πειλᾶτος ἀπολῦσαι αὐτόν* J. XIX 12. —

fram mit einem substantiv übersetzt *ἄνωθεν*: fram anastodeinai allaim glaggwuba afarlaistjandin *παρηκολουθηκότι ἄνωθεν πᾶσιν ἀκριβῶς* L. I 3. —

Aus der Sk.: diabulau fram anastodeinai nih nauþjandin, ak uslutondin mannan Sk. I 13. —

Anm. Scheinbar regiert *fram* den gen. L. VIII 49: gaggiþ sums manne fram þis fauramaþleis swnagogais *ἔρχεταί τις παρὰ τοῦ ἀρχισυναγώγου*. — Der gen. lässt sich ebenso wie der gen. nach *du*: du frawaurhtis mans galaiþ *παρὰ ἁμαρτωλῷ ἀνδρὶ εἰσῆλθεν* L. XIX 7. wo eine erklärende randglosse *in gard* in den text geraten ist, als ellipse von *gard* erklären.

us

§ 25. Wie schon Winkler [1]) bemerkt, entspricht *us* dem deutschen „aus" und sind die verschiedenen bedeutungssphären aus diesem grundbegriff herzuleiten. Inwiefern diese verschiedenen bedeutungen dem gotischen sprachgefühl bewusst gewesen sind, lässt sich in den meisten fällen nicht mehr ermitteln, weil sich gewöhnlich *us* und das griechische *ἐκ* entsprechen. Nur in rein örtlicher bedeutung übersetzt *us ἀπό* und in all diesen fällen entspricht es dem modernen „aus", wenn auch der unterschied zwischen *af* und *us* nicht immer deutlich hervortritt. So wird *ἀπό* Mc. III 22 mit *af* übersetzt: bokarjos þai af Iairusaulwmai qimandans *οἱ γραμματεῖς οἱ ἀπὸ Ἱεροσολύμων καταβάντες* und Mc. VII 1 durch *us*: gaqemun sik du imma Fareisaieis jah sumai þize bokarje qimandans us Iairusaulwmim *συνάγονται πρὸς αὐτὸν οἱ Φαρισαῖοι καί τινες τῶν γραμματέων ἐλθόντες ἀπὸ Ἱεροσολύμων*.

Einmal steht: usfarþon gatawida us skipa k. XI 25 als übersetzung von *ἐναυάγησα*.

Die einteilung unter die verschiedenen rubriken hat hier also mehr einen logischen als einen psychologischen wert und ist dann und wann ziemlich willkürlich. So kommen in verbindung mit verben der bewegung (§ 27) mehrere fälle vor, so beispielsweise J. XII 28. Mc. IX 7. L. IX 35, wo die idee der herkunft oder des ursprungs sehr stark in den vordergrund tritt. Wo eine abweichung von der vorlage einen schluss auf die psychologische bedeutung einer bestimmten kategorie gestattet, wird dies verzeichnet.

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[1]) s. 162.

Ein paar mal scheint *ἐκ* einfluss auf die wahl der präposition ausgeübt zu haben, so z.b.: biþe afsatjaidau us fauragaggja *ὅταν μετασταθῶ ἐκ τῆς οἰκονομίας* L. XVI 4. —, wo *us* eine rein ablative bedeutung hat. Zwar kommt eine derartige bestimmung auch unabhängig von der vorlage vor: us anstai usdrusuþ *τῆς χάριτος ἐξεπέσατε* G. V 4. —; hier kann aber die vorsilbe *ἐξ* die wahl der präposition beeinflusst haben.

§ **26.** *us* hat ebenso wie „aus" nicht nur die bedeutung „aus dem innern eines gegenstandes heraus"; es bedeutet auch „unter einer menge hinweg" und bildet also nicht nur ein gegenstück zu „in", sondern auch zu „unter" in der bedeutung des lat. *inter*, got. *in* oder *miþ*. Diese bedeutung hat es nicht: ni auk us þaurnum lisand[a] smakkans *οὐ . . . ἐξ ἀκανθῶν συλλέγουσι σῦκα* L. VI 44. — Hier steht *us* wahrscheinlich unter dem einfluss der vorlage. Dies ist um so wahrscheinlicher, als in der parallelstelle M. VII 16 [1]) *ἀπό* mit *af* übersetzt wird; in der fortsetzung von L. VI 44 us aiƕatundjai trudand[a] weinabasja *ἐκ βάτου τρυγῶσι σταφυλήν* passt aber *us* vollkommen zu *trudan* und so könnte auch das erste *us* des parallelismus wegen gewählt sein.

§ **27.** *us* kommt vor bei verben der bewegung, übersetzt *ἀπό* und steht dem „in" gegenüber: fon atgaggai us himina *πῦρ καταβῆναι ἀπὸ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ* L. IX 54. — usiddja Lod us Saudaumim *ἐξῆλθεν Λὼτ ἀπὸ Σοδόμων* L. XVII 29. — þata utgaggando us mann *τὰ ἐκπορευόμενα ἀπ' αὐτοῦ* Mc. VII 15. — [2]) u. ö. —

us steht dem „unter" gegenüber: galaiþ in gard us þizai managein *εἰσῆλθεν εἰς οἶκον ἀπὸ τοῦ ὄχλου* Mc. VII 17. —

us = *κατά* c. a.: þaiei us baurgim gaïddjedun du imma *τῶν κατὰ πόλιν ἐπιπορευομένων πρὸς αὐτόν* L. VIII 4. — [3])

us übersetzt *ἐκ*: Satanan swe lauhmunja driusandan us himina *τὸν σατανᾶν ὡς ἀστραπὴν πεσόντα ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ* L. X 18. — þo us sis maht usgaggandein *τὴν ἐξ αὐτοῦ δύναμιν ἐξελθοῦσαν* Mc. V 30. — þata us mann usgaggando *τὸ ἐκ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐκπορευόμενον* Mc. VII 20. — [4]) urrann... Iosef us Galeilaia, us baurg Nazaraiþ *ἀνέβη . . . Ἰωσὴφ ἀπὸ τῆς Γαλιλαίας ἐκ πόλεως Ναζαρέθ* L. II 4. — u. ö. —

Aus der Sk.: Sa us himina qumana Sk. IV 18. —

us dient auch zur bezeichnung einer person, die ein böser geist verlässt und übersetzt dann *ἀπό*: Marja . . . us þizaiei usiddjedun unhulþons sibun *Μαρία . . . ἀφ' ἧς δαιμόνια ἑπτὰ ἐξεληλύθει* L. VIII 2. — [5]) oder *ἐκ*: usgagg us þamma *ἔξελθε ἐξ αὐτοῦ* Mc. IX 25. — v. Mc. V 8: usiddja unhulþo us dauhtr þeinai *ἐξελήλυθεν τὸ δαιμόνιον ἐκ τῆς θυγατρός σου* Mc. VII 29. —

[1]) § 9. — [2]) SinBDL.1 liest *ἐκ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου*. — [3]) Wegen der Abweichung vom gr. vergl. Bernhardt zur stelle. — [4]) V. oben us = *ἀπό*. — [5]) § 3.

§ 28 *us* kommt vor bei verben, die eine trennung bedeuten und übersetzt einmal *ἀπό*: urrais us dauþaim *ἠγέρθη ἀπὸ τῶν νεκρῶν* M. XXVII 64. —

Es übersetzt *ἐκ*: Iohannes urrais us dauþaim *Ἰωάννης ἐγήγερται ἐκ νεκρῶν* L. IX 7. — ei andhuljaindau us managaim hairtam mitoneis *ὅπως ἂν ἀποκαλυφθῶσιν ἐκ πολλῶν καρδιῶν διαλογισμοί* L. II 35. — u. ö. — Weiter kommt es zur bezeichnung einer trennung auch bei substantiven vor: libains us dauþaim *ζωὴ ἐκ νεκρῶν* R. XI 15. — v. a. L. XX 35. — Ph. III 11. —

Es übersetzt *ἔξω*: ei ni usdrebi im us landa *ἵνα μὴ ἀποστείλῃ αὐτοὺς ἔξω τῆς χώρας* Mc. V 10. —

Das gr. hat ein zusammengesetztes wort: ei us swnagogei ni uswaurpanai waurþeina *ἵνα μὴ ἀποσυνάγωγοι γένωνται* J. XII 42. —

§ **29.** *us* bei wörtern, die ein *befreien, lösen* u. ä. bedeuten; es übersetzt *ἐκ*:

bei verben: ƕas mik lauseiþ us þamma leika dauþaus þis *τίς με ῥύσεται ἐκ τοῦ σώματος τοῦ θανάτου τούτου* R. VII 24 u. ö. — Diese konstruktion kommt einmal bei einem substantiv vor: nasein us fijandam unsaraim jah us handau allaize þize hatandane unsis *σωτηρίαν ἐξ ἐχθρῶν ἡμῶν καὶ ἐκ χειρὸς πάντων τῶν μισούντων ἡμᾶς* L. I 71. — Einmal dient diese konstruktion zur übersetzung eines zusammengesetzten verbums: uslausei þuk us waurtim *ἐκριζώθητι* L. XVII 6. —

Aus der Skeireins gehört hierher: galausjan allans us diabulaus anamahtai Sk. I 10. —

§ **30.** Sehr oft bezeichnet *us* den ursprung: in all diesen fällen scheint aber die ursprüngliche bedeutung dieser präposition noch deutlich gefühlt zu werden. Wo *ἐκ* mehr das zusammengehören bezeichnet, wird denn auch oft ein blosser genitiv gebraucht. So: þu þize is *σὺ ἐξ αὐτῶν εἶ* M. XXVI 73. — u. ö. und: jabai þis fairƕaus weseiþ *εἰ ἐκ τοῦ κόσμου ἦτε* J. XV 19, wo das verhältnis mehr partitiv ist [1]).

In den beiden folgenden belegen ist das verhältnis mehr possessiv gefasst: nam hansa jah þize gudjane jah Fareisaie andbahtans *λαβὼν τὴν σπεῖραν καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἀρχιερέων καὶ Φαρισαίων ὑπηρέτας* J. XVIII 3. — Der übersetzer hat nicht gesehen, dass *ἐκ* zu *λαβών* gehört und deshalb den gen. gebraucht [2]), woraus zu schliessen ist, dass das possessive verhältnis nicht durch *us* bezeichnet werden konnte. Sehr instruktiv ist K. XII 15, 16: jabai qiþai fotus þatei ni im handus, ni im þis leikis, nih at þamma leika, nist us þamma leika *ἐὰν εἴπῃ ὁ πούς ὅτι οὐκ εἰμὶ χείρ, οὐκ εἰμὶ ἐκ τοῦ σώματος, οὐ παρὰ τοῦτο οὐκ ἔστιν ἐκ τοῦ σώματος.* Dieser wechsel des blossen genitivs und der *us*-bestimmung findet sich noch einmal v. 16. Das erste mal soll mehr die zusammengehörigkeit, das zweite mal mehr das ursprungsverhältnis ausgedrückt werden [3]). Umgekehrt: þaiþ-þan liþjus allai us

[1]) C. S. § 112, 1 s. 132. — [2]) Bernh. anm. — [3]) Winkler, s. 326.

leika þamma ainamma *πάντα δὲ τὰ μέλη τοῦ σώματος* K. XII 12. — Hier scheint mir ein syntaktischer bedeutungsunterschied vorzuliegen. Jedenfalls ist es nicht nötig anzunehmen, dass letzteres *us* unter dem einfluss des folgenden steht [1]). An die stelle eines blossen genitivs ist auch eine *us*-bestimmung getreten: sumaim dauns us dauþau du dauþau, sumaimuþ-þan dauns us libainai du libainai *οἷς μὲν ὀσμὴ θανάτου εἰς θάνατον, οἷς δὲ ὀσμὴ ζωῆς εἰς ζωήν* k. II 16, in übereinstimmung allerdings mit einigen hss. [1]), und an die stelle eines dativs: sunjus Aidduins us garda Iesuis *υἱοὶ Εδδουα τῷ οἴκῳ Ἰησοῦ* Neh. VII 39, wo deutlich eine herkunft ausgedrückt werden soll.

§ **31.** Auch wo *us* zur bezeichnung des ursprungs dem *fram* gegenübersteht, wird die ursprüngliche bedeutung von *us* noch gefühlt: ƕarjizuh swesa giba habaiþ fram guda *ἕκαστος ἴδιον χάρισμα ἔχει ἐκ θεοῦ* K. VII 7 gegenüber: gatimrjon us guda habam *οἰκοδομὴν ἐκ θεοῦ ἔχομεν* k. V 1. — Bezeichnend ist auch: ni þatei fram Mose sijai, ak us attam *οὐχ ὅτι ἐκ τοῦ Μωσέως ἐστίν, ἀλλ᾽ ἐκ τῶν πατέρων* J. VII 22. — [2]).

Obgleich also die ursprüngliche bedeutung von *us*, wenn es zur bezeichnung des ursprungs und ähnlicher beziehungen verwandt wird, meistens noch deutlich ist, muss andrerseits angenommen werden, dass die ursprungsbedeutung für das gotische sprachgefühl lebendig war. Die im folgenden angenommenen unterabteilungen sind nur übersichtlichkeitshalber gewählt worden.

§ **32.** Zur bezeichnung der herkunft übersetzt *us ἀπό*: du Kaurinþium ·b· meliþ ist us Filippai Makidonais *Πρὸς Κορινθίους β̅ ἐγράφη ἀπὸ Φιλίππων* unterschrift k. — sumai Fareisaie us þizai managein *τινες τῶν Φαρισαίων ἀπὸ τοῦ ὄχλου* L. XIX 39, — u. ö. —

= *ἐκ*: stubju þana gahaftnandan unsis us þizai baurg izwarai *τὸν κονιορτὸν τὸν κολληθέντα ἡμῖν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ὑμῶν* L. X 11. — Raibaikka us ainamma galigrja habandei Isakis *Ῥεβέκκα ἐξ ἑνὸς κοίτην ἔχουσα Ἰσαάκ* R. IX 10. Die übersetzung weicht von der vorlage ab, stimmt aber mit der it. „ex uno concubitu" überein [3]). — us fraiwa Daweidis . . . Xristus qimiþ *ἐκ τοῦ σπέρματος Δαυείδ . . . ὁ Χριστὸς ἔρχεται* J. VII 42. — jabai magi wairþan us izwis *εἰ δυνατόν, τὸ ἐξ ὑμῶν* R. XII 18. Die übersetzung ist frei und weicht auch vom itala-text ab. — Lazarus af Beþanias, us haimai Marjins jah Marþins *Λάζαρος ἀπὸ Βηθανίας, ἐκ τῆς κώμης Μαρίας καὶ Μάρθας* J. XI 1. — [4]) u. ö. —

Aus der Skeireins gehören zur ursprungskategorie: fram attin insandiþs was us himina Sk. VI 16. — us wambai . . . gabaurþ Sk. II 13. — v. a. Sk. VI 20. —

§ **33.** Als eine besondere unterabteilung des ursprungsbegriffes werden gesondert erwähnt die bestimmungen mit *us*, die den ort oder die person

[1]) Str. anm. — [2]) § 16. — [3]) Vgl. anm. Str. und Bernh. — [4]) § 14.

bezeichnen, woher man etwas nimmt, bzw. bekommt. Obgleich auch hier die ursprüngliche bedeutung von *us* noch durchblickt, bilden diese fälle einen übergang zu den stoffbestimmungen, wo allerdings die ursprüngliche bedeutung von *us* auch noch unverkennbar ist. Einmal übersetzt *us* ἀπό: gawaljands us im twalib ἐκλεξάμενος ἀπ' αὐτῶν δώδεκα L. VI 13. —, sonst ἐκ: þanzei jah laþoda uns ni þatainei us Iudaium, ak jah us þiudom οὓς καὶ ἐκάλεσεν ἡμᾶς οὐ μόνον ἐξ Ἰουδαίων ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐξ ἐθνῶν R. IX 24. — þu us wistai usmaitans þis wilþei n s alewabagmis σὺ ἐκ τῆς κατὰ φύσιν ἐξεκόπης ἀγριελαίου R. XI 24. (κατά bleibt unübersetzt. [1]) — us aihvatundjai trudanda weinabasja ἐκ βάτου τρυγῶσι σταφυλήν L. VI 44. [2]) u. ö.

§ **34.** Einige male bezeichnet die bestimmung mit *us* den stoff, woraus etwas gemacht wird; es übersetzt dann ἐκ: hlaiwa, þatei was gadraban us staina μνημείῳ, ὃ ἦν λελατομημένον ἐκ πέτρας Mc. XV 46. — v. a. R. IX 21. — J. IX 6. — J. XIX 2. —

Aus der Skeireins: mann us missaleikom wistim ussatidamma, us saiwalai . . . jah leika, Sk. II 22, womit sich aus Cyrill vergleichen lässt: ὁ ἄνθρωπος ἐκ δύο κεκερασμένος αἰσθητοῦ δηλονότι σώματος καὶ ψυχῆς νοερᾶς (244) [3]). Aehnlich: gabairada us watin jah ahmin Sk. II 19. Vgl. γεννηθῇ ἐξ ὕδατος καὶ πνεύματος J. III 5. — [3]).

§ **35.** Den persönlichen urheber bezeichnet *us* stets als übersetzung von ἐκ: þisƕah þatei us mis gabatnis ἐὰν ἐξ ἐμοῦ ὠφεληθῇς Mc VII 11. — u. ö.

Anm. Oben [4]) haben wir gesehen, dass *af* in der verbindung mit *sis silbin* einmal als übersetzung von ἐκ vorkommt; es wird aber auch einmal mit *us* übersetzt: ik us mis silbin ni rodida ἐγὼ ἐξ ἐμαυτοῦ οὐκ ἐλάλησα J. XII 49.

§ **36.** *us* bezeichnet die ursache und übersetzt dann auch ἐκ: ƕarjizuh swaswe fauragahugida hairtin, ni us trigon aiþþau us nauþai ἕκαστος καθὼς προῄρηται τῇ καρδίᾳ, μὴ ἐκ λύπης ἢ ἐξ ἀνάγκης k. IX 7. — bei einem nicht überlieferten verbum: . . . izwara misso, niba þau us gaqissai ƕo ƕeilo (μὴ ἀποστερεῖτε) ἀλλήλους, εἰ μήτι ἂν ἐκ συμφώνου πρὸς καιρόν K. VII 5. — ni wairþiþ garaihts us waurstwam witodis ainhun leike οὐ δικαιωθήσεται ἐξ ἔργων νόμου πᾶσα σάρξ G. II 16. — u. ö. — Wenn der gen. bei wörtern, die „voll" bedeuten, ein instrumentaler genitiv ist [5]), so müssen wir annehmen, dass *us* in zwei fällen instrumentale bedeutung hat, nämlich: gafullidedun ·ib· tainjons gabruko us fimf hlaibam þaim barizeinam ἐγέμισαν δώδεκα κοφίνους κλασμάτων ἐκ τῶν πέντε ἄρτων τῶν κριθίνων J. VI 13. — und aus der Skeireins: us þamma filu mais siponjans fullafahida Sk. VII 20. — Dies wird um so wahrscheinlicher, als einmal bei *fulls* die bestimmung mit ἐκ mit einem gen. übersetzt wird: iþ sa

[1]) § 156 anm. 2. — [2]) Vergl. § 26. — [3]) Str. anm. — [4]) § 13. — [5]) Delbrück, s. 34, 130.

gards fulls warþ daunais þizos salbonais *ἡ δὲ οἰκία ἐπληρώθη ἐκ τῆς ὀσμῆς τοῦ μύρου* J. XII 3. —

§ 37. Sehr oft hat *us* partitive bedeutung; daneben findet sich der partitive gen. als übersetzung einer bestimmung mit *ἐκ*. Obgleich es keine belege eines partitiven *us* unabhängig von der vorlage gibt, so sind die fälle doch so häufig und ist der gebrauch so sehr natürlich und entspricht so sehr dem gebrauch in anderen sprachen, dass diese bedeutungskategorie als idiomatisch betrachtet werden muss. Wenn wir die belege, in denen *ἐκ* mit *us* übersetzt wird, vergleichen mit denen, wo anstatt der griechischen präpositionalbestimmung ein blosser gen. gebraucht wird, so erscheint es m. e. sehr wahrscheinlich, dass für die wahl der beiden konstruktionen stilistische gründe ausschlaggebend gewesen sind. So stehen nebeneinander: jah suns þragida ains us im *καὶ εὐθέως δραμὼν εἷς ἐξ αὐτῶν* M. XXVII 48. — und: jah ains ize ni gadriusiþ ana airþa inuh attins izwaris wiljan *ἓν ἐξ αὐτῶν οὐ πεσεῖται ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν ἄνευ τοῦ πατρὸς ὑμῶν* M. X 29. — ebenso: J. XVI 5 und J. XVII 12. — neben J. VII 19. — R. XI 14 neben J. VI 64. — Bezeichnend ist auch in L. XIV 28 die umstellung (izwara *ƕas* = *τίς γὰρ ἐξ ὑμῶν*). — Unübersetzt bleibt *ἐκ* auch noch in vielen andern beispielen, neben denen keine gleichbedeutenden stellen stehen, in denen es übersetzt wird, so z. b.: iþ ƕas izwara maurnands mag anaaukan ana wahstu seinana aleina aina *τίς δὲ ἐξ ὑμῶν μεριμνῶν δύναται προσθεῖναι ἐπὶ τὴν ἡλικίαν αὐτοῦ πῆχυν ἕνα* M. VI 27. — u. ö.

Wenn es richtig ist, dass stilistische gründe für die jeweilige wahl der konstruktion verantwortlich gemacht werden müssen, so ist es auch für wahrscheinlich zu erachten, dass beide konstruktionen idiomatisch sind und aus den nebeneinander aufgeführten belegen ergibt sich auch, dass sie gleichwertig sind.

Anm. 1. Bei den verben *brukjan, drigkan, itan* und *matjan* wird die bestimmung mit *ἐκ* stets durch einen blossen gen. übersetzt [1]). Weil daneben keine präpositional-bestimmungen vorkommen, werden wir wohl annehmen müssen, dass nur der blosse genitiv idiomatisch ist.

Anm. 2. Ein paar mal scheint die bestimmung mit *us* das mittel zu bezeichnen; einmal zur übersetzung von *ἀπό*; einmal wird *ἐκ* so übersetzt: þozei andbahtidedun im us aiginam seinaim *αἵτινες διηκόνουν αὐτοῖς ἀπὸ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων αὐταῖς* L. VIII 3. — usbauhtedun us þaim (skattam) þana akr kasjins *ἠγόρασαν ἐξ αὐτῶν τὸν ἀγρὸν τοῦ κεραμέως* M. XXVII 7. — Wir werden hier aber auch wohl mit einer art gen. part. zu tun haben; man könnte z. b. vergleichen: deutsch „von diesem geld kaufte er ein haus", niederl. „van dit geld kocht hij een huis".

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[1]) C. S., s. 132 § 113, 1.

§ 38. *us* wird auch modal gebraucht. Dieser gebrauch muss als idiomatisch betrachtet werden. Dies ergibt sich daraus, dass verschiedene griechische konstruktionen in dieser bedeutung durch eine präpositionalbestimmung mit *us* übersetzt werden. Aus dem umstand, dass ein adverb oder eine konstruktion mit *κατά* so übersetzt wird, muss geschlossen werden, dass die modale bedeutung für das gotische sprachgefühl noch lebendig war. Auch ist noch auf die tatsache hinzuweisen, dass *ἐκ μέρους* K. XIII 9 mit *suman* und v. 12 mit *us dailai* übersetzt wird: suman kunnum jah suman praufetjam *ἐκ μέρους δὲ γινώσκομεν καὶ ἐκ μέρους προφητεύομεν*; dahingegen: nu wait us dailai *ἄρτι γινώσκω ἐκ μέρους.*; *us* übersetzt *κατά*: guþ þans us gabaurþai astans ni freidida *ὁ θεὸς τῶν κατὰ φύσιν κλάδων οὐκ ἐφείσατο* R. XI 21. — ei ni swaswe bi nauþai þiuþ þein[s] sijai ak us lustum *ἵνα μὴ ὡς κατὰ ἀνάγκην τὸ ἀγαθόν σου ᾖ, ἀλλὰ κατὰ ἑκούσιον* Phil. 14. — Auf die modale bedeutung weist auch hin, dass us mit *bi* abwechselt. Dieser wechsel ist wahrscheinlich rein stilistisch [1]). Die präpositionalbestimmung übersetzt ein adverb: saei saiiþ us gaþagkja, us gaþagkja jah sneiþiþ *ὁ σπείρων φειδομένως φειδομένως καὶ θερίσει* k. IX 6. — Einmal tritt an die stelle eines zusammengesetzten verbums ein verbum mit einer *us*-bestimmung: þans us liutein taiknjandans sik garaihtans wisan *ὑποκρινομένους ἑαυτοὺς δικαίους εἶναι* L. XX 20. —

Wie sehr die bedeutung von *us* verblasst ist, beweist der umstand, dass k. III 9 B als übersetzung von *ἐν δόξῃ us wulþau*, A *in wulþau* hat: ufarist andbahti garaihteins in wulþau (us wulþau) *περισσεύει ἡ διακονία τῆς δικαιοσύνης ἐν δόξῃ* k. III 9. — Als übersetzung von *ἐν* findet *us* sich auch: gibiþ . . . þus frauja fraþi us allaim *δώσει . . . σοι ὁ κύριος σύνεσιν ἐν πᾶσιν* t. II 7 —. [2]). Unnötig ist es m. e. mit Str. [3]) anzunehmen, dass der übersetzer *us allaim* zu *giban* gezogen hat oder das *us* wegen des folgenden *us dauþaim* für *in* verschrieben ist. Aus der gleichwertigkeit von *us*- und *in*-bestimmungen lässt sich auch erklären: saei saijiþ in þiuþeinai, us þiuþeinai jah sneiþiþ *ὁ σπείρων ἐπ᾽ εὐλογίαις ἐπ᾽ εὐλογίαις καὶ θερίσει* k. IX 6. — Auch hier ist es unnötig, verschiedene lesarten in der vorlage anzunehmen [4]). *ἐπ᾽ εὐλογίαις* hat hier modale bedeutung, wie der gegensatz zu *φειδομένως* beweist, und dann liegt die vermutung nahe, dass *in þiuþeinai* und *us þiuþeinai* synonyme ausdrücke sind, die hier abwechslungshalber gebraucht werden.

us übersetzt *ἐκ*: frijos fraujan guþ þeinana us allamma hairtin þeinamma jah us allai saiwalai þeinai jah us allai mahtai þeinai jah us allai gahugdai þeinai *ἀγαπήσεις κύριον τὸν θεόν σου ἐξ ὅλης τῆς καρδίας σου καὶ ἐξ ὅλης τῆς ψυχῆς σου καὶ ἐξ ὅλης τῆς ἰσχύος σου καὶ ἐξ ὅλης τῆς διανοίας σου* L. X 27. — u. ö. Aus der Skeireins: us airþai rodjandan Sk. IV 16. — V. *ἐκ τῆς γῆς λαλεῖ* J. III 31. — v. a. Sk. IV 18.

§ 39. Das zeitbestimmende *us* übersetzt *ἐκ*, *ἀπό* oder die bestimmung

[1]) Vgl. über wechsel im ausdruck in den briefen Kapteijn, s. 343 ff. — [2]) § 102 anm. 2. — [3]) anm. — [4]) Str. anm.

steht für ein zeitbestimmendes adverb. Hieraus ist zu schliessen, dass der zeitliche gebrauch von *us* idiomatisch ist. Wenn wir die belege, in denen *ἐκ* mit *us* übersetzt wird, vergleichen mit denen, wo an die stelle von *ἐκ* *fram* tritt, so sehen wir, dass *us* gebraucht wird in den ausdrücken: *us jundai meinai, us gebaurþai, us barniskja, us þamma mela*; *fram* dagegen findet sich in: *fram aiwa, fram þamma* [1]); dies stimmt zu Winklers auffassung, dass *us* den ausgangspunkt der handlung stärker hervorhebt. In *us frumistja* bezeichnet *us* einen entfernteren zeitpunkt als *fram* in *fram fruma*. In all diesen fällen blickt die ursprüngliche bedeutung von *us* noch durch. Weniger deutlich ist der unterschied zwischen: þo faura ju us anastodeinai garaidon garehsn Sk. I 18. — und: diabulau fram anastodeinai nih nauþjandin, ak uslutondin mannan Sk. I 14. — Allerdings gibt das *ga-* von *garaidon* dem satz eine prägnantere färbung.

us = *ἀπό*: us barniskja weihos bokos kunþes *ἀπὸ βρέφους τὰ ἱερὰ γράμματα οἶδας* t. III 15. —

Die *us*-bestimmung tritt an die stelle eines adverbs: us barniskja (warþ imma þata) *παιδιόθεν* (*τοῦτο γέγονεν αὐτῷ*) Mc. IX 21. —

us = *ἐκ*: wissuh þan us frumistja Iesus *ᾔδει γὰρ ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὁ Ἰησοῦς* J. VI 64. — v. a. J. IX 1. — L. XVIII 21. — J. VI 66. —

Anm. 1. In der verbindung *ἐκ δευτέρου* antwortet die bestimmung auf die frage: zum wievielten mal? und wird denn auch mit einem dativ übersetzt: atwopidedun þan anþaramma sinþa þana mannan *ἐφώνησαν οὖν ἐκ δευτέρου τὸν ἄνθρωπον* J. IX 24. — [2]).

Anm. 2. Einmal tritt an die stelle von *ἐκ* ein acc.; während im griechischen der anfangspunkt bezeichnet wird, bezeichnet die gotische konstruction die zeiterstreckung: saei habaida unhulþons mela lagga *ὃς εἶχεν δαιμόνια ἐκ χρόνων ἱκανῶν* L. VIII 27. — [3]).

ut us

§ 40. Zur verstärkung des *us* findet sich einige male *ut*. Diese verbindung übersetzt einmal *ἐκ*: usgagg ut us þamma *ἔξελθε ἐξ αὐτοῦ* Mc. I 25. — sonst *ἔξω*: usiddja ut us þizai baurg *ἐξεπορεύετο ἔξω τῆς πόλεως* Mc. XI 19. — u.ö.

fairra

§ 41. *fairra* hat teilweise die natur eines adverbs, das mit dem verbum eine zusammensetzung bildet. Beide zusammen regieren dann den dativ [4]). Teilweise ist es eine präposition. Die vorlage hat stets *ἀπό*. In dem ersten falle könnte man sagen, dass die präpositionalbestimmung mit einem dativ übersetzt wird; im zweiten falle, dass dem *ἀπό* ein *fairra* entspricht. Ein weiterer unterschied ist, dass die verben der ersten gruppe

[1]) § 24. — [2]) C. S., § 67 s. 96. — [3]) C. S., § 37 s. 61. — [4]) C. S., § 70 s. 98, wo L. II 15, VIII 37 *galeiþan fairra* irrtümlicherweise als e i n verbum betrachtet wird; Winkler s. 171.

eine ruhe, die der zweiten bis auf eine ausnahme ein „entfernen" bzw. „sich entfernen" bezeichnen. Bei den meisten verben der zweiten gruppe ist das verbum mit einer vorsilbe zusammengesetzt, die eine trennung bezeichnet. Bei *skaidan* steckt der trennungsbegriff in der bedeutung des verbums selbst: ausgenommen sind nur *gaggan* und *galeiþan*. Die bedeutung ist meist rein örtlich [1]).

§ **42.** Zur ersten gruppe gehören: juþan ni fairra wisandin imma þamma garda ἤδη . . . οὐ μακρὰν ἀπέχοντος αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ τῆς οἰκίας L. VII 6. — ni fairra is þiudangardjai gudis οὐ μακρὰν εἶ ἀπὸ τῆς βασιλείας τοῦ θεοῦ Mc. XII 34. — hairto ize fairra habaiþ sik mis ἡ . . . καρδία αὐτῶν πόρρω ἀπέχει ἀπ' ἐμοῦ Mc. VII 6. —

§ **43.** Zur zweiten gruppe gehören: gaggiþ fairra mis πορεύεσθε ἀπ' ἐμοῦ M. XXV 41. — v. a. L. II 37. — L. IV 42. — M. VII 23. — L. V 3. — L. IV 13.

Eine ruhe anstatt eines „sich entfernen" bedeutet *fairra* bei *wisan*: wasuh þan fairra im hairda sweine ἦν δὲ μακρὰν ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἀγέλη χοίρων M. VIII 30. — hier bezeichnet *fairra* eine grosse entfernung (= weit von ihnen) und übersetzt μακρὰν ἀπό.

Eine nicht rein örtliche bedeutung hat *fairra* K. VII 10: qenai fairra abin ni skaidan γυναῖκα ἀπὸ ἀνδρὸς μὴ χωρισθῆναι [1]).

hindana, innana, utana, utaþro

§ **44.** Es sind eigentlich adverbia, die der form nach eine richtung „woher" bezeichnen. Daneben kommen sie vereinzelt mit einem genitiv vor. Ob der genitiv hier den ursprung bezeichnet oder ob diese wörter nur wegen ihrer nominalnatur den genitiv nehmen [2]), lässt sich nicht entscheiden. Nur bei *innana*, das ἔσω übersetzt, ist die richtung „woher" in das gegenteil umgeschlagen.

§ **45.** *hindana* = πέραν: filu manageins . . . laistidedun afar imma . . . hindana Iaurdanaus πολὺ πλῆθος . . . ἠκολούθησαν αὐτῷ . . . πέραν τοῦ Ἰορδάνου Mc. III 7. 8.

innana = ἔσω: gatauhun ina innana gardis ἀπήγαγον αὐτὸν ἔσω τῆς αὐλῆς Mc. XV 16. —

utana = ἔξω: ustauh ina utana weihsis ἐξήγαγεν αὐτὸν ἔξω τῆς κώμης Mc. VIII 23. — dient zur umschreibung eines mit ἀπό zusammengesetzten adjektivs: utana swnagogais wairþai ἀποσυνάγωγος γένηται J. IX 22. —

utaþro = ἔξωθεν: utaþro mans inngaggando in ina ἔξωθεν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου εἰσπορευόμενον εἰς αὐτόν Mc. VII 15. —

neƕa, neƕ

§ **46.** Das gegenstück zu *fairra* bildet *neƕa*. In einigen fällen kann man es auch als ein adverb betrachten, das mit einem verbum eine

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[1]) § 8. — [2]) Winkler, s. 359.

zusammensetzung bildet, die den dativ regiert [1]). Es übersetzt dann ἐγγίζειν und bezeichnet meistens ein nahe-sein, einmal ein herannahen.

= ἐγγίζειν c. d.: neƕa was daura þizos baurgs ἤγγισεν τῇ πύλῃ τῆς πόλεως L. VII 12. — v. a. L. XVIII 40. —

= ἐγγίζειν εἴς τι: neƕa wesun Iairusalem ἐγγίζουσιν εἰς Ἱερουσαλὴμ Mc. XI 1. — v. a. L. XVIII 35. — L. XIX 29. —

Ein herannahen bezeichnet es Mc. II 4: neƕa qiman imma προσεγγίσαι αὐτῷ.

§ 47. In den andern fällen hat es mehr die natur einer präposition. Es bezeichnet auch wieder ein herannahen oder ein nahe-sein und wird ein paar mal nicht rein örtlich gebraucht. Es übersetzt:

ἐγγύς: neƕa skipa qimandan ἐγγὺς τοῦ πλοίου γινόμενον J. VI 19. — v. a. J. VI 23. — J. XI 18. — L. XIX 11. — R. X 8.

= παρά c. a.: was standands neƕa saiwa Gainnesaraiþ ἦν ἑστὼς παρὰ τὴν λίμνην Γεννησαρέτ L. V 1. — [2]).

= παραπλήσιον: siuks was neƕa dauþau ἠσθένησεν παραπλήσιον θανάτῳ Ph. II 27. —

Aus der Skeireins: so garehsns bi ina neƕa andja was Sk. III 4. — In den zwei letzteren belegen ist das verhältnis nicht mehr rein örtlich.

§ 48. Einmal kommt *neƕ* als präposition vor; es bezeichnet eine richtung und regiert den acc.; es tritt an die stelle eines blossen dativs: atiddja neƕ razn ἤγγισεν τῇ οἰκίᾳ L. XV 25. —

faura

§ 49. *faura* kommt rein örtlich vor in verbindung mit verben, die eine ruhe bezeichnen. Es übersetzt ἔμπροσθεν: Iesus stoþ faura kindina ὁ . . . Ἰησοῦς ἔστη ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ ἡγεμόνος M. XXVII 11. —

= παρά c. a.: sitandan þana mannan . . . faura fotum Iesuis καθήμενον τὸν ἄνθρωπον . . . παρὰ τοὺς πόδας τοῦ Ἰησοῦ L. VIII 35. — standandei faura fotum is στᾶσα παρὰ τοὺς πόδας αὐτοῦ L. VII 38. — jah was faura marein ἦν παρὰ τὴν θάλασσαν Mc. V 21. — [3]).

§ 50. In verbindung mit verben der bewegung = ἔμπροσθεν: gasatidedun ina . . . in midjaim faura Iesua καθῆκαν αὐτὸν . . . εἰς τὸ μέσον ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ Ἰησοῦ L. V 19. —

= παρά c. a. und einmal c. d.: driusands faura fotum Iesuis πεσὼν παρὰ τοὺς πόδας τοῦ Ἰησοῦ L. VIII 41. — v. a. L. XVII 16. — barn gasatida faura sis (παιδίον) ἔστησεν αὐτὸ παρ' ἑαυτῷ L. IX 47. —

= κατενώπιον: atsatjan izwis weihans jah unwammans jah usfairinans faura imma παραστῆσαι ὑμᾶς ἁγίους καὶ ἀμώμους καὶ ἀνεγκλήτους κατενώπιον αὐτοῦ C. I 22. —

[1]) *C. S.*, § 75, s. 103 fussnote 3. — [2]) Vgl. wegen der konkurrierenden präpos. *faura* u. *at* §§ 49, 127. — [3]) Vgl. wegen des unterschiedes zwischen *faura* und *faur* = παρά c.a. § 56.

= blosser dativ: brahtedun ina in Iairusalem, atsatjan faura fraujin ἀνήγαγον αὐτὸν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα παραστῆσαι τῷ κυρίῳ L. II 22. — v. a. R. XIV 10. —

Ein richtungsverhältnis bezeichnet *faura* auch bei *faurameljan*, wo es κατά c. a. übersetzt: izwizei faura augam Iesus Xristus faurameliþs was οἷς κατ' ὀφθαλμοὺς Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς προεγράφη G. III 1. —

§ 51. In verbindung mit *insandjan* bedeutet *faura* „vor sich her". Es findet sich aber neben *faura* als übersetzung von πρὸ προσώπου *faura andwairþja*. So M. XI 10 *faura*: ik insandja aggilu meinana faura þus ἐγὼ ἀποστέλλω τὸν ἄγγελόν μου πρὸ προσώπου σου. — In der parallelstelle L. VII 27 dagegen: ik insandja aggilu meinana faura andwairþja þeinamma, wo die vorlage genau dasselbe hat. v. a. L. IX 52 mit L. X 1. — *faura andwairþja* findet sich auch noch L. I 76 und Mc. II 12, als übersetzung von πρὸ προσώπου und ἐναντίον: fauragaggis . . . faura andwairþja fraujins προπορεύσῃ . . . πρὸ προσώπου κυρίου — usiddja faura andwairþja allaize ἐξῆλθεν ἐναντίον πάντων.

Dieselbe bedeutung hat *faura* weiter noch, wo es ἔμπροσθεν übersetzt: ni haurnjais faura þus μὴ σαλπίσῃς ἔμπροσθέν σου M. VI 2. — v. a. L. VII 27. — M. XI 10. — Mc. I 2. — In allen andern fällen bedeutet *faura* in örtlicher bedeutung mehr „in gegenwart". Hier übersetzt es stets ἔμπροσθεν [1]): þizaiei faginom in izwara faura guda unsaramma ᾗ χαίρομεν δι' ὑμᾶς ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ θεοῦ ἡμῶν Th. III 9. — stets zur bezeichnung von personen, so M. XXVI 70. — L. XIX 27. — G. II 14. — Th. III 13. —

Anm. 1. *in andwairþja* findet sich: aflet . . . þo giba þeina in andwairþja hunslastadis ἄφες . . . τὸ δῶρόν σου ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου M. V 24. — v. a. M. VI 1. — J. XII 37. — Auch ἔναντι wird einmal mit *in andwairþja* übersetzt: miþþanei gudjinoda is in wikon kunjis seinis in andwairþja gudis ἐν τῷ ἱερατεύειν αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ τάξει τῆς ἐφημερίας αὐτοῦ ἔναντι τοῦ θεοῦ L. I 8. —

Anm. 2. ataugjan skuldai sijum faura stauastola Xristaus φανερωθῆναι δεῖ ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ βήματος τοῦ Χριστοῦ k. V 10, lässt sich *faura* bei *ataugjan* auf dieselbe weise erklären wie „vor" c. d. bei „erscheinen".

§ 52. Auf dem begriff „vor sich her" beruht m. e. der begriff des sich entfernens, das bei den verben des *verbergens* u. ä. vorkommt, wo die vorlage ἀπό oder ἐκ hat.

Bei verben des *verbergens* = ἀπό [2]): affalht þo faura snutraim jah frodaim ἀπέκρυψας ταῦτα ἀπὸ σοφῶν καὶ συνετῶν L. X 21. — u. ö. — stets zur bezeichnung von personen.

= ἐκ: ei bairgais im faura þamma unseljin ἵνα τηρήσῃς αὐτοὺς ἐκ τοῦ πονηροῦ J. XVII 15. —

[1]) Daneben findet sich in derselben bedeutung *in andwairþja*; v. anm. 1.
[2]) § 9 anm. 4.

Bei verben des *fliehens* und des *fürchtens* = ἀπό: saihiþ faura bokarjam βλέπετε ἀπὸ τῶν γραμματέων Mc. XII 38. — u. ö. —

Bei *atsaihvan* findet sich neben *faura* der blosse gen: atsaihiþ sweþauh faura liugnapraufetum προσέχετε δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν ψευδοπροφητῶν M. VII 15. — v. a. L. XX 46. — Dagegen: ei atsaihiþ izwis þis beistis Fareisaie jah beistis Herodis βλέπετε ἀπὸ τῆς ζύμης τῶν Φαρισαίων καὶ τῆς ζύμης Ἡρῴδου Mc. VIII 15. — Wo bei verben des verbergens und fliehens u. ä. *faura* gebraucht wird, ist stets von etwas persönlichem die rede; möglich ist es also, dass hier der genitiv gebraucht wird, weil das objekt hier sachlich ist; Delbrück[1]) sieht in obigem gen. einen gen. des zieles und verweist dafür auf Winkler[2]), der aber sagt, dass hier der begriff der trennung die führung übernimmt, was auch in hinblick darauf, dass die vorlage ἀπό hat und neben dem genitiv *faura* vorkommt, durchaus richtig ist. Eine ganz andere bedeutung hat selbstverständlich der genitiv bei *atsaihvan* z. b. T. I 4[3]), wo die vorlage den dat. hat. Dass der übersetzer diese genitive als identisch gefühlt hat, halte ich nicht für wahrscheinlich. Vielmehr müssen der gen. und die *faura*-bestimmung als gleichbedeutend betrachtet werden; der unterschied ist wahrscheinlich nur auf rythmische gründe zurückzuführen.

Anm. Bei *ogan sis* wird ἀπό mit einem blossen acc. übersetzt: ni ogeiþ izwis þans usqimandans leika þatainei μὴ φοβεῖσθε ἀπὸ τῶν ἀποκτενόντων τὸ σῶμα M. X 28. — Weil der acc. bei *ogan* als übersetzung eines gr. acc. sehr oft vorkommt[4]), ist wohl anzunehmen, dass dies die übliche konstruktion ist.

§ 53. *faura* bezeichnet den hinderungsgrund bei negativen verben = ἀπό: ni mahta (gasaihvan Iesu) faura managein οὐκ ἠδύνατο (ἰδεῖν τὸν Ἰησοῦν) ἀπὸ τοῦ ὄχλου L. XIX 3. — ik ni tawida swa faura andwairþja agisis gudis ἐγὼ … οὐκ ἐποίησα οὕτως ἀπὸ προσώπου φόβου θεοῦ Neh. V 15. — [5]) = διά c. a. akei faura Fareisaium ni andhaihaitun ἀλλὰ διὰ τοὺς Φαρισαίους οὐχ ὡμολόγουν J. XII 42. — u. ö.

Mourek bringt nur L. XIX 3, Mc. II 4 und L. VIII 19 zu dieser gruppe, augenscheinlich, weil hier von einem nichtkönnen die rede ist; weil aber nur in negativen sätzen *faura* so gebraucht wird und zwar als übersetzung zweier verschiedenen präpositionen, scheint es mir deutlich zu sein, dass der übersetzer dasselbe syntaktische verhältnis gefühlt hat. M. e. muss also die gruppe „ursache einer empfindung" [6]) mit der des hinderungsgrundes vereinigt werden. Auch dieser bedeutungskategorie von *faura* liegt ein begriff des sich entfernens zu grunde. Neben *faura* zur übersetzung von διά findet sich in negativen sätzen auch einige male *in* c. g.: nih þan ainshun sweþauh balþaba rodida bi ina in agisis Iudaie

[1]) s. 212. — [2]) s. 329. — [3]) Winkler, *ebd.*, C. S. § 142, 2, s. 178. — [4]) C. S. § 15 s. 32. — [5]) Vgl. wegen *faura andwairþja* § 51. — [6]) § 102, 6 a u. b s. 94: příčinu pocitu und překážku.

οὐδεὶς μέντοι παρρησίᾳ ἐλάλει περὶ αὐτοῦ διὰ τὸν φόβον τῶν Ἰουδαίων J. VII 13. — u. ö. Weil *in* c. g. auch in bejahenden sätzen vorkommt, müssen wir annehmen, dass die negativen sätze als die negation der positiven gefühlt wurden und dass also der begriff des hinderungsgrundes bei diesen sätzen nicht lebendig war. Weshalb aber dies das eine mal gefühlt wurde und das andere mal nicht, entzieht sich unserer beurteilung. Wenn wir z. b. vergleichen: ni bigitandans ƕaiwa innatbereina ina in manageins L. V 19 und: ni magandans neƕa qiman imma faura manageim Mc. II 4, so scheint mir die bedeutung vollkommen dieselbe zu sein. Eine beabsichtigte alliteration scheint vorzuliegen: J. XVI 21: ni gaman þizos aglons faura fahedai.

§ **54.** *faura* bezeichnet den vorrang. Hier geht man am besten von dem örtlichen begriff der ruhe und der bewegung aus. Einen übergang bildet beispielsweise ein satz wie: ist þus hauhiþa faura þaim miþanakumbjandam þus *ἔσται σοι δόξα ἐνώπιον τῶν συνανακειμένων σοι* L. XIV 10. —, wo das gr. *ἐνώπιον* hat. In den beiden andern fällen hat die vorlage einen blossen dativ oder genitiv. Dat.: alla gakunnun sik faura imma . . . sunus gakann sik faura þamma ufhnaiwjandin uf ina þo alla *ὑποταγῇ αὐτῷ τὰ πάντα . . . ὁ υἱὸς ὑποταγήσεται τῷ ὑποτάξαντι αὐτῷ τὰ πάντα* K. XV 28. — gen.: qinon ni uslaubja . . . fraujinon faura waira *γυναικὶ οὐκ ἐπιτρέπω . . . αὐθεντεῖν ἀνδρός* T. II 12. — Wenn wir damit vergleichen den dativ bei *fraujinon*, wo es *κυριεύειν τινός* übersetzt: witoþ fraujinoþ mann *ὁ νόμος κυριεύει τοῦ ἀνθρώπου* R. VII 1. — v. a. k. I 24. —, so scheint es mir klar zu sein, dass *fraujinon faura* heissen soll: „herrschen vor" und nicht „herrschen über".

Anm. Zweimal hat *faura* zeitliche bedeutung und übersetzt *πρό* und *ἔμπροσθεν*; es bezeichnet hier einen vorrang in der zeit: is ist faura allaim *αὐτός ἐστιν πρὸ πάντων* C. I 17. — v. a. Neh. V 15. —

faur

§ **55.** *faur* dient örtlich zur übersetzung von *παρά* c. a., das „bei" oder „neben" bedeutet. *faur* scheint demnach nicht so sehr „vor", sondern „bei", „in der nähe" zu bedeuten und eine ziemlich unbestimmte bedeutung zu haben, was sich auch daraus ergibt, dass als übersetzung von *παρά* auch *at* und *nelva* vorkommen [1]). Bezeichnend ist auch, dass *faur* und *wiþra*, die in übertragenem sinn gegensätze sind, in örtlichem sinn als synonyme vorkommen: sum . . . gadraus faur wig *ὁ . . . ἔπεσεν παρὰ τὴν ὁδόν* Mc. IV 4. — L. VIII 5. — Dagegen: þai wiþra wig sind þai hausjandans *οἱ . . . παρὰ τὴν ὁδόν εἰσιν οἱ ἀκούοντες* L. VIII 12. — vgl. Mc. IV 15. —

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[1]) §§ 131, 47.

§ 56. *faur* örtlich = παρά c. a.: es bezeichnet zweimal ein richtungsverhältnis; bei *gadriusan* s. § 55. galaiþ ... faur marein ἐξῆλθεν ... παρὰ τὴν θάλασσαν Mc. II 13. — Wenn wir auch eine bewegung neben einem gegenstand hin als ein richtungsverhältnis fassen [1], so gehört auch hierher: ƕarbonds faur marein Galeilaias παράγων παρὰ τὴν θάλασσαν τῆς Γαλιλαίας Mc. I 16. —

Eine ruhe bezeichnet: blinda sums sat faur wig du aihtron τυφλός τις ἐκάθητο παρὰ τὴν ὁδὸν προσαιτῶν L. XVIII 35. — vgl. Mc. X 46. — = zusammensetzung: þize faur marein Twre τῆς παραλίου Τύρου L. VI 17. — Wenn wir damit die fälle vergleichen, wo παρά c. a. mit *faura* übersetzt wird, so sehen wir, dass *faur* nur mit sachen verbunden wird und die bestimmung mit *faura* bis auf eine ausnahme (Mc. V 21) [2] stets etwas persönliches bezeichnet. Auch wo *faura* eine andere präposition übersetzt, ist es im örtlichen sinne stets und in übertragenem sinne nur mit ausnahme von J. XVI 21 mit einer personenbestimmung verbunden. Oertliche bedeutung hat *faur* auch in Mc. XIV 68: galaiþ faur gard ἐξῆλθεν ἔξω εἰς τὸ προαύλιον; hier bedeutet *faur* „aus etwas heraus" und man kann es mit dem deutschen „vor die stadt gehen" vergleichen.

Ein übergang von der rein örtlichen bedeutung zu der übertragenen des deutschen „für" findet sich: atlagidedun (þans hlaibans) faur þo managein Mc. VIII 6, wo die vorlage den dat. hat: παρέθηκαν (τοὺς ἄρτους) τῷ ὄχλῳ.

§ 57. In der bedeutung „für": es kommt meistens in verbindung mit personennamen vor und findet sich als übersetzung von ὑπέρ c. g. bei verben bzw. substantiven des betens u. ä. und ist dann synonym mit *bi* c. a., *fram* und *in* c. g. [3]): bidjiþ faur uns ἐντυγχάνει ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν R. VIII 34. — u. ö.

Bei wörtern des mühens und sorgens zur übersetzung von ὑπέρ c. g., syn. *fram* [4]): faur Xristu nu airinom ὑπὲρ Χριστοῦ οὖν πρεσβεύομεν k. V 20. — izwara gairnein, izwarana gaunoþu, izwar aljan faur mik τὴν ὑμῶν ἐπιπόθησιν, τὸν ὑμῶν ὀδυρμόν, τὸν ὑμῶν ζῆλον ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ k. VII 7. — u. ö. Aus der Sk. gehören hierher: faur ina balþeiþ Sk. II 1. — v. a. Sk. VIII 20. — Sk. VIII 25. —

Bei wörtern des leidens und sterbens = ὑπέρ c. g.: faur ina (Xristu) winnan ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ (τοῦ Χριστοῦ) πάσχειν Ph. I 29. — aglom meinaim faur izwis ταῖς θλίψεσίν μου ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν E. III 13. — u. ö. —

Anm. 1. Daneben *in* c. g. [5]) : ibai Pawlus ushramiþs warþ in izwara μὴ Παῦλος ἐσταυρώθη ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν K. I 13. — th. I 5 wird in verbindung mit einem sachnamen ὑπὲρ mit *in* übersetzt: þiudangardjos gudis in þizozei jah þulaiþ A, winniþ B τῆς βασιλείας τοῦ θεοῦ, ὑπὲρ ἧς καὶ πάσχετε.

faur bei verben des opferns dient zur übersetzung von ἀντί, περί und ὑπέρ.

[1]) Wilmanns III, 2 § 328, s. 695. — [2]) vgl. oben § 49. — [3]) §§ 149, 140, 23. — [4]) § 23. — [5]) § 141.

= *ἀντί*: giban saiwala seina faur managans lun *δοῦναι τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ λύτρον ἀντὶ πολλῶν* Mc. X 45. —

= *περί* c. g.: gaf sik silban faur frawaurhtins unsaros *δόντος ἑαυτὸν περὶ τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν ἡμῶν* G. I 4. —

Anm. 2. In einer ähnlichen bedeutung wird *περί* c. g. mit einem gen. übersetzt J. X 13: ni kar-ist ina þize lambe *οὐ μέλει αὐτῷ περὶ τῶν προβάτων* — [1]).

= *ὑπέρ*: gibands sik silban andabauht faur allans *δοὺς ἑαυτὸν ἀντίλυτρον ὑπὲρ πάντων* T. II 6. — v. a. K. V 7.

Bei verschiedenen anderen verben und ausdrücken in derselben bedeutung = *ὑπέρ*: so in uns giba þairh managans awiliudodau faur uns *τὸ εἰς ἡμᾶς χάρισμα διὰ πολλῶν εὐχαριστηθῇ ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν* k. I 11. — v. a. k. XII 5. — k. VIII 24. — u. ö. —

k. I 6 wird *ὑπέρ* c. g. einmal mit *faur*, einmal mit *in* c. g. übersetzt, wahrscheinlich abwechslungshalber: aþþan jaþþe þreihanda in izwaraizos gaþlaihtais jah naseinais þizos waurstweigons in stiwitja þizo samono þulaine, þozei jah weis winnam, jah wens unsara gatulgida faur izwis *εἴτε . . . θλιβόμεθα, ὑπὲρ τῆς ὑμῶν παρακλήσεως καὶ σωτηρίας τῆς ἐνεργουμένης ἐν ὑπομονῇ τῶν αὐτῶν παθημάτων ὧν καὶ ἡμεῖς πάσχομεν, καὶ ἡ ἐλπὶς ἡμῶν βεβαία ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν.*

Zweimal steht dem *faur* ein *wiþra* gegenüber: ni auk magum ƕa wiþra sunja, ak faur sunja *οὐ γὰρ δυνάμεθά τι κατὰ τῆς ἀληθείας, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀληθείας* k. XIII 8. — v. a. Mc. IX 40. —

§ 58. *faur* dient zur bezeichnung eines zeitlichen vorranges = blosser acc.: þai bilaibidans in quma fraujins ni bisniwam faur þans anaslepandans *οἱ περιλειπόμενοι εἰς τὴν παρουσίαν τοῦ κυρίου οὐ μὴ φθάσωμεν τοὺς κοιμηθέντας* Th. IV 15. — Zeitlich *faur* = *πρό*: gawalida unsis in imma faur gasatein fairƕaus *ἐξελέξατο ἡμᾶς ἐν αὐτῷ πρὸ καταβολῆς κόσμου* E. I 4. — u. ö.

Einmal tritt die bestimmung mit *faur* an die stelle eines infinitivs mit *πρίν*: faur hanins hruk þrim sinþam afaikis mik *πρὶν ἀλέκτορα φωνῆσαι τρὶς ἀπαρνήσῃ με* M. XXVI 75. — Aus der Skeireins: faur mel sik gahaban Sk. VIII 3. — v. a. Sk. III 4. —

faurþis, faurþizei

§ 59. *faur* kommt auch in den zusammensetzungen *faurþis* und *faurþizei* vor. Sie haben nur zeitliche bedeutung ebenso wie die ähnlichen althochdeutschen: *aftar des, innan des, vona des* und *vora des* [2]). Mit Wilmanns [3]) ist wohl anzunehmen, dass wir nicht mit einem von der präposition abhängigem genitiv zu tun haben, sondern dass der ganze ausdruck als ein zeitadverb betrachtet wurde und die ursprüngliche kasusendung unter dem einfluss der zahlreichen genitivischen zeitadverbien in

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[1]) *C. S.*, § 134. b. anm. s. 170.
[2]) Graff, *Die ahd. präpositionen*, Königsberg 1824 s. 280, 281. — [3]) III, 2 § 333, 10. s. 709.

eine genitivendung umgewandelt wurde. Weil diese erstarrten zeitgenitive schon sehr alt sein können [1], spricht nichts dagegen, diese analogiebildung schon in das vor- oder urgermanische zu verlegen, worauf auch die tatsache hinweist, dass das got. und das ahd. hier zusammengehen.

faurþis übersetzt *πρῶτον*: gagg faurþis gasibjon broþr þeinamma *ὕπαγε πρῶτον διαλλάγηθι τῷ ἀδελφῷ σου* M. V 24. — u. ö. In derselben bedeutung kommt es auch vor in der Neapler urkunde: andnemum skilliggans ·j· jah faurþis ... andnemum skilliggans ·rk· . —

Es übersetzt *πρότερον*: wilda faurþis qiman at izwis ... jah þairh izwis galeiþan in Makidonja *ἐβουλόμην πρότερον ἐλθεῖν πρὸς ὑμᾶς ... καὶ δι' ὑμῶν ἀπελθεῖν εἰς Μακεδονίαν* k. I 15, 16.

Es übersetzt *τὸ πρότερον*: jabai nu gasaihviþ sunu mans ussteigan þadei was faurþis *ἐὰν οὖν θεωρῆτε τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἀναβαίνοντα ὅπου ἦν τὸ πρότερον* J. VI 62. — v. a. J. IX 8. —

Dreimal kommt es als bestimmung eines substantivs vor: du þamma faurþis blindin *τῷ τυφλῷ* J. IX 17. — wo die bestimmung wohl an die stelle eines *ποτέ* tritt, vgl. v. 13: *τόν ποτε τυφλόν*, und zweimal in der Sk.: þis faurþis uslutondins Sk. I 22. — v. a. Sk. V 10. — Die bedeutung ist in der Sk. aber eine andere und *faurþis* ist synonym mit *faur þata* von Sk. III 4. —

faurþizei = *πρὸ τοῦ* c. inf.: wait ... atta izwar þizei jus þaurbuþ faurþizei jus bidjaiþ ina *οἶδεν ... ὁ πατὴρ ὑμῶν ὧν χρείαν ἔχετε πρὸ τοῦ ὑμᾶς αἰτῆσαι αὐτόν* M. VI 8. — u. ö. —; = *πρίν* c. inf.: faurþizei Abraham waurþi, im ik *πρὶν Ἀβραὰμ γενέσθαι ἐγὼ εἰμί* J. VIII 58. — v. a. Mc. XIV 72. —; = *πρὶν ἤ* c. conj.: ni saihvan dauþu, faurþize selvi Xristu fraujins *μὴ ἰδεῖν θάνατον πρὶν ἢ ἴδῃ τὸν Χριστὸν κυρίου* L. II 26. —

wiþra

§ 60. *wiþra* wird rein örtlich gebraucht und hat dann sehr oft eine ziemlich unbestimmte bedeutung, sodass es sogar mit *faur* konkurrieren kann [2]. Es bezeichnet eine ruhe und übersetzt *παρά* c. a.: þai wiþra wig *οἱ ... παρὰ τὴν ὁδόν* L. VIII 12. Mc. IV 15. — = *πρός* c. a.: alla so managei wiþra marein ... was *πᾶς ὁ ὄχλος πρὸς τὴν θάλασσαν ... ἦν* Mc. IV 1. — Auch der unterschied zwischen *at* und *wiþra* ist nicht sehr gross. So finden wir Mc. IV 1: *laisjan at marein* wo *at παρά* c. a. übersetzt, das, wie wir oben gesehen haben, auch durch *wiþra* übersetzt werden kann. Der unterschied scheint der zu sein, dass die menge bei *wiþra* Christo gegenübergestellt wird, der sich auf dem see in einem schiff befindet. Eine richtung bezeichnet *wiþra* M. VIII 34, wo es *εἰς συνάντησιν* c. d. übersetzt: alla so baurgs usiddja wiþra Iesu *πᾶσα ἡ πόλις ἐξῆλθεν εἰς συνάντησιν τῷ Ἰησοῦ*. Oertlich ist es auch noch, wo es deutlich „gegen" bezeichnet: saihvam nu þairh skuggwan in frisahtai, iþ þan

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[1] Delbrück, *Grundriss*, III, 1, s. 550 ff. — [2] § 55.

andwairþi wiþra andwairþi βλέπομεν . . . ἄρτι δι' ἐσόπτρου ἐν αἰνίγματι, τότε δὲ πρόσωπον πρὸς πρόσωπον K. XIII 12. —

§ 61. Halbörtlich wird es gebraucht, wo es „sprechen gegen" bedeutet; in dieser bedeutung übersetzt es zweimal einen dativ: sunjoma uns wiþra izwis ὑμῖν ἀπολογούμεθα k. XII 19. — v. a. K. IX 3. — = πρός c. a.: andhof Iesus wiþra ina ἀπεκρίθη Ἰησοῦς πρὸς αὐτόν L. IV 4. — v. a. L. I 73. — Aus der Sk.: miþ hatiza andhofun wiþra ins Sk. VIII 13. — ähnlich: du gabairhtjan usdaudein unsara . . . wiþra izwis φανερωθῆναι τὴν σπουδὴν ἡμῶν, . . . πρὸς ὑμᾶς k. VII 12.

Anm. M. XXVII 14 findet sich in übereinstimmung mit der vorlage *andhafjan wiþra* c. d.: ni andhof imma wiþra ni ainhun waurde οὐκ ἀπεκρίθη αὐτῷ πρὸς οὐδὲ ἓν ῥῆμα, wo der dat. abhängig ist von *andhafjan wiþra* und *wiþra* also ein adverb ist.

Hier schliesst sich auch wohl an: ei habaiþ (ƕoftuli) wiþra þans in andwairþja ƕopandans jan-ni in hairtin ἵνα ἔχητε (τὸ καύχημα) πρὸς τοὺς ἐν προσώπῳ καυχωμένους καὶ οὐ καρδίᾳ k. V 12. —

§ 62. Schon in den vorhergehenden belegen bezeichnete *wiþra* zuweilen eine freundliche oder feindliche gesinnung. Dies tritt in den folgenden fällen noch stärker hervor. Ob die gesinnung freundlich oder feindlich ist, hängt von den wörtern ab, mit denen es eine verbindung eingeht. Eine freundliche gesinnung bezeichnet es: = πρός: þata samo (þiuþ) taujaiþ wiþra ins τὰ αὐτὰ (ἀγαθὸν) ποιεῖτε πρὸς αὐτούς E. VI 9. — v. a. G. VI 10. — usbeisneigai sijaiþ wiþra allans μακροθυμεῖτε πρὸς πάντας Th. V 14. — v. a. t. II 24. —

Anm. 1. Th. V 15 steht *miþ* neben *wiþra*, weil *miþ* das komitative, *wiþra* den bezug auf andere hervorhebt: sinteino þiuþ laistjaiþ miþ izwis misso jah wiþra allans πάντοτε τὸ ἀγαθὸν διώκετε καὶ εἰς ἀλλήλους καὶ εἰς πάντας Th. V 15. —

Im feindlichen sinne: = εἰς: frawaurkjandans wiþra broþruns ἁμαρτάνοντες εἰς τοὺς ἀδελφούς K. VIII 12 [1]).

= κατά c. g.: leik gairneiþ wiþra ahman, iþ ahma wiþra leik ἡ . . . σὰρξ ἐπιθυμεῖ κατὰ τοῦ πνεύματος, τὸ δὲ πνεῦμα κατὰ τῆς σαρκός G. V 17. — u. ö. —

Anm. 2. Einmal steht *wiþra* anstatt eines genitivs bei einer zusammensetzung mit κατά: gairnidedeina wiþra Xristu καταστρηνιάσωσιν τοῦ Χριστοῦ T. V 11. —

= ἐπί c. a.: jabai þiudangardi wiþra sik gadailjada ἐὰν βασιλεία ἐφ' ἑαυτὴν μερισθῇ Mc. III 24, vgl. 25. —

= πρός c. a.: wiþra anþarana staua habands πρᾶγμα ἔχων πρὸς τὸν ἕτερον K. VI 1. — u. ö.

= dat.: þiudans gaggands stigqan wiþra anþarana þiudan du wigan βασιλεὺς πορευόμενος συμβαλεῖν ἑτέρῳ βασιλεῖ εἰς πόλεμον L. XIV 31. —

[1]) Vgl. wegen konkurrierendem *in* und *du* § 109.

Aus der Skeireins: þatuh wesi wiþra þata gadob Sk. I 15, 16. — vgl. *οὐδὲ . . . ἦν εὐπρεπές* Theod. (168).

afar c. d.

§ **63.** In örtlichem sinne ist *afar* c.d. ungefähr der gegensatz von *faura*. So z. b. = *ὀπίσω*: insandidedun airu afar imma *ἀπέστειλαν πρεσβείαν ὀπίσω αὐτοῦ* L. XIX 14. — jabai ƕas wili afar mis gaggan *εἴ τις θέλει ὀπίσω μου ἐλθεῖν* L. IX 23. — *afar* c. d. steht oft bei den verben *gaggan* und *laistjan*; die konstruktion übersetzt *ἀκολουθεῖν* c. d.: urreisands Iesus iddja afar imma jah siponjos is *ἐγερθεὶς ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἠκολούθησεν αὐτῷ καὶ οἱ μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ* M. IX 19. — dalaþ þan atgaggandin imma af fairgunja, laistidedun afar imma iumjons managos *καταβάντι δὲ αὐτῷ ἀπὸ τοῦ ὄρους, ἠκολούθησαν αὐτῷ ὄχλοι πολλοί* M. VIII 1. — u. ö. — Einmal wird *ἀκολουθεῖν* mit *afargaggan* c. d. übersetzt: afariddjedun imma siponjos is *ἠκολούθησαν αὐτῷ οἱ μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ* M. VIII 23. — In diesen fällen ist von einem örtlichen folgen die rede, oder ist wenigstens diese auffassung möglich. Dreimal wird *ἀκολουθεῖν* oder *ἐπακολουθεῖν* c. d. mit *afarlaistjan* c. d. übersetzt: wandjands sik du þizai afarlaistjandein sis managein qaþ *στραφεὶς τῷ ἀκολουθοῦντι αὐτῷ ὄχλῳ εἶπεν* L. VII 9. — jah mis... fram anastodeinai allaim glaggwuba afarlaistjandin *κἀμοὶ παρηκολουθηκότι ἄνωθεν πᾶσιν* L. I 3. — allamma waurstwe godaize afarlaistidedi *παντὶ ἔργῳ ἀγαθῷ ἐπηκολούθησεν* T. V 10. — Im ersten beleg ist die bedeutung rein örtlich: es ist aber deutlich, dass diese konstruktion hier aus rythmischen gründen gewählt wurde; dies könnte auch in der zweiten stelle der fall sein: überdies ist dort von einer geistigen beziehung die rede ebenso wie T. V 10. — Weiter kommt *laistjan* mit einem blossen acc. vor: die vorlage hat hier *διώκειν* c. a. oder *ἀκολουθεῖν* c. d. Sehr oft bedeutet *laistjan* hier ein geistiges folgen oder kann wenigstens so aufgefasst werden. Dies ist immer der fall, wo die vorlage *διώκειν* hat: þiudos þos ni laistjandeins garaihtein *ἔθνη τὰ μὴ διώκοντα δικαιοσύνην* R. IX 30. — v. a. T. VI 11. — t. II 22. — R. IX 31. — Th. V 15. —

§ **64.** Wo *laistjan* c. a. *ἀκολουθεῖν* c. d. übersetzt, gibt es ziemlich viel fälle, wo, wie gesagt, eine geistige auffassung nicht unmöglich ist. Wie vorsichtig man aber bei diesen schlüssen sein muss, beweist die tatsache, dass, sei es an einer und derselben stelle (unter einfluss der vorlage?), sei es in parallelstellen, verschiedene konstruktionen gebraucht werden, ohne dass von einem bedeutungsunterschied sich etwas zeigt: saei wili afar mis laistjan, inwidai sik silban . . . jah laistjai mik *ὅστις θέλει ὀπίσω μου ἀκολουθεῖν, ἀπαρνησάσθω ἑαυτὸν . . . καὶ ἀκολουθείτω μοι* Mc. VIII 34. — In parallelstellen finden sich: Paitrus fairraþro laistida afar imma *ὁ Πέτρος ἀπὸ μακρόθεν ἠκολούθησεν αὐτῷ* Mc. XIV 54 und: þaruh laistida Iesu Seimon Paitrus jah anþar siponeis *ἠκολούθει δὲ τῷ Ἰησοῦ Σίμων Πέτρος καὶ ἄλλος μαθητής* J. XVIII 15. — Ebenso: M. VIII 22 und L. IX 59, 61. — Ebenso L. V 11 und L. XVIII 28, Mc. X 28. —

In diesen parallelstellen hat die vorlage immer den dat. In den beiden ersten parallelstellen ist die beziehung rein örtlich; in den andern spielen die beiden beziehungen ineinander hinüber. Wenn überhaupt ein bedeutungsunterschied zwischen den beiden konstruktionen gefühlt wurde, so konnte dieser durch andere faktoren, wahrscheinlich rythmischer natur, leicht durchkreuzt werden, wie obige belege zeigen. Es kann also höchstens von einer gewissen tendenz die rede sein. Mit dieser einschränkung ist es nicht unmöglich, dass in den folgenden belegen die geistige beziehung mehr oder weniger in den vordergrund tritt: sehvum sumana in þeinamma namin usdreibandan unhulþons, saei ni laisteiþ unsis, jah waridedum imma, unte ni laisteiþ unsis *εἴδομέν τινα τῷ ὀνόματί σου ἐκβάλλοντα δαιμόνια, ὃς οὐκ ἀκολουθεῖ ἡμῖν, καὶ ἐκωλύσαμεν αὐτόν, ὅτι οὐκ ἀκολουθεῖ ἡμῖν* Mc. IX 38. — v.a. Mc. XV 41. — J. XII 26. — L. XVIII 22. — Mc. X 21. — J. VIII 12. —

In den folgenden belegen spielen die beiden begriffe in einander hinüber: þo lamba ina laistjand ... iþ framaþjana ni laistjand *τὰ πρόβατα αὐτῷ ἀκολουθεῖ ... ἀλλοτρίῳ δὲ οὐ μὴ ἀκολουθήσουσιν* J. X 4, 5. — v.a. M. VIII 19. — L. IX 57. — J. XIII 36, 37. — L. XVIII 43 steht: jah suns ussahv jah laistida ina awiliudonds guda *καὶ παραχρῆμα ἀνέβλεψεν καὶ ἠκολούθει αὐτῷ δοξάζων τὸν θεόν*. Weil in der parallelstelle Mc. X 52 steht: jah sunsaiw ussahv jah laistida in wiga Iesu *καὶ εὐθέως ἀνέβλεψεν καὶ ἠκολούθει τῷ Ἰησοῦ ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ*, muss *laistjan* hier örtlich gefasst werden.

Wir müssen aus obigem folgern, dass, wenn überhaupt ein unterschied zwischen *laistjan afar* und *laistjan* c.a. gefühlt wurde, dieses gefühl nicht sehr lebendig war. Wenn wir aber sehen, dass *laistjan afar* der gewöhnliche ausdruck ist, wie sich daraus ergibt, dass der dat. der vorlage bisweilen mit *afar* wiedergegeben wird, und niemals umgekehrt; dass *laistjan* c.a. sehr oft mit einer ersten und zweiten person verbunden wird, so scheint auch hier der gefühlston eine rolle zu spielen. Man vergleiche besonders die oben erwähnten L. V 11 mit XVIII 28 und Mc. X 28. Auch J. X 4, wo Christus in der dritten person eigentlich von sich spricht, ist sehr instruktiv.

§ **65.** Aus der bedeutung des geistigen folgens lässt sich die bedeutung eines strebens leicht herleiten. In dieser bedeutung übersetzt es *ἐπί* c.a.: gaggiþ afar þamma fralusanin *πορεύεται ἐπὶ τὸ ἀπολωλός* L. XV 4. — v.a. Ph. III 14. — þaim hugjandam afar faihau *τοὺς πεποιθότας ἐπὶ χρήμασιν* Mc. X 24. — Obgleich diese übersetzung in den zusammenhang sehr gut passt, sind derartige abweichungen von der vorlage bei Wulfila doch sehr ungewöhnlich. Eine übersetzung durch (*ga*)*trauan in* c. d. hätte hier nahegelegen (vgl. u.a. k. II 3. —) Es erscheint mir noch immer wahrscheinlich, dass hier ein versehen des übersetzers vorliegt.

§ **66.** Aus dem geistigen folgen lässt sich auch leicht die bedeutung des „gemäss" herleiten.

= *κατά* c.a.: urrais þridjin daga afar bokom *ἐγήγερται τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ κατὰ τὰς γραφάς* K. XV 4. — v.a.v. 3. —

= *ἐπί* c.d.: haihaitun ina afar namin attins is Zakarian *ἐκάλουν αὐτὸ ἐπὶ τῷ ὀνόματι τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ Ζαχαρίαν* L. I 59. — v.a. L. V 5. —

= *πρός* c.a.: ganimai ƕarjizuh þo swesona leikis, afar þaimei gatawida *κομίσηται ἕκαστος τὰ διὰ τοῦ σώματος πρὸς ἃ ἔπραξεν* k. V 10. —

= *εἰς*: usskarjaindau us unhulþins wruggon, fram þammei gafahanai habanda (tiuhanda) afar is wiljin *ἀνανήψωσιν ἐκ τῆς τοῦ διαβόλου παγίδος, ἐζωγρημένοι ὑπ' αὐτοῦ εἰς τὸ ἐκείνου θέλημα* t. II 26. — Die übersetzung stimmt mit *de vg* überein: a quo capti(vi) tenentur secundum ipsius voluntatem.

§ **67.** Ein zeitliches nachkommen bezeichnet *afar* = *ὀπίσω*: sa afar mis gagganda swinþoza mis ist *ὁ . . . ὀπίσω μου ἐρχόμενος ἰσχυρότερός μού ἐστιν* Sk. III 24. — v. a. Mc. I 7. —

§ **68.** Rein zeitlich bedeutet *afar* „nach". In übereinstimmung mit dem gr. *μετά* c. a. wird es also J. XIII 27 zeitliche bedeutung haben: afar þamma hlaiba þan galaiþ in jainana Satana *μετὰ τὸ ψωμίον, τότε εἰσῆλθεν εἰς ἐκεῖνον ὁ σατανᾶς*. Dasselbe wird anzunehmen sein T. IV 14, wo *μετά* c. g. dann übersetzt wird, als ob dort *μετά* c. a. stünde: anstais, sei gibana warþ þus þairh praufetjans afar analageinai handiwe praizbwtairei⟨n⟩s *χαρίσματος ὃ ἐδόθη σοι διὰ προφητείας μετὰ ἐπιθέσεως τῶν χειρῶν τοῦ πρεσβυτερίου*.

afar c. a.

§ **69.** Es wird nur zeitlich gebraucht in der bedeutung „nach", übersetzt *μετά* c. a.: afar twans dagans paska wairþiþ *μετὰ δύο ἡμέρας τὸ πάσχα γίνεται* M. XXVI 2. — afar leitil þan atgaggandans þai standandans qeþun Paitrau *μετὰ μικρὸν δὲ προσελθόντες οἱ ἑστῶτες εἶπον τῷ Πέτρῳ* M. XXVI 73. — u. ö. —

= *διά* c. g.: galaiþ aftra in Kafarnaum afar dagans *εἰσῆλθεν πάλιν εἰς Καπερναοὺμ δι' ἡμερῶν* Mc. II 1. — Aus der Sk.: afar ni filu ufarmaudein . . . atgebun Sk. VI 4. —

afar þata (þatei)

§ **70.** *afar þata* hat eine sehr unbestimmte bedeutung: es bezieht sich sehr oft auf den inhalt eines vorhergehenden satzes. Gewöhnlich dient es zur übersetzung von *μετὰ ταῦτα*: afar þata galaiþ Iesus ufar marein *μετὰ ταῦτα ἀπῆλθεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς πέραν τῆς θαλάσσης* J. VI 1. — u. ö.

= *μετὰ τοῦτο*: afar þata qaþ du siponjam *μετὰ τοῦτο λέγει τοῖς μαθηταῖς* J. XI 7. — v. a. J. XI 11. —

= *εἶτα*: ataugids ist Kefin, jah afar þata þaim ainlibim *ὤφθη Κηφᾷ, εἶτα τοῖς δώδεκα* K. XV 5. —

Einmal ist *afaruh þan þata* eingefügt: afaruh þan þata ... duatiddja imma hundafaþs *προσῆλθεν αὐτῷ ἑκατόνταρχος* M. VIII 5. — Die einfügung steht wohl unter dem einfluss einer parallelstelle oder des lat. textes [1]).

Anm. *μετὰ ταῦτα* wird einmal in derselben bedeutung durch *biþe* übersetzt: andbahtei mis, unte matja jah drigka, jah biþe gamatjis jah gadrigkais þu *διακόνει μοι, ἕως φάγω καὶ πίω, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα φάγεσαι καὶ πίεσαι σύ* L. XVII 8. — Dass *biþe* und *afar þata* synonym sind, ergibt sich auch aus L. VIII 1.[2]) wo *ἐν τῷ καθεξῆς* übersetzt wird mit *biþe*, das mit *afar þata* glossiert wird, welches glossem in den text gedrungen ist. *afar þata* scheint demnach der üblichere ausdruck gewesen zu sein.

afar þatei wird relativ gebraucht: es übersetzt einmal *μετά* c. inf.: einmal kommt es in der Skeireins vor: afar þatei atgibans warþ Iohannes, qam Iesus in Galeilaia *μετὰ δὲ τὸ παραδοθῆναι Ἰωάννην ἦλθεν Ἰησοῦς εἰς τὴν Γαλιλαίαν* Mc. I 14. — v. a. Sk. VII 14. — Einmal wird *afar* in der verbindung *afar þata* von der reihenfolge gebraucht zur überzetzung von *τῶν παρεκτός*: inuh þo afar þata arbaiþs meina seiteina *χωρὶς τῶν παρεκτός, ἡ ἐπισύστασις μου ἡ καθ' ἡμέραν* k. XI 28.

ufar c. d.

§ 71. Oertlich bezeichnet es „über". Es übersetzt *ἐπί* c. a.: warþ riqis ufar allai airþai *ἐγένετο σκότος ἐπὶ πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν* M. XXVII 45. In der parallelstelle Mc. XV 33 wird *ἐπί* mit *ana* c. d. übersetzt: riqis warþ ana allai airþai. —

Weiter dient *ufar* in dieser bedeutung zur umschreibung eines adjektivs: atta izwar sa ufar himinam *ὁ πατὴρ ὑμῶν ὁ οὐράνιος* M. VI 14. 26. 32.

In allen andern fällen bezeichnet *ufar* c. d. ein übertreffen. In einigen fällen bildet die bestimmung eine notwendige ergänzung zum verbum.

= *ἐπάνω*: sijais waldufni habands ufar taihun baurgim *ἴσθι ἐξουσίαν ἔχων ἐπάνω δέκα πόλεων* L. XIX 17. —

= *ἐπί* c. g.: saei ist ufar allaim guþ þiuþiþs *ὁ ὢν ἐπὶ πάντων θεὸς εὐλογητός* R. IX 5. v. a. E. IV 6. —

= *ἐπί* c. a.: þiudanoþ ufar garda Iakobis *βασιλεύσει ἐπὶ τὸν οἶκον Ἰακώβ* L. I 33. — L. XIX 14. — L. XIX 27. — L. IX 1.

= *ὑπέρ* c. a.: nist siponeis ufar laisarja nih skalks ufar fraujin seinamma *οὐκ ἔστιν μαθητὴς ὑπὲρ τὸν διδάσκαλον, οὐδὲ δοῦλος ὑπὲρ τὸν κύριον αὐτοῦ* M. X 24 [3]).

Anm. 1. In derselben bedeutung kommt *ufaro* c. d. vor; zweimal übersetzt es *ἐπάνω*: þu sijais ufaro fimf baurgim *σὺ γίνου ἐπάνω πέντε πόλεων* L. XIX 19. — sa iupaþro qimands ufaro allaim ist *ὁ ἄνωθεν*

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[1]) § Str. anm. — [2]) § 159. — [3]) § 73.

ἐρχόμενος ἐπάνω πάντων ἐστίν Sk. IV 13. — und einmal *ἐπί* c. a.: witandans wahtwom nahts ufaro hairdai seinai *φυλάσσοντες φυλακὰς τῆς νυκτὸς ἐπὶ τὴν ποίμνην αὐτῶν* L. II 8. —

Anm. 2. Einmal findet sich ein blosser kasus bei einer zusammensetzung mit *ufar* mit einem verstärkenden adverb *ufaro* für *ἐπί* c. d.: (hlaiw) staina ufarlagida was ufaro *λίθος ἐπέκειτο ἐπ' αὐτῷ (τῷ μνημείῳ)* J. XI 38.

ufar c. a.

§ **72.** *ufar* c. a. bezeichnet örtlich eine bewegung nach der andern seite eines gegenstandes.

= *πέραν*: iddjedunuh ufar marein in Kafarnaum *ἤρχοντο πέραν τῆς θαλάσσης εἰς Καπερναούμ* J. VI 17. — v. a. J. XVIII 1. — J. VI 1. — J. X 40. — [1]).

Es bezeichnet eine bewegung in die höhe und übersetzt einmal *ἐπάνω* und einmal *ὑπεράνω*: atstandands ufar ija *ἐπιστὰς ἐπάνω αὐτῆς* L. IV 39. — saei usstaig ufar allans himinans *ὁ ἀναβὰς ὑπεράνω πάντων τῶν οὐρανῶν* E. IV 10. —

§ **73.** In übertragenem sinn bezeichnet es einen vorrang und übersetzt *ὑπέρ*: ni ufar þatei gameliþ ist fraþjan *μὴ ὑπὲρ ὃ γέγραπται φρονεῖν* K. IV 6. — u. ö.

Anm. Bei einem komparativ wird *ὑπέρ* einmal mit einem dat. übersetzt: þai sunjos þis aiwis frodozans sunum liuhadis . . . sind *οἱ υἱοὶ τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου φρονιμώτεροι ὑπὲρ τοὺς υἱοὺς τοῦ φωτός . . . εἰσιν* L. XVI 8. —

= *ἐπί* c. d.: ufar all andnimandans skildu galaubeinais *ἐπὶ πᾶσιν ἀναλαβόντες τὸν θυρεὸν τῆς πίστεως* E. VI 16. v. a. C. III 14. —

= *ἐπί* c. a.: ufarhafjands sik ufar all qiþanana guþ aiþþau [allata] blotinassu *ὑπεραιρόμενος ἐπὶ πάντα λεγόμενον θεὸν ἢ σέβασμα* th. II 4. —

= *πλέον παρά* c. a.: ni waiht ufar þatei garaid sijai izwis, lausjaiþ *μηδὲν πλέον παρὰ τὸ διατεταγμένον ὑμῖν πράσσετε* L. III 13. —

Es dient zur umschreibung eines verbums: þairh Xristu ufar filu ist jah gaþrafsteins unsara *διὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ περισσεύει καὶ ἡ παράκλησις ἡμῶν* k. I 5. — Die wahl der umschreibung ist stilistischer natur. Das vorhergehende *περισσεύειν* wird mit *ufarassus ist* übersetzt.

Ph. IV 7 findet sich: gawairþi gudis, þatei ufar ist all ahane *ἡ εἰρήνη τοῦ θεοῦ ἡ ὑπερέχουσα πάντα νοῦν*. Hier ist der acc. wohl abhängig von dem zusammengesetzten verbum *ufar wisan*. Aus der Skeireins gehört zu dieser gruppe: attins . . . weitwodei alla ufar insaht manniskodaus Iohannes Sk. VI 12. — *ufar* in der bedeutung „mehr als" findet sich Sk. VII 11: ni wisandin aljai waihtai ufar þans fimf hlaibans.

[1]) § 84.

ufar filu und *ufar mikil* dienen zur übersetzung von ὑπερλίαν: þaim ufar mikil wisandam apaus⟨tau⟩lum τῶν ὑπερλίαν ἀποστόλων k. XI 5. — þaim ufar filu apaustaulum τῶν ὑπερλίαν ἀποστόλων k. XII 11. — Die beiden ausdrücke scheinen mir als zusammensetzungen betrachtet werden zu müssen und die übersetzungen unter dem einfluss der vorlage zu stehn.

Auffällig ist, dass M. X 24 *ufar* c.d. vorkommt: nist siponeis ufar laisarja, nih skalks ufar fraujin seinamma [1]) während in der parallelstelle der acc. gebraucht wird: L. VI 40: nist siponeis ufar laisari seinana. Vielleicht spielen rythmische Faktoren hier eine rolle.

ufaro c.g.

§ **74**. Es kommt einmal örtlich vor als übersetzung von ἐπάνω: atgaf izwis waldufni trudan ufaro waurme jah skaurpjono δέδωκα ὑμῖν τὴν ἐξουσίαν τοῦ πατεῖν ἐπάνω ὄφεων καὶ σκορπίων L. X 19. —

Einmal wird es zur bezeichnung eines vorranges gebraucht und übersetzt ὑπεράνω: gasatida (ina) ... ufaro allaize reikje jah waldufnje jah mahte jah fraujinassiwe jah allaize namne ἐκάθισεν (αὐτὸν) ... ὑπεράνω πάσης ἀρχῆς καὶ ἐξουσίας καὶ δυνάμεως καὶ κυριότητος καὶ παντὸς ὀνόματος E. I 20, 21. —

uf

§ **75**. Es bedeutet „unter", wird meistens rein örtlich gebraucht und übersetzt ὑπό c.a.: us þamma uf himina in þata uf himina ἐκ τῆς ὑπ' οὐρανὸν εἰς τὴν ὑπ' οὐρανόν L. XVII 24. — u.ö.

= ὑποκάτω c.g.: uf ligr [ga]satjiþ ὑποκάτω κλίνης τίθησιν L. VIII 16. —

Anm. ὑποκάτω c.g. wird zweimal mit *undaro* c.d. übersetzt: hundos undaro biuda τὰ κυνάρια ὑποκάτω τῆς τραπέζης Mc. VII 28. — v.a. Mc. VI 11. —

= zusammensetzung: usgrof dal uf mesa ὤρυξεν ὑπολήνιον Mc. XII 1. —

Halbörtlich: = ὑπό c.a.: galagjiþ ... allans fijands is uf fotuns imma θῇ πάντας τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ὑπὸ τοὺς πόδας αὐτοῦ K. XV 25. —

= dat.: þamma ufhnaiwjandin uf ina þo alla τῷ ὑποτάξαντι αὐτῷ τὰ πάντα K. XV 28. Vgl. a.v. 26.

§ **76**. Uebertragen = ὑπό c.a.: þaim uf witoda, swe uf witoda, ni wisands silba uf witoda, ak uf anstai, ei þans uf witoda gageig[g]aidedjau τοῖς ὑπὸ νόμον ὡς ὑπὸ νόμον, μὴ ὢν αὐτὸς ὑπὸ νόμον, ἵνα τοὺς ὑπὸ νόμον κερδήσω K. IX 20. — v.a. G. IV 2, 3. — R. VII 14. — M. VIII 9. — L. VII 8.

= kongruierendes partizip: was Iesus swe jere þrije tigiwe uf gakunþai

[1]) § 71.

ἦν ὁ Ἰησοῦς ὡσεὶ ἐτῶν τριάκοντα ἀρχόμενος L. III 23. — Wahrscheinlich ist wohl Bernhardts erklärung, dass *ἀρχόμενος* von dem übersetzer als das passivum von *ἄρχω* aufgefasst wurde, sodass *uf gakunþai* „unter gehorsam" heissen soll.

= zusammensetzung: uf waira qens *ὕπανδρος γυνή* R. VII 2, wenn man nicht lieber *ufwaira* lesen möchte.

Aus der Skeireins: uf dauþaus atdrusun stauai Sk. I 3. —.

§ 77. *uf* c.d. kommt dreimal zeitlich vor zur übersetzung von *ἐπί* c.g.: galaiþ in gard gudis uf Abiaþara gudjin *εἰσῆλθεν εἰς τὸν οἶκον τοῦ θεοῦ ἐπὶ Ἀβιάθαρ ἀρχιερέως* Mc. II 26. — v.a. L. IV 27. — T. VI 13. —

Anm. Einmal (L. III 2) wird *ἐπί* in dieser bedeutung durch *at* c. d. übersetzt [1]). Obgleich die vorstellung selbstverständlich in beiden fällen jeweils eine andere ist, ist nicht einzusehen, weshalb eine verschiedene präposition gewählt wurde.

und c. d.

§ 78. *und* bezeichnet „zum entgelt für" und übersetzt *ἀντί*: augo und augin jah tunþu und tunþau *ὀφθαλμὸν ἀντὶ ὀφθαλμοῦ καὶ ὀδόντα ἀντὶ ὀδόντος* M. V 38. — v.a. R. XII 17. — Th. V 15. — Einmal übersetzt es *εἰς*: atgebun ins (þans skattans) und akra kasjins *ἔδωκαν αὐτὰ (τὰ ἀργύρια) εἰς τὸν ἀγρὸν τοῦ κεραμέως* M. XXVII 10. — In der vorlage tritt hier die geistige richtung in den vordergrund und dies wird auch wohl die ursprüngliche bedeutung der präposition gewesen sein. Es bildet hier den gegensatz zu *us* = *ἐξ* aus v. 7 [2]).

und c. a.

§ 79. *und* c. a. bedeutet „bis zu" und kommt in dieser bedeutung zunächst örtlich vor.

= *ἄχρι*: und izwis gasniumidedum in aiwaggeljon Xristaus, *ἄχρι . . . ὑμῶν ἐφθάσαμεν ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ τοῦ Χριστοῦ* k. X 14. —

= *ἕως*: brahtedun ina und auhmisto þis fairgunjis *ἤγαγον αὐτὸν ἕως ὀφρύος τοῦ ὄρους* L. IV 29. — u. ö.

= *εἰς*: fairrinnandans und izwis *ἐφικνούμενοι εἰς ὑμᾶς* k. X 14. —

Halbörtlich zur übersetzung von *μέχρι* findet es sich: in waurstwis Xristaus und dauþu atnehvida *διὰ τὸ ἔργον τοῦ Χριστοῦ μέχρι θανάτου ἤγγισεν* Ph. II 30. —

§ 80. Als eine art massbestimmung kommt die *und*-bestimmung auch vor und übersetzt *ἕως*: giba þus und halba þiudangardja meina *δώσω σοι, ἕως ἡμίσους τῆς βασιλείας μου* Mc. VI 23. —

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1) § 137. — 2) § 37 anm. 2.

= *μέχρι*: in þizaiei arbaidja und bandjos swe ubiltojis *ἐν ᾧ κακοπαθῶ μέχρι δεσμῶν ὡς κακοῦργος* t. II 9. —

= acc.: ni und waiht iusiza ist (arbinumja) skalka *οὐδὲν διαφέρει (ὁ κληρονόμος) δούλου* G. IV 1. —

Anm. Daneben wird *μηδέν* einmal mit einem dat. instr. übersetzt: ni waihtai mik minnizo gataujan *μηδὲν ὑστερηκέναι* k. XI 5. —

und c. acc. = dat. instr. in der verbindung *und filu mais πολλῷ μᾶλλον*: und filu mais hropida *πολλῷ μᾶλλον ἔκραζεν* L. XVIII 39. — v. a. k. III 9. — Ph. I 23. —

§ **81.** Zeitlich kommt *und* c.a. vor zur übersetzung mehrerer griechischen konstruktionen stets in der bedeutung von „bis an".

= *μέχρι*: eis ga>weseina und hina dag *ἔμειναν ἂν μέχρι τῆς σήμερον* M. XI 23. — v. a. T. VI 14. —

= *ἄχρι*: ni magands rodjan und þana dag *μὴ δυνάμενος λαλῆσαι ἄχρι ἧς ἡμέρας* L. I 20. — u. ö. — L. IV 13: afstoþ fairra imma und mel *ἀπέστη ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἄχρι καιροῦ* bezeichnet *und mel* mehr eine zeitdauer als den zeitpunkt, bis an den sich die handlung ausdehnt: Winkler [1]) übersetzt „eine weile", Mourek [2]) sieht in dieser stelle weniger richtig einen übergang zu einer massbestimmung.

= *ἕως*: ei und andi ufkunnaiþ *ὅτι καὶ ἕως τέλους ἐπιγνώσεσθε* k. I 13. u. ö.

und übersetzt *εἰς* in der verbindung *εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα*. Diese übersetzung kommt einmal vor: rodida du attam unsaraim Abrahama jah fraiwa is und aiw *ἐλάλησεν πρὸς τοὺς πατέρας ἡμῶν, τῷ Ἀβραὰμ καὶ τῷ σπέρματι αὐτοῦ εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα* L. I 55. — Daneben kommt fünfmal *in* c. a. [3]), einmal *in* c. d. [4]), achtmal *du* [5]), und in negativen sätzen viermal der blosse acc. [6]) und zweimal der blosse dat. [7]) vor.

Weiter findet sich *und andi* = *εἰς τέλος*: ibai und andi qimandei usagljai mis *ἵνα μὴ εἰς τέλος ἐρχομένη ὑπωπιάζῃ με* L. XVIII 5. — v. a. Th. II 16. — [8]).

Anm. Einmal findet sich ein gen. temp. = eine *εἰς*-bestimmung: was fraquman dagis hvizuh stiur *ἦν γινόμενα εἰς ἡμέραν μίαν μόσχος εἷς* Neh. V 18. — [9]).

§ **82.** *und þatei* bildet einen übergang zu einer konjunktion.

= *ἄχρις οὗ*: daubei . . . Israela warþ und þatei fullo þiudo inngaleiþai *πώρωσις . . . τῷ Ἰσραὴλ γέγονεν ἄχρις οὗ τὸ πλήρωμα τῶν ἐθνῶν εἰσέλθῃ* R. XI 25. — v. a. K. XV 25. —

= *ἕως*: ni uslukaindau daurons Iairusalems, und þatei urrinnai sunno *οὐκ ἀνοιγήσονται αἱ πύλαι Ἰερουσαλὴμ ἕως ἀνατείλῃ ὁ ἥλιος* Neh. VII 3. —

= *ἐν ᾧ*: ibai magun sunjus bruþfadis, und þatei miþ im ist bruþfaþs

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[1]) s. 212. — [2]) s. 200 fussn.: vedle temporalné platnosti také patrna jest měrná. — [3]) § 110. — [4]) § 110. — [5]) § 110 anm. 2. — [6]) C. S. § 37 opm. 3 s. 62. — [7]) C. S. § 67 s. 95, wo aber anstatt J VII 51. 52 J VIII 51. 52 zu lesen ist. — [8]) Vgl. wegen *εἰς* in zeitbestimmungen = *in* c. a. § 110. — [9]) C. S. § 115 b. s. 135.

fastan *μὴ δύνανται οἱ υἱοὶ τοῦ νυμφῶνος ἐν ᾧ ὁ νυμφίος μετ' αὐτῶν ἐστιν νηστεύειν* Mc. II 19. —

und þata hveilos dient zur übersetzung von *ἐφ' ὅσον*: ibai magun sunjus bruþfadis qainon und þata hveilos þei miþ im ist bruþfaþs *μὴ δύνανται οἱ υἱοὶ τοῦ νυμφῶνος πενθεῖν ἐφ' ὅσον μετ' αὐτῶν ἐστιν ὁ νυμφίος* M. IX 15. —

Aus der Skeireins: þeihandei und hita nu Sk. IV 11. —

hindar c. d. und c. a.

§ **83.** Es kommt nur e i n deutlicher beleg eines dativs vor: dort übersetzt *hindar παρά* c. a. Es hat komparative bedeutung und bedeutet „mehr als": stojiþ dag hindar daga *κρίνει ἡμέραν παρ' ἡμέραν* R. XIV 5. — Winkler [1]) übersetzt es wohl richtig mit „rechnet den einen tag hinter den andern, setzt einen dem andern nach", eine bedeutung, die Mourek für möglich hält, obgleich er ein wirkliches massverhältnis annimmt. (Er sagt: *hindar* c. d. bedeutet den gegenstand, hinter welchen etwas gelegt wird, um es zu messen oder zu vergleichen; nur findet er es sonderbar, dass hier das wort *hindar* gebraucht wird, weil gewöhnlich der gemessene gegenstand vor, neben oder gegenüber dem mass gelegt wird) [2]).

§ **84.** Um nun zu sehen, inwiefern in den andern fällen aus der bedeutung auf ein dativverhältnis geschlossen werden kann, besprechen wir zunächst *hindar* c.a. Es bedeutet „jenseits" und übersetzt *ἀπό* c.g.: ina bedun ei usliþi hindar markos ize *αὐτὸν παρεκάλεσαν ὅπως μεταβῇ ἀπὸ τῶν ὁρίων αὐτῶν* M. VIII 34. — dugunnun bidjan ina galeiþan hindar markos seinos *ἤρξαντο παρακαλεῖν αὐτὸν ἀπελθεῖν ἀπὸ τῶν ὁρίων αὐτῶν* Mc. V 17. — Wie Mourek [3]) bemerkt, übersetzt Wulfila in M. VIII 34 hier logischer, als was im griechischen steht: ei usliþi = dass er hinausgehe: hindar markos = hinter die grenzen, während der gr. text sagt: dass er von den grenzen übergehe.

= *εἰς τὸ πέραν*: galeiþam hindar þana marisaiw *διέλθωμεν εἰς τὸ πέραν τῆς λίμνης* L. VIII 22. —

Einmal übersetzt *hindar* c.a. *ὀπίσω*: gagg hindar mik, Satana *ὕπαγε ὀπίσω μου, σατανᾶ* Mc. VIII 33. — Auch hier ist die bedeutug „jenseits" noch wohl herauszufinden. Zweimal kommt *usleiþan hindar* vor, wo der kasus der form nach unsicher ist. Das gr. hat hier *εἰς τὸ πέραν*: usleiþandin Iesua ... hindar marein *διαπεράσαντος τοῦ Ἰησοῦ ... εἰς τὸ πέραν* Mc. V 21. — v. a. Mc. VIII 13. —

§ **85.** In den folgenden fällen wird *hindar* c.d. angenommen, weil das verbum intralokal ist. *hindar* übersetzt überall *πέραν*: managei sei stoþ

[1]) s. 178. — [2]) s. 142 § 144 IV, 2 d.: značí předmět, za který se co klade za příčinou měření či srovnávání (kdežto obyčejně věc měřená se klade před měřitko, při něm n. proti němu!) — [3]) fussnote s. 141: Ulfilas překládá logičtěji nežli psáno po řecku; *ei usliþi* = aby vyšel ven: *hindar markos* = za hranice; kdežto řecký text praví: aby přešel od hranic!

hindar marein *ὁ ὄχλος ὁ ἑστηκὼς πέραν τῆς θαλάσσης* J VI 22. — v.a. Sk. IV 3. — So auch noch bei *bigitan* J. VI 25. — Weiter bei *qiman*: qam in markom Iudaias hindar Iaurdanau *ἔρχεται εἰς τὰ ὅρια τῆς Ἰουδαίας πέραν τοῦ Ἰορδάνου* Mc. X 1. —, wo die bestimmung allerdings auch, wie Mourek[1]) bemerkt, eine nähere bestimmung zu *markom Iudaias* sein kann. Wenn wir die fälle, wo *πέραν* mit *hindar* übersetzt wird, vergleichen mit denen, wo an die stelle dieser präposition *ufar* tritt, so ergibt sich, dass *ufar* das überschreiten bezeichnet, während *hindar* das sich befinden, kommen oder gehen jenseits hervorhebt.[2])

qiman hindar übersetzt *ἔρχεσθαι εἰς τὸ πέραν*: qimandin imma hindar marein in gauja Gairgaisaine *ἐλθόντι αὐτῷ εἰς τὸ πέραν εἰς τὴν χώραν τῶν Γεργεσηνῶν* M. VIII 28. — v.a. Mc. V 1. — Weil bei *qiman* sehr oft der dativ steht und auch die folgenden ortsbestimmungen im dativ stehen, hat auch *hindar* hier wohl den dat.

Als dativ muss auch wohl die präpositionalbestimmung betrachtet werden, wo sie einen dat. poss. übersetzt: nist hindar uns, maizo fimf hlaibam jah fiskos twai *οὐκ εἰσὶν ἡμῖν πλεῖον ἢ πέντε ἄρτοι καὶ ἰχθύες δύο* L. IX 13. — Es lässt sich der deutsche ausdruck: „bei diesen leuten steckt nicht viel dahinter" = diese leute haben nicht viel, und „etwas hinter sich gebracht haben" = etwas erworben haben, vergleichen. Mourek[3]) vergleicht čech. „míti za sebou" = hinter sich haben, „podržeti za sebou nebo za kým peníze, mzdu a pod." = zurückhalten hinter sich oder hinter einem geld, gehalt und ähnliches. Russisch liesse sich vergleichen: „umenja za nim dolgi" = ich habe hinter ihm schulden = ich habe schulden bei ihm. Auffällig ist hier, dass *hindar* eingefügt wird, während *ἢ* unübersetzt bleibt. Wahrscheinlich ist der grund dieser abweichung von der vorlage wieder auf rythmische gründe zurückzuführen.[4])

ana.

§ 86. Oertlich entspricht *ana* „an" oder „auf" c.d. oder acc. Es übersetzt *ἐν* oder *εἰς*: was... sunus... ana akra *ἦν... ὁ υἱὸς... ἐν ἀγρῷ* L. XV 25. — qam ana fera Magdalan *ἦλθεν εἰς τὰ μέρη Δαλμανουθά* Mc. VIII 10. — u.ö. —

Anm. Einmal kommt *ana fotum* vor in einem ausdruck zur übersetzung von *τὰς πέδας*: þo ana fotum eisarna Mc. V 4. —

§ 87. Wo im griechischen *εἰς* oder *ἐν* steht, findet sich vor denselben substantiven bald *in*, bald *ana*: in einigen anderen fällen, wo auch *εἰς* oder *ἐν* mit *in* oder *ana* übersetzt wird, findet sich daneben vor demselben substantiv *ana* zur übersetzung von *ἐπί*: da es nicht wahrscheinlich ist, dass diese stellen einfluss auf die stellen ausgeübt haben, wo *ana* zur

[1]) § 144, 2, b s. 141: *hindar Iaurdanau* může býti závislé na *qam*, ale nemusí, snad jest jen přívlastkem k *markom* a pak pravidelným určením klidu.

[2]) § 72. — [3]) § 144, 2c. s. 142. — [4]) Wegen *hindana* §§ 44, 45.

übersetzung von εἰς oder ἐν dient, werden sie hier zusammengefasst. In vielen fällen dient *in* zur übersetzung von εἰς (ἐν) und *ana* zur übersetzung von ἐπί. Weil der unterschied von *ana* und *in* in diesen fällen fast immer deutlich ist, werden nur die auffälligen stellen näher besprochen.

ana und *in* wechseln: *ana airþai godai* (gadriusan) L. VIII 8, *ana airþai* (gaggan) J. VI 21, (wairþan) (= ἐπί) ebda, (waurd gamaurgiþ taujan) (= ἐπί) R. IX 28, (qiman) Sk. IV 22, *in airþa goda* (gadriusan) Mc. IV 8, *in allai airþai jainai* (ina usmerjan) M. IX 31. — *ana armins* (*seinans*) (andniman, niman) L. II 28, Mc. IX 36. *in arma seinamma* (gataujan swinþein) L. I 51. — *ana auþidos* (draibjan) L. VIII 29, *ana auþida* (usgaggan, saiƕan) M. XI 7, *ana auþidom* (wisan) L. I 80, *ana auþidai* (bileiþan) L. XV 4, (gasoþjan) (= ἐπί) Mc. VIII 4, *ana auþidos* (afleiþan) L. V 16, *ana auþidai* (manna matjan) J. VI 31. *in auþida*(*i*) (ina (us)tiuhan) Mc. I 12, L. IV 1, (wairþan waurd) L. III 2, (wopjan) L. III 4. — *ana fauradaurja* (usgaggan) L. X 10, *in daur* (usgaggan) M. XXVI 71. — *ana diupiþa* (briggan þo natja) L. V 4, *in diupiþai* (mareins wisan) k. XI 25. — *ana fairguni* (usgaggan) J. VI 3, *ana fairguni hauh*(*ata*) (ustiuhan) L. IV 5, Mc. IX 2, *ana fairgunja* (gatimrjan) (= ἐπί) L. IV 29, *in fairguni* (ussteigan, usgaggan bidjan) Mc. III 13, L. IX 28. — *ana rohsnai* (sitan) M. XXVI 69, *in rohsn* (miþinngaleiþan) J. XVIII 15. — *ana þamma aftumistin stada* (anakumbjan) L. XIV 10, *ana staþ auþjana* (afgaggan) L. IX 10, *ana auþjana staþ* (galeiþan) L. IV 42, *ana þamma stada* (wisan hawi manag) J. VI 10, *ana auþjaim stadim* (wisan) Mc. I 45, *ana þamma stada* (qiman) (= ἐπί) L. XIX 5, *ana Gaulgauþa staþ* (attiuhan ina) (= ἐπί) Mc. XV 22, *ana stada ibnamma* (gastandan) (= ἐπί) L. VI 17. *in allaim stadim* (daun gabairhtjan) k. II 14, *in galiuge stada* (anakumbjan) K. VIII 10, *in þamma stada* (wairþan) R. IX 26, *in þammei . . . stada* (wisan, saljan) J. XI 6. — *ana wiga* (ufstraujan, ufligan, fraihnan siponjans seinans) L. XIX 36, Mc. VIII 3, Mc. VIII 27. *in wig* (waiht ni niman, garaihtjan fotuns unsarans, usgaggan) Mc. VI 8, L. I 79, Mc. X 17, *in wiga* (wisan, gaggan, laistjan, miþ izwis misso miton) M. V 25, L. IX 57, Mc. X 52, Mc. IX 33. — *ana andawleizn* (speiwan) M. XXVI 67, (driusan) (= ἐπί) L. XVII 16, (hulistr lagjan) (= ἐπί) k. III 13, *ana wlit is* (speiwan) (= ἐμπτύειν αὐτῷ) Mc. XIV 65, *ana andwairþi* (driusan) (= ἐπί) L. V 12. *in andawleizn* (slahan) k. XI 20. — Diesen fällen schliessen sich an: *ana weinatriwa* (weinatains was) J. XV 4, *ana imma — þamma smakkabagma —* (bigitan ni waiht niba lauf) (= ἐπί) Mc. XI 13. *ana aiƕatundjai* (Moses bandwida) (= ἐπί) L. XX 37. — *ana aiƕatundjai* (niu gakunnaideduþ ana bokom Mosezis) (= ἐπί) Mc. XII 26. in godana alewabagm (intrusgjan) (= εἰς) R. XI 24, *in swesana alewabagm* (intrusgjan) (gr. dat.) ebda. In Mc. XII 26 übersetzt Winkler [1]) *ana* durch „in bezug auf": dass dies unrichtig ist, ergibt sich aus der parallelstelle [2]). Nur ist die konstruktion unregelmässig: die bedeutung ist „am dornbusch".

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[1]) s. 185. — [2]) Vgl. auch Bauer, s. v. ἐπί.

in neben *ana* findet sich auch bei den namen von büchern und briefen u. ä.: *ana bokom Mosezis* (gakunnan) Mc. XII 26, *ana þizai aipistaulein* (gameljan) K. V 9, *ana praufetum* (gameljan) J. VI 45, — *ana witoda* (hausjan) J. XII 34, (hier übersetzt *ana ἐκ*, das „woher" wird also durch ein „wo" ersetzt). — *in bokom psalmo no* (qiþan) L XX 42, *in bokom waurde Esaeiins* (gameljan) L. III 4, *in bokom* (gaurjan izwis) k. VII 8, *in Esaïin praufetau* (gameljan) Mc. I 2, — *ni in spildom staineinaim, ak in spildom hairtane leikeinaim* (gameljan) k. III 3, — *in witoda izwaramma, in witoda fraujins, in witoda... Mosezis* (gameljan) J. VIII 17, L. II 23, K. IX 9. —

Zu dieser gruppe kann auch gebracht werden *ana* oder *in* in verbindung mit *leik*, obgleich diese ausdrücke mehr oder weniger übertragen gefasst werden müssen. Hier werden nur diejenigen beispiele verzeichnet, wo die örtliche bedeutung noch durchblickt: *ana leika meinamma* (bairan stakins) G. VI 17, *ana leika seinamma* (witoþ gatairan) E. II 15, *ana leika meinamma* (fraistubnjai frakunnan) G. IV 14, *ana leika* (ufkunnan) Mc. V 29, (gr. dat.). *in leika* (liþuns gasatjan) K. XII 18, (bimait... handuwaurht) E. II 11, *in ainamma leika* (liþuns haban) R. XII 4, *in leika seinamma* (saian) G. VI 8. —

§ 88. Wenn wir die beispiele, in denen *ana* und *in* mit einander wechseln, vergleichen, ist in den meisten fällen der unterschied zwischen *ana* und *in* deutlich und entspricht dem modernen sprachgefühl. So bedeutet *ana diupiþa* L. V 4 im gegensatz zu *in diupiþai* k. XI 25 „nach der tiefe". So bedeutet *ana fauradaurja* usgaggan L. X 10 „auf die strasse gehen", *in daur usgaggan* M. XXVI 71 „zur tür hineingehen". So ist der unterschied deutlich zwischen *ana armins* niman Mc. IX 36 und *in arma seinamma* gataujan swinþein L. I 51. — So wird man im gegensatz zu M. XXVI 69 *ana rohsnai sitan* J. XVIII 15 *in rohsn* zu erklären haben aus dem verbum *miþinngaleiþan*, einer zusammensetzung mit *inn*.

In anderen fällen aber sind die grenzen fliessend. So findet sich in derselben bedeutung: *draibiþs was ana auþidos* L. VIII 29 und: *ahma ina ustauh in auþida* Mc. I 12. — So ist der unterschied nicht deutlich zwischen: *gadriusan ana airþai godai* L. VIII 8 und: *in airþa goda* Mc. IV 8. — Auch ist es nicht einzusehen, warum das eine mal bei *staþs in*, das andere mal *ana* gebraucht wird. In den modernen sprachen findet man allerdings auch „in" und „auf" bei wörtern, die „platz" bedeuten, gebraucht, vgl. hd. „auf diesem platz", nl. „op deze plaats", engl. „in this place". *ana fairguni* ist bestimmter als *in fairguni*, erstes entspricht dem hd. „auf den berg", letzteres „in das gebirge". Ebenso ist *ana wiga* bestimmter als *in wiga*; es lässt sich vergleichen mit fr. „sur le chemin" neben „en chemin". *ana wiga* kommt aber auch in unbestimmter bedeutung vor: Mc. VIII 27. Weiter wird noch aufmerksam gemacht auf den gegensatz im gebrauch von *ana* und *in* bei: *ana fotuns gaskohi* und: *figgragulþ in handu giban* L. XV 22. —

und auf *ana andawleizn is speiwan* M. XVI 67 gegenüber *in andawleizn slahan* k. XI 20, dem sich anschliesst: *in brusts seinos slahan* L. XVIII 13. Auffallend ist auch die abweichung von der vorlage: hlaiwa þatei *ushuloda ana staina* M. XXVII 60, wo nach dem modernen sprachgefühl nur „in" zu erwarten wäre. Bei namen von briefen usw. entspricht „in" dem modernen gebrauch. Man kann aber auch den gebrauch von *in* neben *ana* vergleichen mit „etwas in einen brief schreiben" und „auf eine karte", *ana* erinnert an das mhd. „an den buochen lesen".

Auch in den fällen, wo vor *leik* sich *ana* oder *in* finden, ist es klar, warum entweder *ana* oder *in* gebraucht wird, nur würde man erwarten: bimait ana leika E. II 11. — Wie fliessend übrigens in solchen fällen die bedeutungsgrenzen der präpositionen sein können, ergibt sich aus k. IV 10 u. 11.: dauþein fraujins Iesuis ana leika unsaramma uskunþa sijai . . . libains Iesuis swikunþa wairþai in riurjamma leika unsaramma. Wahrscheinlich wird *ἐν* variationshalber das eine mal mit *in* und das andere mal mit *ana* übersetzt.

Anm. 1. Zweimal kommt *ana* in verbindung mit *himin* vor, wo es *ἐπί* übersetzt: þo ana himinam jaþ-þo ana airþai *τὰ ἐπὶ τοῖς οὐρανοῖς καὶ τὰ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς* E. I 10. — v.a. C. I 20. — Daneben findet sich sehr oft *in* zur übersetzung von *εἰς* (*ἐν*): weil der grund dieses auffälligen gebrauches von *ana* nicht in der bedeutung liegen kann, muss einfluss der vorlage und des folgenden *ana airþai* angenommen werden.

Anm. 2. Während *ἐπὶ τὸ τελώνιον* L. V 27 übersetzt wird mit *ana motastada*, findet sich dafür M. IX 9 und Mc. II 14 in genau derselben verbindung *at motai*[1]). Wahrscheinlich ist ersteres zu übersetzen „auf dem zollplatz", letzteres „am zoll".

Anm. 3. Eine örtliche bedeutung legt Mourek *ana* auch bei: wairpandans hlauta ana þos (wastjos) *βάλλοντες κλῆρον ἐπ' αὐτά* (*τὰ ἱμάτια*) Mc. XV 24, weil man die lose wirklich auf die kleider geworfen habe[2]). Wahrscheinlich dünkt mich Winklers[3]) auffassung, dass *ana* hier übertragen gebraucht wird.

§ 89. In einigen fällen scheint *ana* die bedeutung von „um" zu haben; es übersetzt dann auch einmal *περί* und zweimal dient die *ana*-bestimmung zur übersetzung eines dativs oder einer *ἐπί*-bestimmung bei einem mit *περί* zusammengesetzten verbum. Am deutlichsten scheint mir die *um*-bedeutung in: ei galagjaidau asiluqairnus ana halsaggan is *περίκειται λίθος μυλικὸς περὶ τὸν τράχηλον αὐτοῦ* Mc. IX 42. — biwaibiþs leina ana naqadana *περιβεβλημένος σινδόνα ἐπὶ γυμνοῦ* Mc. XIV 51. — Auch kann sehr wohl die bedeutung „um" angenommen werden in: atlagidedun ana ina þaurneina wipja *περιτιθέασιν αὐτῷ . . . ἀκάνθινον στέφανον* Mc. XV 17.—

[1]) § 130. — [2]) poněvadž losy metány jsou vskutku na šaty § 33, IV. A, 1 s. 31. — [3]) s. 206.

Dasselbe verhältnis ist anzunehmen: galagidedun imma (wipja) ana haubid *ἐπέθηκαν αὐτοῦ (στέφανον) ἐπὶ τὴν κεφαλήν* J. XIX 2 und wahrscheinlich auch bei dem früher [1]) schon erwähnten *þo ana fotum eisarna* als übersetzung von *τὰς πέδας* Mc. V 4, weil daneben auch *eisarnam bi fotuns gabuganaim* (ebda) gleichfalls zur übersetzung desselben gr. wortes vorkommt. Unsicherer ist: lagjands (swamm) ana raus *περιθεὶς (σπόγγον) καλάμῳ* M. XXVII 48. — v.a. Mc. XV 36. — Wenn einmal die bedeutung *ana* = „um" feststeht, können vielleicht auch andere beispiele so erklärt werden; so: draus ana hals is jah kukida imma *ἐπέπεσεν ἐπὶ τὸν τράχηλον αὐτοῦ καὶ κατεφίλησεν αὐτόν* L. XV 20, obgleich die modernen sprachen auch „an" haben. [2])

Abweichend von dem gewöhnlichen gebrauch findet sich *ana midumai* Sk. III 21: daupeins Iohannes ana midumai twaddje ligandei. Dieser beleg beweist schon wieder, wie in nicht rein örtlicher bedeutung *ana* und *in* miteinander wechseln können.

Oertlich ist *ana* auch, obgleich die bestimmung abstrakt ist, wo es *ἐπί* übersetzt: atgaf izwis waldufni trudan ... ana allai mahtai fijandis *δέδωκα ὑμῖν τὴν ἐξουσίαν τοῦ πατεῖν ... ἐπὶ πᾶσαν τὴν δύναμιν τοῦ ἐχθροῦ* L. X 19. —

§ **90.** Schon ein paar mal übersetzte *ana* einen gr. dat.; dies hängt damit zusammen, dass das rein örtliche verhältnis in ein verhältnis des interesses übergeht. Dies tritt noch stärker hervor, wenn von personen die rede ist. Das örtliche verhältnis ist noch deutlich in vielen fällen, so z.b.:

= *ἐπί* c.a.: þize idweitjandane þuk gadrusun ana mik ... *τῶν ὀνειδιζόντων σε ἐπέπεσον ἐπ' ἐμέ* R. XV 3. — v.a. L. III 22. — Mc. I 10. — L. XIV 31. — u.ö. —

Anm. 1. Einmal wird *ἐπί* c.a. mit einem blossen casus bei einem zusammengesetzten verbum übersetzt: agis disdraus ina *φόβος ἐπέπεσεν ἐπ' αὐτόν* L. I 12. —

= blosser casus, einige male allerdings bei einer zusammensetzung mit *ἐπί* oder *ἐν*: drusun ana ina *ἐπιπίπτειν αὐτῷ* Mc. III 10. — v.a. Mc. X 34. — J. X 31. —

In einigen dieser fälle tritt die günstige oder ungünstige gesinnung stark hervor, so beispielsweise L. XIV 31 und Mc. III 26. — Mc. III 24 wird denn auch *ἐπί* in derselben bedeutung mit *wiþra* übersetzt. [3])

Halbörtlich ist *ana* auch in den folgenden verbindungen, wo es *ἐπί* c.a. oder c.d. übersetzt; es bedeutet hier ein hinzufügen: anaaiauk jah þata ana alla *προσέθηκεν καὶ τοῦτο ἐπὶ πᾶσιν* L. III 20. — v.a. M. VI 27. — Ph. II 27. — Hierher gehört auch wohl = *πρός*: ana þo alla hlaif fauramaþleis meinis ni sokida *πρὸς τούτοις ἄρτον τῆς ἡγεμονίας μου οὐκ ἐζήτησα* Neh. V 18. — *πρὸς τούτοις* ist als „ausserdem" aufgefasst, ebenso

[1]) § 86 anm. — [2]) Vgl. wegen des synonymen *bi* c.a. § 148. — [3]) § 62.

wie in der lat. übersetzung: et praeterea panem praefecti non quaesivi.[1])

Halbörtlich findet sich auch *ana* c.d. zur übersetzung von ἐπί c.a.: ei ufarhleiþrjai ana mis mahts Xristaus ἵνα ἐπισκηνώσῃ ἐπ' ἐμὲ ἡ δύναμις τοῦ Χριστοῦ k. XII 9. — gaheilaiþ sik ana imma gawairþi izwar ἐπαναπαύσεται ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἡ εἰρήνη ὑμῶν L. X 6. — u.ö. Ohne entsprechung in der vorlage: was ahma sa weiha ana im ἦν πνεῦμα ἅγιον J. VII 39. Es lässt sich aber vergleichen Apg. XIX 6: πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον ἐπ' αὐτοῖς [2]).

Anm. 2. Gegen die conjektur von Cromhout[3]), die auch früher schon Appelt[4]) vorgeschlagen hatte: warþ afslauþnan ‹ana› allans ἐγένετο θάμβος ἐπὶ πάντας L. IV 36 erheben sich bedenken grammatischer natur, weil *wairþan* intralokal ist.[5])

§ 91. Das verhältnis des interesses tritt in den vordergrund bei *lagjan* und seinen zusammensetzungen. Hier findet sich in der vorlage neben ἐπί auch der blosse dat.

= ἐπί: lagjands handuns ana þo (barna) þiuþida im τιθεὶς τὰς χεῖρας ἐπ' αὐτὰ (τὰ παιδία) εὐλόγει αὐτά Mc. X 16. — v.a. J. VII 30. — Sk. VIII 1. — J. VII 44. — M. IX 18. —

= dat.: lagjais ana þo (dauhtar) handuns ἐπιθῇς αὐτῇ τὰς χεῖρας Mc. V 23. —

Bei vielen anderen verben und ausdrücken, die eine abstraktere bedeutung haben, tritt das geistige verhältnis stark hervor, obgleich das örtliche verhältnis noch oft herausgefühlt wird.

= ἐπί c.a.: trauainai, þizaiei man gadaursan ana sumans þans munandans uns swe bi leika gaggandans τῇ πεποιθήσει ᾗ λογίζομαι τολμῆσαι ἐπί τινας τοὺς λογιζομένους ἡμᾶς ὡς κατὰ σάρκα περιπατοῦντας k. X 2. — v.a. T. I 18. —

= εἰς: runa gudis fraqeþun ana sik τὴν βουλὴν τοῦ θεοῦ ἠθέτησαν εἰς ἑαυτούς L VII 30. — Hier finden sich als synonyme *in*[6]), *wiþra*[7]) und *du*[8]).

= κατά c.g.: ni aihtedeis waldufnje ainhun ana mik οὐκ εἶχες ἐξουσίαν οὐδεμίαν κατ' ἐμοῦ J. XIX 11. — v.a. J. XVIII 29. — K. IV 6. — Mc. XIV 55. — C. II 14. —

= gen. bei einer zusammensetzung mit κατά: *hva* þai ana þuk weitwodjand τί οὗτοί σου καταμαρτυροῦσιν Mc. XIV 60. — v. a. M. XXVII 13. — Mc. XV 4.

Anm. 1. In einer ähnlichen bedeutung wie J. XVIII 29 tritt T. V 19 an die stelle von κατά c. g. *bi*: bi praizbwtairein wroh ni andnimais κατὰ πρεσβυτέρου κατηγορίαν μὴ παραδέχου [9]).

Ebenso in verbindung mit einem substantiv = ἐπί c. a.: ahma fraujins ana mis πνεῦμα κυρίου ἐπ' ἐμέ L. IV 18. — v. a. G. VI 16. — R. XI 22.

[1]) Vgl. Bernhardt z. st. — [2]) Str. anm. — [3]) Skeireins aiwaggeljons þairh Iohannen, Delft 1900. (Leid. Diss.) s. II, st. VIII. — [4]) *Germania*, XIX, s. 287. — [5]) Verf. *PBB*, XXXIX, s. 211 ff. u. § 174. — [6]) § 109. — [7]) 62. — [8]) § 122. — [9]) § 147.

— Auch wohl = ἐπί c. d.: ufarassau<s> anstais gudis ana izwis τὴν ὑπερβάλλουσαν χάριν τοῦ θεοῦ ἐφ' ὑμῖν k. IX 14. —

Anm. 2. Dass das richtungsverhältnis noch herausgefühlt wurde, ergibt sich wohl daraus, dass ἐπί in derselben bedeutung mit *du* übersetzt wird. Dass der unterschied zwischen *ana* c. d. und *ana* c. a. nicht stark ausgeprägt war, ersieht man daraus, dass mit einander konkurrieren *ana* c. d., *ana* c. a. und *du*, wo die vorlage stets ἐπί hat.

= *du*: infeinoda du þizai managein σπλαγχνίζομαι ἐπὶ τὸν ὄχλον Mc. VIII 2[1]). — horinoþ du þizai μοιχᾶται ἐπ' αὐτήν Mc. X 11. —

= ana c. d., c. a. oder *du*: du weitwodiþai ana ins εἰς μαρτύριον ἐπ' αὐτούς L. IX 5. — weitwod guþ anahaita ana meinai saiwalai μάρτυρα τὸν θεὸν ἐπικαλοῦμαι ἐπὶ τὴν ἐμὴν ψυχήν k. I 23. — weitwodei unsara du izwis τὸ μαρτύριον ἡμῶν ἐφ' ὑμᾶς th. I 10. —

Anm. 3. Auch *bi* übersetzt in dieser bedeutung ἐπί c. a.: gaigrot bi þo (baurg) ἔκλαυσεν ἐπ' αὐτήν (τὴν πόλιν) L. XIX 41.[2]) — Einmal findet sich bei demselben nomen *ana* c. d. und *bi* wahrscheinlich c. a.: ana þus selein ἐπὶ ... σὲ χρηστότητα R. XI 22. — selein bi uns in Xristau Iesu χρηστότητι ἐφ' ἡμᾶς ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ E. II 7. —

Anm. 4. Viermal wird ἐπί c. a. mit einem blossen dat. oder acc. (?) übersetzt: unte is gods ist þaim unfagram jah unseljam ὅτι αὐτὸς χρηστός ἐστιν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀχαρίστους καὶ πονηρούς L. VI 35. — gableiþjands unsis σπλαγχνισθεὶς ἐφ' ἡμᾶς Mc. IX 22.[3]). — fauramaþljos ... kauridedun þo managein ... jah skalkos ize fraujinodedun þizai managein οἱ ἄρχοντες ... ἐβάρυναν κλοιὸν ἐπὶ τὸν λαόν (ἐβάρυναν ἐπ' αὐτούς B) ... καίγε τὰ παιδάρια αὐτῶν ἐκυρίευσαν ἐπὶ τὸν λαόν Neh. V 15. —

§ **92.** *ana* c. d. bezeichnet den grund, es übersetzt ἐπί c. d.: wisandans in þizai hleiþrai swogatjam kauridai ana þammei ni wileima afhamon, ak anahamon ὄντες ἐν τῷ σκήνει στενάζομεν βαρούμενοι, ἐφ' ᾧ οὐ θέλομεν ἐκδύσασθαι ἀλλ' ἐπενδύσασθαι k. V 4. — Streitberg[4]) übersetzt *ana þammei* mit „weshalb" und zieht es zu *wileima*. Richtiger übersetzt Holtzmann[5]): wir seufzen in bedrückung, weil wir nicht (unsern leib) ausziehen, sondern (den neuen) darüber anziehen wollen. — v. a. K. VIII 11. —

es übersetzt ἐπί c. g.: ana munþa twaddje weitwode jaþ-þrije gastandiþ all waurde ἐπὶ στόματος δύο μαρτύρων καὶ τριῶν σταθήσεται πᾶν ῥῆμα k. XIII 1. —

= ἐν: ei bairhta waurþeina waurstwa gudis ana imma ἵνα φανερωθῇ τὰ ἔργα τοῦ θεοῦ ἐν αὐτῷ J. IX 3. —

Einen grund bezeichnet auch der ausdruck *ana ... namin* = ἐπὶ ... ὀνόματι: ana þeinamma namin usdreibandan unhulþons ἐπὶ τῷ ὀνόματί σου ἐκβάλλοντα δαιμόνια L. IX 49. — v. a. Mc. IX 37. —

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1) § 122. — 2) § 144. — 3) C. S. § 15 opm. s. 33 und verf. *PBB.* XXXIX, s. 204 ff. — 4) Glossar. s. v. *ana*. — 5) Handcommentar zum neuen Testament IV Bde. 2e Aufl. Freiburg i. B. 1892. 1893. II. s. 237.

Anm. Einmal wird in diesem ausdruck ἐπί mit *in* übersetzt: saei taujiþ maht in namin meinamma ὃς ποιήσει δύναμιν ἐπὶ τῷ ὀνόματί μου Mc. IX 39. — Weil neben *ana* oft *in* zur übersetzung von ἐν vorkommt, in der parallelstelle von L. IX 49, Mc. IX 38 anstatt eines dat. instr.: in þeinamma namin usdreibandan unhulþons τῷ ὀνόματί σου ἐκβάλλοντα δαιμόνια, liegt auch im zusammenhang mit obiger änderung die vermutung nahe, dass *ana* nur dem einfluss der vorlage zuzuschreiben ist und der idiomatische ausdruck *in namin* ist.[1])

Auch *ana* c. a. bezeichnet zweimal den grund; einmal übersetzt es διά c. a.: aþþan bi aiwaggeljon fijandans in izwara, iþ bi gawaleinai liubai ana attans κατὰ μὲν τὸ εὐαγγέλιον ἐχθροὶ δι' ὑμᾶς, κατὰ δὲ τὴν ἐκλογὴν ἀγαπητοὶ διὰ τοὺς πατέρας R. XI 28. — im zweiten fall einen gen. bei einer zusammensetzung mit κατά: ni hvop ana þans a[n]stans μὴ κατακαυχῶ τῶν κλάδων R. XI 18.[2]) [3])

§ 93. *ana* c. d. zur bezeichnung eines grundes kommt auch vor bei affektverben und bei verben, die eine affektäusserung bezeichnen und übersetzt ἐπί c. d.: biabridedun manageins ana laiseinai is ἐξεπλήσσοντο οἱ ὄχλοι ἐπὶ τῇ διδαχῇ αὐτοῦ M. VII 28. — þairh gakust þis andbahtjis mikiljandans guþ ana ufhauseinai andahaitis izwaris in aiwaggeljon Xristaus διὰ τῆς δοκιμῆς τῆς διακονίας ταύτης δοξάζοντες τὸν θεὸν ἐπὶ τῇ ὑποταγῇ τῆς ὁμολογίας ὑμῶν εἰς τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τοῦ Χριστοῦ k. IX 13 — u. ö.

Anm. 1. Daneben finden sich zur übersetzung von ἐπί c. d. *in* c. g., *in* c. d. und *bi*; bei *sildaleikjan* kommt auch noch ein blosser acc., bei *faginon* ein blosser dat. vor: managai in gabaurþai is faginond πολλοὶ ἐπὶ τῇ γενέσει αὐτοῦ χαρήσονται L. I 14. — fagino in qumis Staifanaus χαίρω ... ἐπὶ τῇ παρουσίᾳ Στεφανᾶ K. XVI 17. — nih faginoþ inwindiþai, miþfaginoþ sunjai οὐ χαίρει ἐπὶ τῇ ἀδικίᾳ, συγχαίρει δὲ τῇ ἀληθείᾳ K. XIII 6. — Hier steht der erste dat. wohl unter dem einfluss des zweiten — alla managei sildaleikidedun in laiseinais is πᾶς ὁ ὄχλος ἐξεπλήσσετο ἐπὶ τῇ διδαχῇ αὐτοῦ Mc. XI 18. — at allaim þan sildaleikjandam bi alla þoei gatawida Iesus πάντων δὲ θαυμαζόντων ἐπὶ πᾶσιν οἷς ἐποίησεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς L. IX 43. — sildaleikjandans andawaurde is gaþahaidedun θαυμάσαντες ἐπὶ τῇ ἀποκρίσει αὐτοῦ ἐσίγησαν L. XX 26.[4]) Die übersetzung von ἐπί c. d. durch *in* c. g. ist sehr häufig.

Anm. 2. Auch findet sich einige male *du* zur übersetzung von ἐπί c. d. So bei *infeinan*, bei welchem verbum auch ἐπί c. a. so übersetzt wird[5]): infeinoda du izai ἐσπλαγχνίσθη ἐπ' αὐτῇ L. VII 13. — Hier tritt das richtungsverhältnis hervor. Dies ist noch stärker der fall bei *galaubjan*, *trauan* und *wenjan*, wovon unter *du* zu handeln ist[6]).

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[1]) § 105. — [2]) Wegen *in* c. g. zur übersetzung von διά c. a. § 142. — [3]) Wegen der bedeutung von *ana* Mc. XV 24 § 88 anm. 3. — [4]) Wahrscheinlich verschreibung für *andawaurdi*, v. Bernh. anm., dagegen Str. E. B. § 263, 1. — [5]) § 91 anm. 2. — [6]) § 122. —

§ 94. In andern fällen bezeichnet *ana* mehr den gegenstand, in bezug worauf die handlung geschieht.

= *ἐπί* c. d.: ana gaþrafsteinai unsarai filaus mais faginodedum ana fahedai Teitaus *ἐπὶ . . . τῇ παρακλήσει ἡμῶν περισσοτέρως μᾶλλον ἐχάρημεν ἐπὶ τῇ χαρᾷ Τίτου* k. VII 13. — v. a. Ph. IV 10 — k. XII 21. — k. VII 7. — u. ö. —

Anm. 1. Th. III 7 wird *ἐφ' ὑμῖν* in derselben bedeutung wie k. VII 7 mit *fram izwis* übersetzt, offenbar variationshalber [1]).

Anm. 2. Neben *ana* zur übersetzung von *ἐπί* c. d. finden sich *in* c. d. und *bi* c. a.: þata samo hulistr in anakunnainai þizos fairnjons triggwos wisiþ unandhuliþ *τὸ αὐτὸ κάλυμμα ἐπὶ τῇ ἀναγνώσει τῆς παλαιᾶς διαθήκης μένει μὴ ἀνακαλυπτόμενον* k. III 14. — witandei þatei warþ bi ija *εἰδυῖα ὃ γέγονεν ἐπ' αὐτῇ* Mc. V. 33. —

ana c. d. übersetzt ein paar mal *ἐν*: in allamma managniþ, galaubeinai jah waurda jah kunþja jah in allai usdaudein jah ana þizai us izwis in uns friaþwai *ἐν παντὶ περισσεύετε, πίστει καὶ λόγῳ καὶ γνώσει καὶ πάσῃ σπουδῇ καὶ τῇ ἐξ ὑμῶν ἐν ἡμῖν ἀγάπῃ* k. VIII 7. — Hier ist *ana* offenbar gebraucht, um eine häufung von *in* zu vermeiden. Man kann daraus ersehen, wie fliessend in übertragenem gebrauch die grenzen zwischen *in* und *ana* sind. Dies ergibt sich auch aus E. I 3, wo A *ana*, B *in* liest: izei gaþiuþida uns ana (in) allai þiuþeinai ahmeinai in himinakundaim in Xristau *ὁ εὐλογήσας ἡμᾶς ἐν πάσῃ εὐλογίᾳ πνευματικῇ ἐν τοῖς ἐπουρανίοις ἐν Χριστῷ*.

Zu: kannjan unsis runa wiljins seinis bi wiljin, saei fauragaleikaida imma *γνωρίσας ἡμῖν τὸ μυστήριον τοῦ θελήματος αὐτοῦ, κατὰ τὴν εὐδοκίαν αὐτοῦ ἣν προέθετο ἐν αὐτῷ* E. I 9. — gehört die glosse: ana leikainai þoei garaidida in imma. Dies soll wohl heissen: in bezug auf den entschluss, den er in ihm gefasst hatte. Die bedeutung von *ana* stimmt dann ungefähr mit der von *bi* c. d., das „gemäss" bedeutet, überein [2]).

ana = *ἀπό*: fraweit mik ana andastaþja meinamma *ἐκδίκησόν με ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀντιδίκου μου* L. XVIII 3. — Im griechischen bedeutet *ἀπό* hier „von". Wir übersetzen *ana* hier wohl am besten mit „von seiten des".

= genitivus absolutus: þarei matidedun hlaif, ana þammei awiliudoda frauja *ὅπου ἔφαγον τὸν ἄρτον εὐχαριστήσαντος τοῦ κυρίου* J. VI 23. — Obgleich der grund der abweichung nicht deutlich ist, ist doch der sinn klar. *ana* hat hier dieselbe bedeutung wie Sk. VII 16: nih þan ana þaim hlaibam ainaim seinaizos mahtais filusna ustaiknida, ak jah in þaim fiskam, wo auch wieder *ana* und *in* miteinander wechseln.

§ 95. Unabhängiger vom verbum kommt *ana* c. d. vor, einmal in einer zeitbestimmung, wo die vorlage einen gen. hat: ana midjai dulþ usstaig Iesus in alh *τῆς ἑορτῆς μεσούσης ἀνέβη ὁ Ἰησοῦς εἰς τὸ ἱερόν* J. VII 14. —

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1) § 23. — 2) Auch *bi* c. a. hat zuweilen diese Bedeutung §§ 92 anm., 1, 155 anm.

ana c. a. kommt weiter zeitlich vor: zweimal in verbindung mit einem verbum: sunno ni dissigqai ana þwairhein izwara *ὁ ἥλιος μὴ ἐπιδυέτω ἐπὶ τῷ παροργισμῷ ὑμῶν* E. IV 26, wo das zeitbestimmende mehr in dem satzzusammenhang steckt. Weiter mehr unabhängig zeitlich distributiv, wo die vorlage einen genitiv hat: sibun sinþam ana dag frawaurkjai du þus *ἑπτάκις τῆς ἡμέρας ἁμάρτῃ εἰς σέ* L. XVII 4. —

§ 96. Rein distributiv = *ἀνά*: gawaurkeiþ im anakumbjan kubituns ana ƕarjanoh fimf tiguns *κατακλίνατε αὐτοὺς κλισίας ἀνὰ πεντήκοντα* L. IX 14. —

Anm. Sonst wird *ἀνά* in distributiver bedeutung übersetzt mit *ƕazuh*: insandida ins twans ƕanzuh ... in all baurge jah stade *ἀπέστειλεν αὐτοὺς ἀνὰ δύο ... εἰς πᾶσαν πόλιν καὶ τόπον* L. X 1. — und durch ein distributivum: nih þan tweihnos paidos haban *μήτε ἀνὰ δύο χιτῶνας ἔχειν* L. IX 3[1]). —

Modal zur übersetzung von *κατά* findet sich *ana* einmal: ikei ana andaugi ... hauns im in izwis *ὃς κατὰ πρόσωπον ... ταπεινὸς ἐν ὑμῖν* k. X 1. — Es bildet einen gegensatz zu *aljar*, soll eigentlich wohl bedeuten „in eurer gegenwart". vgl. „einem etwas ins gesicht sagen".

In massbestimmungen kommt *ana* zweimal vor zur übersetzung von *ἀπό* in verbindung mit *spaurds*, J. XI 18: was ... Beþania neƕa Iairusaulwmi[a]m swaswe ana spaurdim fimftaihunim *ἦν ... ἡ Βηθανία ἐγγὺς τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων ὡς ἀπὸ σταδίων δεκαπέντε* — L. XXIV 13. Giessener bruchstück:

....and. in ana spaurd.
sa ... m

ergänzt von Helm:

(haim wis)and(e)in ana spaurd(e . j . fairra Iairu)sa(le)m. — *κώμην ἀπέχουσαν σταδίους ἑξήκοντα ἀπὸ Ἱερουσαλήμ* —

Str. glossar s. v. *ana* übersetzt *ana* hier mit „gegen", ebenso wie Mourek § 36, 4 s. 36 sagt, dass hier annähernd ein wirkliches mass bezeichnet wird[2]). Das „gegen" wird hier aber in der ersten stelle durch *swaswe* (*ὡς*) bezeichnet, sodass *ana* die übersetzung von *ἀπό* ist; es bezeichnet hier also nur die entfernung von einem punkte aus; vgl. lat. a, nl. *op*, engl. *on*[3])

and.

§ 97. *and* bedeutet: längs, an der oberfläche eines gegenstandes entlang, über etwas hin.

Es kommt vor in verbindung mit bewegungsverben und übersetzt *εἰς*: usiddja meriþa fram imma and allans stadins þis bisunjane landis *ἐξεπορεύετο ἦχος περὶ αὐτοῦ εἰς πάντα τόπον τῆς περιχώρου* L. IV 37. — vgl. a. M. IX 26. — Mc. I 39. — L. XIV 23. — Mc. I 28. — R. X 18. — L. III 3. —

[1]) Str. E. B. § 195, 1. — [2]) (Skutečná mira ... označena přibližně. — [3]) Diese Bemerkung verdanke ich Prof. Kern: wegen der bedeutung von *ἀπό* v. Bauer, a. a. o. s. v.

Anm. Mit *and* konkurrieren der gen. und *du*[1]), bei *qiman* auch *at.*[2])

= ἐν: usiddja þata waurd and alla Iudaia ... jah and allans bisitands ἐξῆλθεν ὁ λόγος οὗτος ἐν ὅλῃ τῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ ... καὶ ἐν πάσῃ τῇ περιχώρῳ L. VII 17. —

= ἐπί c. a.: warþ huhrus mikils and alla airþa ἐγένετο λιμὸς μέγας ἐπὶ πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν L. IV 25. — Wenn wir mit dieser stelle vergleichen M. XXVII 45: warþ riqis ufar allai airþai ἐγένετο σκότος ἐπὶ πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν oder Mc. XV 33 riqis warþ ana allai airþai σκότος ἐγένετο ἐφ' ὅλην τὴν γῆν, so bedeutet *and alla airþa* die verbreitung längs der erde und *ufar* (*ana*) *allai airþai* das entstehen über der erde: vgl. die gleichbedeutende stelle mit L. IV 25 (L. XV 14), wo *and* κατά c. a. übersetzt.[3]) (Kern).

= διά c. g.: ussteigandans ana hrot and skaljos ἀναβάντες ἐπὶ τὸ δῶμα διὰ τῶν κεράμων L. V 19. — v. a. k. XI 33. —

= κατά c. a.: þairhiddjedun and haimos διήρχοντο κατὰ τὰς κώμας L. IX 6. — v. a. L. VIII 39. — L. XV 14. — Tit. I 5. — L. VIII 1. —

= κατά c. g.: rann sa wriþus and driuson in þana marisaiw ὥρμησεν ἡ ἀγέλη κατὰ τοῦ κρημνοῦ εἰς τὴν λίμνην L. VIII 33. — ebenso Mc. V 13. — meriþa urrann and all gawi bisitande bi ina φήμη ἐξῆλθεν καθ' ὅλης τῆς περιχώρου περὶ αὐτοῦ L. IV 14. — v. a. M. VIII 32. —

= gen. bei einer zusammensetzung mit διά: and þata munaida þairhgaggan ἐκείνης ἔμελλεν διέρχεσθαι L. XIX 4. — *and þata* ist „daran vorüber".[4])

§ 98. Bei andern verben: Das verhältnis ist genau dasselbe, weil *and* ziemlich unabhängig von dem verbum ist.

Daher auch, dass es in verbindung mit verben gebraucht wird, die sonst im gotischen gewöhnlich intralokal behandelt werden, wie *qiman* und *wairþan*.[5])

= εἰς: merjada so aiwaggeljo and alla manaseþ κηρυχθῇ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τοῦτο εἰς ὅλον τὸν κόσμον Mc. XIV 9. — v. a. Mc. I 39. —

= ἐν: laisjan jah merjan and baurgs ize διδάσκειν καὶ κηρύσσειν ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν αὐτῶν M. XI 1 — v.a. R. IX 17. —

Anm. Mit *and* konkurrieren hier *in* c. d. und c. a.[6])

= διά c. g.: þizei hazeins in aiwaggeljons and allos aikklesjons οὗ ὁ ἔπαινος ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ διὰ πασῶν τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν k. VIII 18. — v. a. E. IV 6. —

= adverb: wailamerjandans jah leikinondans and all εὐαγγελιζόμενοι καὶ θεραπεύοντες πανταχοῦ L. IX 6. —

Aus der Skeireins: and ... þana laist skeiris brukjands waurdis Sk. V 6. — v. a. Sk. II 24. — *and þana laist* ist fast ganz zum adverb geworden, es vertritt das gr. κατιχνῶς Theodosius (311). — and allana midjungard gaþaih Sk. IV 10. — (zwei mal). —

1) § 119 anm. — 2) § 131 — 3) Vgl. unten = κατά c. g. — 4) Str. anm. — 5) Vgl. Fussn. 5 s. 54 — 6) § 100 und verf. *PBB*, XXXIX. s. 209 ff.

§ 99. Zeitlich dient *and*, mit *ƕarjizuh* das distributive *κατά* zu übersetzen: and dulþ ƕarjoh fralailot im ainana bandjan *κατὰ . . . ἑορτὴν ἀπέλυεν αὐτοῖς ἕνα δέσμιον* Mc. XV 6. — v. a. M. XXVII 15. — Es wird wohl heissen müssen „gegen jedes fest" und entspricht dem deutschen „auf".

Anm. Mit diesem ausdruck konkurrieren der dativ [1]), der accusativ [2]), distributiv und nicht zeitlich = *bi* oder ein acc. [3])

in.

§ 100. *in* hat in räumlichem sinne im allgemeinen die bedeutung des deutschen „in" und übersetzt in den meisten fällen *ἐν* oder *εἰς*. Weil es sehr häufig vorkommt, werden nicht alle selbstverständlichen fälle erwähnt; nur werden ein paar beispiele gegeben, während die mehr oder weniger merkwürdigen fälle unten noch aufgeführt werden sollen [4]).: ƕas gasteigiþ in afgrundiþa *τίς καταβήσεται εἰς τὴν ἄβυσσον* R. X 7. — u. ö. [5])

Eine merkwürdige verbindung mit *in* ist: ahmins weihis gafulljada nauhþan in wambai aiþeins seinaizos *πνεύματος ἁγίου πλησθήσεται ἔτι ἐκ κοιλίας μητρὸς αὐτοῦ* L. I 15. — Während die vorlage den ausgangspunkt bezeichnet, bezeichnet das got. den ort, wo.

§ 101. *in* hat in räumlichem sinne auch die bedeutung von „unter", lat. inter. Meist übersetzt es in diesem fall *ἐν* oder *εἰς*: ni urrais in baurim qinono *οὐκ ἐγήγερται ἐν γεννητοῖς γυναικῶν* M. XI 11. — v. a. L. II 44. — Mc. VI 4. — E. II 6. — u. ö. Zweimal kommt es vor als übersetzung eines dat.: in waidedjans frarann *λῃσταῖς περιέπεσεν* L. X 30. — rodida bi ina [in] allaim þaim usbeidandam laþon Iairusaulwmos *ἐλάλει περὶ αὐτοῦ πᾶσι τοῖς προσδεχομένοις λύτρωσιν Ἱερουσαλήμ* L. II 38 [6]). — Einmal tritt es an die stelle einer ganz anderen konstruktion: gamoteima in izwis *χωρήσατε ἡμᾶς* k. VII 2. —

In dieser bedeutung konkurriert es mit *miþ* = *ἐν*.: missaqiss in þizai managein warþ bi ina *σχίσμα ἐν τῷ ὄχλῳ ἐγένετο δι' αὐτόν* J. VII 43. — Dagegen: missaqiss . . . warþ miþ Iudaium in þize waurde *σχίσμα . . . ἐγένετο ἐν τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις διὰ τοὺς λόγους τούτους* J. X 19. — v. a. J. IX 16. —, J. XIII 35. —, Mc. IX 50. —

§ 102. Sehr oft wird *in* in übertragenem sinn gebraucht, wo das räumliche verhältnis noch klar zu tage tritt. So u. a.: *in ahmin* als gegensatz zu *in leika*: saei saiiþ in leika seinamma, us þamma leika jah sneiþiþ riurein, iþ saei saiiþ in ahmin, us ahmin jah sneiþiþ libain aiweinon *ὁ σπείρων εἰς τὴν σάρκα ἑαυτοῦ ἐκ τῆς σαρκὸς θερίσει φθοράν, ὁ δὲ σπείρων εἰς*

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[1]) C. *S*., § 67 b. s. 95. — [2]) *A. a. o.*, § 37 opm. 4 s. 62. — [3]) Str., *E. B.*, § 195. — [4]) Eine vollständige beispielsammlung bei Mourek, §§ 55 ff., s. 150 ff. und Winkler, s. 223—274. — [5]) Vgl. wegen des unterschiedes von *ana* und *in* § 55. — [6]) Vgl. verf., *PBB.*, XXXIX, s. 209 ff.

τὸ πνεῦμα ἐκ τοῦ πνεύματος θερίσει ζωὴν αἰώνιον G. VI 8. — v. a. L. VI 38. — k. VI 12. — R. VII 23. — R. VII 5. —

Dies ist auch sehr oft der fall, wenn von personen die rede ist, in welchen sich etwas geistiges oder körperliches befindet oder in die solches hineingeht: all þata utaþro inngaggando in mannan πᾶν τὸ ἔξωθεν εἰσπορευόμενον εἰς τὸν ἄνθρωπον Mc. VII 18. — Dies ist auch der fall mit dem sehr oft vorkommenden paulinischen ausdruck *in Xristau* [1]), z. b.: in Xristau gatairada ἐν Χριστῷ καταργεῖται k. III 14. — in Xristau daupidai wesuþ εἰς Χριστὸν ἐβαπτίσθητε G. III 27. — Der unterschied zwischen εἰς und ἐν ist in dieser formel nicht immer klar. So wäre in dem zweiten beleg ἐν ebenso gut möglich gewesen. (Ein deutliches richtungsverhältnis findet sich: wahsjaima in ina þo alla, ize ist haubiþ, Xristus αὐξήσωμεν εἰς αὐτὸν τὰ πάντα, ὅς ἐστιν ἡ κεφαλή, ὁ Χριστός E. IV 15.) — Dies findet sich auch sonst: so bauandei in mis frawaurhts ἡ οἰκοῦσα ἐν ἐμοὶ ἁμαρτία R. VII 17. — galaiþ ... mitons in ins εἰσῆλθεν ... διαλογισμὸς ἐν αὐτοῖς L. IX 46. — u. ö.

in hairto gehört zuweilen zu den oben erwähnten fällen, so z. b.: ni galeiþiþ imma in hairto, ak in wamba οὐκ εἰσπορεύεται αὐτοῦ εἰς τὴν καρδίαν, ἀλλὰ εἰς τὴν κοιλίαν Mc. VII 19. — v. a. k. VIII 16. — k. III 2. —

In andern fällen hat die verbindung mehr die bedeutung eines instrumentalis und es könnte dafür auch vielleicht ein instrumentaler dativ stehen. Hier geht das „in" in ein „mit" über: gahorinoda izai in hairtin seinamma ἐμοίχευσεν αὐτὴν ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ αὐτοῦ M. V 28. — ni tuzwerjai in hairtin seinamma μὴ διακριθῇ ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ αὐτοῦ Mc. XI 23. — in andwairþja hopandans jan-ni in hairtin (A) jah ni hairtin (B) ἐν προσώπῳ καυχωμένους καὶ οὐ καρδίᾳ k. V. 12. — Besonders das letzte beispiel ist sehr interessant, weil die vorlage ebenso wie B. den instrumentalen dativ hat, der in A durch eine *in*-bestimmung wiedergegeben wird. Ebenso steht R. X 9 dem *in hairtin þeinamma* in derselben bedeutung *in munþa þeinamma* gegenüber. R. X 10 findet sich in derselben bedeutung *munþa andhaitada du ganistai*, allerdings der vorlage: στόματι ... ὁμολογεῖται εἰς σωτηρίαν entsprechend; R. XV 6 steht aber unabhängig von der vorlage (ἐν ἑνὶ στόματι δοξάζητε τὸν θεόν) ainamma munþa hauhjaiþ guþ, wo die bedeutung mehr modal ist [2]).

Ebenso bezeichnet *in sis* oder *in sis silbin* sehr oft die art und weise und stimmt also mit einem instrumentalis modi überein. Man findet daneben denn auch, unabhängig von der vorlage, den dat.: swa þai mitodedun sis οὕτως αὐτοὶ διαλογίζονται ἐν ἑαυτοῖς Mc. II 8. — rodida sis ains εἶπεν ἐν ἑαυτῷ L. VII 39 [3]). — Sie können aber auch als ethische dat. aufgefasst werden. [3])

qimands in sis qaþ εἰς ἑαυτὸν ἐλθὼν εἶπεν L. XV 17. — v. a. Mc. V 30. — M. IX 3. — J. XI 38. — J. VI 61. — R. XI 25. —

[1]) Vgl. G. A. Deissmann, *Die neutestamentliche formel „in Christo Jesu"*, Marburg. 1892. s. 81 ff.; aber auch § 107. — [2]) Vgl. § 103. — [3]) *C. S.*, § 56. s. 85, wo allerdings L. VII 39 nicht erwähnt wird.

§ **103.** In übertragenem sinn wird *in* sehr häufig modal gebraucht. Das örtliche verhältnis ist oft noch sehr gut herauszufühlen; dass dies aber im got. nicht immer sehr lebhaft mehr war und dass andere begriffskategorien mit hineinspielen, geht daraus hervor, dass *in*-bestimmungen zur umschreibung von gr. adjektiven oder verben dienen oder umgekehrt gr. *ἐν*-bestimmungen mit got. adj. übersetzt werden; dass auch got. instrumentale dative zur übersetzung von *ἐν* dienen; dass *ἐπί* mit *in* übersetzt wird.

ik in aljana izwis brigga in unþiudom *ἐγὼ παραζηλώσω ὑμᾶς ἐπ' οὐκ ἔθνει* R. X 19. — ƕas in arbaidai briggiþ *τίς ἐπαίρεται* k. XI 20. — Der got. ausdruck besagt ganz etwas andres als die vorlage; Bernhardt vermutet, dass *in arbaidai* eine in den text gedrungene randglosse etwa zu *usnimiþ* ist. Dann bleibt aber doch die schwierigkeit, dass es im original keine übersetzung für *ἐπαίρεται* gegeben hätte. — So wizondei in azetjam *ἡ δὲ σπαταλῶσα* T. V 6. — lag in brinnon *κατέκειτο πυρέσσουσα* Mc. I 30. — magaþai in fragibtim abin *παρθένον μεμνηστευμένην ἀνδρί* L. I 27. — v. a. L. II 5. — wilja in gagreftai (A) (B gagreiftai) ist *ἡ προθυμία πρόκειται* k. VIII 12. — ligandein ‹jah› in heitom *βεβλημένην καὶ πυρέσσουσαν* M. VIII 14. — in neiþa wisandans *φθονοῦντες* G. V 26. — warþ þan imma in siunai *ὤφθη δὲ αὐτῷ* L. I 11. — ei ni wairþaina in unlustau *ἵνα μὴ ἀθυμῶσιν* C. III 21. — Hierher gehört auch wohl: ni in augam skalkinondans *μὴ ἐν ὀφθαλμοδουλείαις* C. III 22. —

umgekehrt: barna habands ufhausjandona *τέκνα ἔχοντα ἐν ὑποταγῇ* T. III 4 [1]. — andbahti ... warþ wulþag *ἡ διακονία ... ἐγενήθη ἐν δόξῃ* k. III 7. — sokeiþ sik uskunþana wisan *ζητεῖ αὐτὸς ἐν παῤῥησίᾳ εἶναι* J. VII 4. — ni wiljau auk izwis nu þairhleiþands saiƕan *οὐ θέλω ... ὑμᾶς ἄρτι ἐν παρόδῳ ἰδεῖν* K. XVI 7. —

in anstatt eines dativs: in allai hauneinai gahugdais anþar anþarana munands sis auhuman *τῇ ταπεινοφροσύνῃ ἀλλήλους ἡγούμενοι ὑπερέχοντας ἑαυτῶν* Ph. II 3. —

Umgekehrt: ainamma munþa hauhjaiþ guþ *ἐν ἑνὶ στόματι δοξάζητε τὸν θεόν* R. XV 6 [2]. —

th. III 8 hat A *in*, B den dat.: winnandans in arbaidai A (arbaidai B) *ἐν κόπῳ καὶ μόχθῳ*. In der Casus-Syntaxis [3]) wurde dieser dativ als ein instrumental des mittels aufgefasst: weil aber daneben *in* steht, was Bernhardt nicht erwähnt, erscheint mir die auffassung als ein instr. modi jetzt besser.

k. XI 27 steht vor einigen *in*-bestimmungen einmal ein blosser dativ, wo die vorlage stets *ἐν* hat: was ... aglom jah arbaidim, in wokainim ufta, in gredau jah þaurstein, in lausqiþreim ufta, in friusa jah naqadein *ἐν κόπῳ καὶ μόχθῳ, ἐν ἀγρυπνίαις πολλάκις, ἐν λιμῷ καὶ δίψει, ἐν νηστείαις πολλάκις, ἐν ψύχει καὶ γυμνότητι* k. XI 27. — [4]

Anm. 1. Neben *in* kommt auch *miþ* zur übersetzung von *ἐν* vor: miþ waldufnja jah mahtai anabiudiþ þaim unhrainjam ahmam *ἐν ἐξουσίᾳ*

[1]) subditos fg. vg. — [2]) Vgl. § 102. — [3]) § 86 s. 111. — [4]) *C. S.*, § 78 b, s. 105.

καὶ δυνάμει ἐπιτάσσει τοῖς ἀκαθάρτοις πνεύμασιν L. IV 36. — miþ taihun þusundjom gamotjan þamma miþ twaim tigum þusundjo gaggandin *ἐν δέκα χιλιάσιν ἀπαντῆσαι τῷ μετὰ εἴκοσι χιλιάδων ἐρχομένῳ* L. XIV 31 [1]). —; hier steht das erste *miþ* wohl unter dem einfluss des zweiten und es ist aus stilistischen gründen gewählt. Auch dann aber beweist es, dass *in* und *miþ* synonym sind.

Anm. 2. Wie leicht die bedeutungen der verschiedenen präpositionen in übertragenem sinne in einander übergehen können, beweist t. II 7, wo *ἐν* mit *us* übersetzt ist, von welchem fall schon unter *us* gehandelt wurde [2]).

in c. d. in modalbestimmungen einige male = *εἰς*: Dies kommt sehr oft vor in verbindung mit verben, die, wie wir später sehen werden, auch in andern verbindungen immer oder doch gewöhnlich *in* c. d. nehmen in gegensatz zu der vorlage, die *εἰς* hat und aus noch zu besprechenden gründen das richtungsverhältnis in ein ruheverhältnis verwandeln. Es ist aber auch möglich, dass schon in der vorlage *εἰς* ein ruheverhältnis bezeichnet, da ja im neutestamentlichen gr. *εἰς* für *ἐν* gebraucht wird [3]): ni briggais uns in fraistubnjai *μὴ εἰσενέγκῃς ἡμᾶς εἰς πειρασμόν* M. VI 13. — v. a. th. III 5. — C. III 15. — J. XII 27. — T. III 6. — C. I 10. — R. XI 32. — Ph. III 11. — [4])

in c. d. = *ἐπί* c. d.: saei saijiþ in þiuþeinai *ὁ σπείρων ἐπ' εὐλογίαις* k. IX 6. — Zwar haben andere hss. *ἐν*; es ist aber nicht nötig, diese lesart für die vorlage anzunehmen; derartige abweichungen kommen auch sonst vor.

= *ἐν*: qam in ahmin in þizai alh *ἦλθεν ἐν τῷ πνεύματι εἰς τὸ ἱερόν*, L. II 27. — fauraqimid in andwairþja is in ahmin *προελεύσεται ἐνώπιον αὐτοῦ ἐν πνεύματι* L. I 17. — libaiþ in izai (þizai garaihtein) *ζήσεται ἐν αὐτοῖς* R. X 5. — Lev. XVIII 5, das hier in der vorlage zitiert wird, heisst bei den LXX *ὁ ποιήσας αὐτὰ (προστάγματα καὶ κρίματα) ἄνθρωπος ζήσεται ἐν αὐτοῖς*; der übersetzer hat dies auf das vorhergehende *δικαιοσύνην* bezogen [5]). — u. ö.

Aus der Skeireins: jabai in leika wisan þuhta Sk. IV 19. —

§ 104. Die bestimmungen mit *in* c. d. können auch die natur eines instr. relationis bekommen. Es findet sich diese konstruktion, unabhängig von der vorlage R. XI 22.: þairhwisis in selein *ἐπιμείνῃς τῇ χρηστότητι*. — þairhwisiþ in bidom *προσμένει ταῖς δεήσεσιν καὶ ταῖς προσευχαῖς* T. V 5. — gatulgjand sik in ungalaubeinai *ἐπιμείνωσιν τῇ ἀπιστίᾳ* R. XI 23. — þairhwisiþ in galaubeinai gaþwastidai jah gatulgidai *ἐπιμένετε τῇ πίστει τεθεμελιωμένοι καὶ ἑδραῖοι* C. I 23. — In der vorlage hängt der dativ eigentlich wohl von *ἐπί* oder *πρός* ab: im got. wurde dieser dat. wohl durch eine bestimmung mit *in* wiedergegeben, weil das raumverhältnis

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[1]) § 171. — [2]) § 38. — [3]) Blass, § 41. 1, s. 127. — [4]) Vgl. § 178. — [5]) Str. anm.

noch ziemlich deutlich war. Ganz abweichend von der vorlage findet sich diese konstruktion Neh. V 18: ei ni kauridedjau þo managein in þaim waurstwam *ὅτι ἐβαρύνθη τὸ ἔργον ἐπὶ τὸν λαὸν τοῦτον*. Sehr oft hängt es von dem verbum ab, ob das verhältnis modal oder relativ ist. So sind beleg 1, 2 und 3 mehr modal; 4 und 5 möchte ich relativ fassen. Aus der Skeireins gehört zu dieser gruppe: ni in waihtai waninassu þizai filusnai wairþan gatawida Sk. VII 19, 20. — Die parallelstelle hat: þei waihtai ni fraqistnai J. VI 12 zur übersetzung von *μή τι ἀπόληται*. Hier sind also der instrumentalis relationis und die *in*-bestimmung gleichwertig. Dies ergibt sich auch aus k. VII 9, wo A *waihtai*, B *in waihtai* liest, während sich in der vorlage *ἐν* findet: ei waihtai (in waihtai) ni gasleiþjaindau us unsis *ἵνα ἐν μηδενὶ ζημιωθῆτε ἐξ ἡμῶν*. Weiter findet sich der dativ zur übersetzung von *ἐν* k. VII 11: hlutrans wisan þamma toja *ἁγνοὺς εἶναι ἐν τῷ πράγματι* [1]).

Eine instrumentale bedeutung hat auch wohl: qens meina framaldrozei in dagam seinaim *ἡ γυνή μου προβεβηκυῖα ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις αὐτῆς* L. I 18. — Wird doch L. II 36 *αὕτη προβεβηκυῖα ἐν ἡμέραις πολλαῖς* übersetzt: soh framaldra dage managaize, welcher genitiv die bedeutung eines instr. rel. hat. [2])

Anm. 1. Einmal wird *ἐν*, wo es als dat. rel. aufgefasst werden kann, mit einem acc. übersetzt: *ἐν ἔργῳ τοῦ τείχους τούτου κατίσχυσα* waurstw þizos baurgswaddjaus inswinþida Neh. V 16. — *ἐν* ist hier ein hebräismus und schwer verständlich: man kann die beiden konstruktionen nicht für gleichwertig halten; der übersetzer hat die bestimmung in ein objekt umgewandelt. [3])

Anm. 2. Zweimal wird *ἐν* in dieser bedeutung mit *bi* c.d. übersetzt: ei gabairhtjau bi þus maht meina *ὅπως ἐνδείξωμαι ἐν σοὶ τὴν δύναμίν μου* R. IX 17. — goþ waurstw waurhta bi mis *καλὸν ἔργον εἰργάσατο ἐν ἐμοί* Mc. XIV 6. — [4])

in c.d. = *εἰς*: in allamma ufhausjandans *εἰς πάντα ὑπήκοοί ἐστε* k. II 9. — v.a. R. XIII 4. — In diesen fällen ist das richtungs- oder zweckverhältnis in ein bezugsverhältnis umgewandelt.

= *ἐπί* c.d.: in anakunnainai þizos fairnjons triggwos wisiþ unandhuliþ *ἐπὶ τῇ ἀναγνώσει τῆς παλαιᾶς διαθήκης μένει μὴ ἀνακαλυπτόμενον* k. III 14 [5]).

= *ἐν*: ni in waihtai afagidai fram þaim andastaþjam *μὴ πτυρόμενοι ἐν μηδενὶ ὑπὸ τῶν ἀντικειμένων* Ph. I 28. — v.a. k. IX 4. — K. IV 10. — u.ö. —

Ohne entsprechung: alla in allaim waurkjandins *τὰ πάντα ἐνεργοῦντος* E. I 11. —

Aus der Sk.: in galaubeinai þeihan Sk. II 17. — v.a. Sk. VIII 17. —

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1) C.S. § 93a s. 114. — 2) C.S. § 134B s. 169. — 3) Vgl. wegen *ana* neben *in* zur übersetzung von *ἐν* § 94. — 4) § 153. — 5) Vgl. § 94, anm. 2 u. wegen *bi* c.a. = *ἐπί* c.d. § 151.

§ **105.** *In* mit dat. hat im gotischen auch die bedeutung eines instr. des mittels. Gewöhnlich übersetzt es *ἐν*; dass dieses *ἐν* instr. bedeutung hat, ergibt sich daraus, dass es im got. einige male durch einen instr. dat. übersetzt wird: skildu galaubeinais þammei maguþ allos arƕaznos þis unseljins funiskos afƕapjan *τὸν θυρεὸν τῆς πίστεως, ἐν ᾧ δυνήσεσθε πάντα τὰ βέλη τοῦ πονηροῦ τὰ πεπυρωμένα σβέσαι* E. VI 16. — v.a. R. XII 21. — k. XI 3. — E. II 15. — E. IV 14. —

Auch tritt der instr. selber zweimal an die stelle von *ἐν*: ƕe gasupoda *ἐν τίνι ἀρτυθήσεται* L. XIV 34. — v.a. Mc. IX 50. —

Wenn nun daneben *in* c.d. in derselben bedeutung vorkommt, so muss man annehmen, dass auch *in* in instrumentaler bedeutung gefühlt wurde. Dass diese stellen, die ziemlich häufig sind, alle unter dem einfluss der vorlage stünden, ist nicht anzunehmen. Einmal findet sich auch *in* c.d. als übersetzung eines inneren objektes in B, wo A einen blossen dativ hat. Auch kommen blosser dativ und *in*-bestimmung als übersetzung von *ἐν* in B und A, also gerade umgekehrt, vor. Auch dies weist darauf hin, dass die beiden konstruktionen als gleichwertig gefühlt wurden: in þizos managons frijaþwos þizaiei, A (in þizaiei B) frijoda uns *διὰ τὴν πολλὴν ἀγάπην αὐτοῦ ἣν ἠγάπησεν ἡμᾶς* E. II 4. — þana weihan ahman gudis in þammei, A (þammei B) gasiglidai sijuþ *τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον τοῦ θεοῦ, ἐν ᾧ ἐσφραγίσθητε* E. IV 30. — Zuweilen kann man zweifelhaft sein, ob ein örtliches verhältnis vorliegt oder ob das mittel bezeichnet werden soll; so z.b. bei *daupjan*. Weil im gr. neben *ἐν ὕδατι βαπτίζεσθαι* auch *ὕδατι βαπτίζεσθαι* vorkommt, u.a. L. III 16 und Mc. I 8 [1]), und auf der ersten stelle Wulfilas vorlage den dativ liest, und der übersetzer denn auch schreibt: izwis watin daupja *ὕδατι βαπτίζω ὑμᾶς*, während auf der zweiten stelle in der vorlage steht: *ἐβάπτισα ὑμᾶς ἐν ὕδατι* und dementsprechend übersetzt wird: daupja izwis in watin, so liegt es nahe, auch hier instr. bedeutung anzunehmen. Wenn wir nun aber Mc. I 9 lesen: Iesus... daupiþs was fram Iohanne in Iaurdane, zur übersetzung von: *Ἰησοῦς... ἐβαπτίσθη ὑπὸ Ἰωάννου εἰς τὸν Ἰορδάνην*, so muss das doch wohl örtlich gefasst werden.

Fälle, wo man zweifelhaft sein kann über die bedeutung = *ἐν*: daupjan: s. oben, weiter noch: daupeiþ izwis in ahmin weihamma *βαπτίσει ὑμᾶς ἐν πνεύματι ἁγίῳ* Mc. I 8. — v. a. L. III 16. — G. VI 1. — R. VII 23. — M. VIII 32. —

Ein deutliches mittel bezeichnen = *ἐν*: andhaitis in munþa þeinamma fraujin Jesu *ὁμολογήσῃς ἐν τῷ στόματί σου κύριον Ἰησοῦν* R. X 9. — in þizaiei mitaþ mitiþ *ἐν ᾧ μέτρῳ μετρεῖτε* Mc. IV 24. — v.a. R. VII 6. — u. ö. —

Viermal wird ein blosser casus mit *in* c. a. übersetzt: þata balsan frabugjan in managizo þau þrija hunda skatte *τοῦτο τὸ μύρον πραθῆναι ἐπάνω τριακοσίων δηναρίων* Mc. XIV 5. — þata balsan ni frabauht was in ·t· skatte *τοῦτο τὸ μύρον οὐκ ἐπράθη τριακοσίων δηναρίων* J. XII 5. —

[1]) S. Bauer, *s. v. βαπτίζω*.

In beiden fällen kann die bestimmung als ein instr. des mittels aufgefasst werden. Ein derartiger genitiv wird denn auch gewöhnlich mit einem instr. dat. übersetzt [1]).

In obigen fällen haben wir aber nicht mit „kaufen", sondern mit „verkaufen" zu tun, sodass *in* c. a. hier offenbar ein richtungsverhältnis und zwar einen zweck bezeichnet. Ein richtungsverhältnis findet sich auch L. VIII 43, wo die vorlage einen instr. dat. hat: soei in lekjans fraqam allamma aigina seinamma *ἥτις ἰατροῖς προσαναλώσασα ὅλον τὸν βίον αὐτῆς*. Auch in dem vierten beleg K. XV 2 hat die vorlage einen dativ: in ƕo sauþo wailamerida izwis *τίνι λόγῳ εὐηγγελισάμην ὑμῖν*. Streitberg interpretiert es mit: „in welcher weise". Nach Holtzmann bedeutet *τίνι λόγῳ* hier: „mit welcher rede", es kann aber auch heissen: „zu welchem zweck", welche bedeutung mit rücksicht auf *in* c. a. wahrscheinlicher wäre. Das Wort *sauþa* bleibt aber nach wie vor rätselhaft. Frantzen [2]) will lesen: *lauþo* für *laudo* zu *laudjai* G. IV 19 glosse, und übersetzt: „in welcher gestalt, wiegestalt".

Als instrumental müssen auch wohl die *in*-bestimmungen gefasst werden, welche die kleidung u. ä. bezeichnen. M. XI 8 steht ein blosser dat., der *ἐν* übersetzt; in der parallelstelle L. VII 25 wird *ἐν* mit *in* übersetzt: mannan hnasqjaim wastjom gawasidana; dagegen: mannan in hnasqjaim wastjom gawasidana, beide male zur übersetzung von *ἄνθρωπον ἐν μαλακοῖς ἱματίοις ἠμφιεσμένον*. — v. a. L. XX 46 u. ö.

§ **106.** Instrumental können auch die bestimmungen gefasst werden, welche einen grund bezeichnen, obgleich sie mehr eine ablative bedeutung haben. Diese beiden bedeutungen lassen sich aber nicht trennen [3]).

Sehr deutlich ist die ablativische bedeutung bei dem verbum *faginon*: jah in þamma fagino *καὶ ἐν τούτῳ χαίρω* Ph. I 18. —, weil daneben L. X 20, bei *faginon* auch zur übersetzung von *ἐν* ein dat. vorkommt; während in demselben vers *in þammei* bei *faginon* *ὅτι* übersetzt: sweþauh þamma ni faginoþ, ei þai ahmans izwis ufhausjand; iþ faginod in þammei namna izwara gamelida sind in himinam *πλὴν ἐν τούτῳ μὴ χαίρετε ὅτι τὰ πνεύματα ὑμῖν ὑποτάσσεται, χαίρετε δὲ ὅτι τὰ ὀνόματα ὑμῶν ἐγράφη ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς* L. X 20. — Auch bei *galaubjan*, das sicher einmal mit *in* c. d. zur übersetzung von *εἰς* und einmal mit unsicherem casus zur übersetzung von *ἐν* vorkommt: weis in Xristau Iesua galaubidedum *ἡμεῖς εἰς Χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν ἐπιστεύσαμεν* G. II 16. — galaubeiþ in aiwaggeljon *πιστεύετε ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ* Mc. I 15. — könnte man an ablative bedeutung denken, weil auch hier *ἐν* einmal mit einem dat. übersetzt wird: þammei galaubjandans *ἐν ᾧ... πιστεύσαντες* E. I 13. — Bei diesem verbum spielt aber der richtungsbegriff eine grosse rolle, wie das gr. *εἰς*, got. *du* oder dat. beweist, weshalb es am besten unter *du* besprochen wird. Unabhängig von der vorlage findet sich weiter eine bestimmung mit *in*: mis ni sijai

[1]) *C. S.* § 89, s. 112, § 98, s. 119. — [2]) Neophil. VI, 44 ff. — [3]) *C. S.*, § 68, 69, s. 96 f.

ƕopan ni in waihtai niba in galgins fraujins unsaris Iesuis Xristaus *ἐμοὶ δὲ μὴ γένοιτο καυχᾶσθαι εἰ μὴ ἐν τῷ σταυρῷ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ* G. VI 14. — umgekehrt: saei andhaitiþ mis in andwairþja manne *ὅστις ὁμολογήσει ἐν ἐμοὶ ἔμπροσθεν τῶν ἀνθρώπων* M. X 32. — Th. V 27 wird eine acc.-bestimmung mit einer *in*-bestimmung übersetzt: biswara izwis in fraujin *ὁρκίζω ὑμᾶς τὸν κύριον*. Deissmann [1]) hat für das gr. bewiesen, dass Paulus die formel *ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ* lokal fasst. Dass der gotische übersetzer in diesen und ähnlichen formeln eine grundbezeichnung sieht, ergibt sich aus obiger übersetzung.

Zweimal findet sich die formel *in þammei*, wo sie deutlich einen grund bezeichnet, unabhängig von der vorlage; einmal hat das gr. einen dat.: ni habaida galveilain ahmin meinamma in þammei ni bigat Teitaun, broþar meinana *οὐκ ἔσχηκα ἄνεσιν τῷ πνεύματί μου τῷ μὴ εὑρεῖν με Τίτον τὸν ἀδελφόν μου* k. II 13. — Einmal hat die vorlage *ἐπί*: ei gafahau in þammei gafahans warþ fram Xristau *εἰ καὶ καταλάβω, ἐφ' ᾧ καὶ κατελήφθην ὑπὸ Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ* Ph. III 12. — Auch sonst wird *ἐπί* ein paar mal mit *in* c. d. übersetzt: managai in gabaurþai is faginond *πολλοὶ ἐπὶ τῇ γενέσει αὐτοῦ χαρήσονται* L. I 14. — v. a. th. III 4. — Hiermit ist m. e. die ablative bedeutung von *in* c. d. erwiesen.

Mit *in* c. d. konkurrieren *ana* und *bi* c. acc. [2]). Der wechsel von *ana* und *in* liesse sich vielleicht vergleichen mit dem wechsel von „op" und „in" bei dem niederländischen „roemen"; „*ƕopan in*" wird aber wohl unter dem einfluss der bibelsprache stehen. Das wird mit „roemen in" im nl. auch wohl der fall sein [3]).

Grundbestimmungen bei verben, die einen affekt oder eine affektäusserung bezeichnen, = *ἐν*: faginon s. oben. — faurhtidedun ... in þammei jainai qemun *ἐφοβήθησαν ... ἐν τῷ ἐκείνους εἰσελθεῖν* L. IX 34. — goleiþ izwis in fraujin *ἀσπάζεται ὑμᾶς ἐν κυρίῳ* K. XVI 19. — u. ö.

Auch bei andern verben: in þaimei guþ þis aiwis gablindida fraþja þize ungalaubjandane *ἐν οἷς ὁ θεὸς τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου ἐτύφλωσεν τὰ νοήματα τῶν ἀπίστων* k. IV 4. — v. a. R. XIII 9. — k. VIII 22. — u. ö. —

Als grundbestimmung muss auch wohl aufgefasst werden *in namin*. *in* c. d. übersetzt in dieser verbindung *ἐν, εἰς, ἐπί* c. d. und einen blossen dativ. Die verbindung mit *ana*, die zweimal vorkommt, ist wahrscheinlich ein gräzismus [4]).

in = *ἐπί* c. d.: saei taujiþ maht in namin meinamma *ὃς ποιήσει δύναμιν ἐπὶ τῷ ὀνόματί μου* Mc. IX 39. —

= *εἰς*: in meinamma namin daupidedjau *εἰς τὸ ἐμὸν ὄνομα ἐβάπτισα* K. I 15. — vgl. v. 13. — u. ö.

= *ἐν*: in namin meinamma bidjiþ *ἐν τῷ ὀνόματί μου αἰτήσεσθε* J. XVI 26. — u. ö.

= dativ: sumana in þeinamma namin usdreibandan unhulþons *τινα τῷ ὀνόματί σου ἐκβάλλοντα δαιμόνια* Mc. IX 38. —

[1]) S. fussnote 1, s. 61. — [2]) §§ 93, 149. — [3]) S. *Woordenb.*, s. v. roemen, XIII, sp. 714. — [4]) § 92 u. anm.

§ 107. In einigen der in § 106 erwähnten fälle bezeichnet *in* c. d. nicht so sehr den grund als die person oder sache, mit rücksicht auf welche die handlung geschieht. Dies ist besonders dort der fall, wo *in* c. d. *εἰς* übersetzt; nun wurde aber schon früher darauf hingewiesen, dass im neutestamentlichen gr. sehr oft *εἰς* auftritt, wo im klassischen gr. *ἐν* gebraucht wird. So findet sich z. b.: *ὑπάγειν εἰς εἰρήνην* Mc. V 34, *πορεύεσθαι εἰς εἰρήνην* L. VII 50, VIII 48, wo man *ἐν εἰρήνῃ* erwarten sollte, was sich Jak. II 16 und Apg. XVI 36 denn auch tatsächlich findet. Es hiesse aber meiner Ansicht nach, den ausdruck pressen, wenn man einen bedeutungsunterschied herausdestillieren wollte [1]). Nun wird an den ersten drei stellen (die übersetzung der beiden andern ist nicht erhalten) der gr. ausdruck einmal mit *gagg in gawairþja* (L. VIII 48) und die beiden andern male mit *gagg in gawairþi* übersetzt. Hieraus geht hervor, wie auch aus andern beispielen sich ergibt, dass auch im got. der unterschied zwischen *in* c. d. und *in* c. a. nicht besonders scharf ist. *in* c. a. kann auch die person bezeichnen, in hinsicht auf welche die handlung stattfindet und im allgemeinen tritt bei *in* c. a. das richtungsverhältnis mehr hervor: weil aber die grenzen nicht sehr scharf sind, wird *in* c. a., wo es die hinsicht bezeichnet, schon hier angereiht.

in c. d. = *εἰς*: so ƕoftuli ni faurdammjada in mis *ἡ καύχησις αὕτη οὐ φραγήσεται εἰς ἐμέ* k. XI 10. — v. a. K. IV 6. — R. XI 36. — L. XVI 8. —

Anm. In dem folgenden beleg hat die vorlage *εἰς*, B *in* c. d. und A *in* c. a.: fauragarairoþ uns du suniwe gadedai þairh Iesu Xristu in imma (in ina) *προορίσας ἡμᾶς εἰς υἱοθεσίαν διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ εἰς αὐτόν* E. I.5. —

in c. a. = *εἰς*: inswinþjan (gaswinþnan) þairh ahman seinana in innuman mannan *κραταιωθῆναι διὰ τοῦ πνεύματος αὐτοῦ εἰς τὸν ἔσω ἄνθρωπον* E. III 16. — v. a. R. XIII 14. —

Einmal dient *in* c. a. zur übersetzung von *ἕνεκεν*: in þuk gadauþjanda all dagis *ἕνεκεν σοῦ θανατούμεθα ὅλην τὴν ἡμέραν* R. VIII 36. —

§ 108. An diese bedeutung von *in* c. a. schliessen sich die fälle an, wo es eine freundliche oder feindliche gesinnung bezeichnet; so beispielsweise: friaþwa in allans þans weihans *τὴν ἀγάπην τὴν εἰς πάντας τοὺς ἁγίους* E. I 15. — v. a. Th. III 12. — k. II 8 findet sich aber der dat.: bidja izwis tulgjan in imma friaþwa *παρακαλῶ ὑμᾶς κυρῶσαι εἰς αὐτὸν ἀγάπην*. Nach Holtzmann bedeutet die stelle in der vorlage „deshalb ermahne ich euch, liebe gegen ihn zu beschliessen." Bauer übersetzt: „sich für liebe jemandem gegenüber entscheiden", an welche übersetzung sich auch das got. näher anschliesst. Wenn wir nicht annehmen wollen, dass der got. dat. accusativbedeutung hat, was, wie wir oben gesehen haben, nicht unmöglich ist, so müssen wir übersetzen: „die liebe in ihm zu verstärken." G. u. L. übersetzen denn auch: precor vos firmare in eo amorem, was sich aber mit dem gr. text nicht deckt.

[1]) Blass—Debrunner [5], 1921, § 206, s. 122 fasst *εἰς* instrumental, während bei *ἐν* wohl der freiere sociativus vorgeschwebt habe.

Weiter gehören zu dieser gruppe: taujiþ þata in allans broþruns *ποιεῖτε αὐτὸ εἰς πάντας τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς* Th. IV 10. — v. a. L. XV 18. — R. X 12. — k. VIII 4. — R. XII 10. —

§ **109.** Mehrere andere präpositionen konkurrieren mit *in* c. a.: *du*: in allamma gabairhtidai in allaim du izwis *ἐν παντὶ φανερωθέντες ἐν πᾶσιν εἰς ὑμᾶς* k. XI 6. — v. a. k. II 4. — brusts is ufarassau du izwis sind *τὰ σπλάγχνα αὐτοῦ περισσοτέρως εἰς ὑμᾶς ἐστιν* k. VII 15. — R. VIII 7. — k. IX 13. —

Einmal finden sich *in* und *du* neben einander: saei waurstweig gatawida Paitrau du apaustaulein bimaitis, waurstweig gatawida jah mis in þiudos *ὁ . . . ἐνεργήσας Πέτρῳ εἰς ἀποστολὴν τῆς περιτομῆς ἐνήργησεν καὶ ἐμοὶ εἰς τὰ ἔθνη* G. II 8. —

Bei *frawaurkjan* finden sich ausser *in du* und *wiþra*: frawaurhta in himin *ἥμαρτον εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν* L. XV 21 — frawaurkjai du þus *ἁμάρτῃ εἰς σέ* L. XVII 4. — *du* und *wiþra* kommen abwechslungshalber neben einander vor: frawaurkjandans wiþra broþruns . . . du Xristau frawaurkeiþ *ἁμαρτάνοντες εἰς τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς . . . εἰς Χριστὸν ἁμαρτάνετε* K. VIII 12. — [1])

ana c. a. kommt einmal in verbindung mit *fraqiþan* vor. [2])

Bei *laistjan* wechseln *miþ* und *wiþra*. [3])

Anm. Viermal wird die bestimmung mit *εἰς* durch einen dat. übersetzt: bugjaima allai þizai manaseidai matins *ἀγοράσωμεν εἰς πάντα τὸν λαὸν τοῦτον βρώματα* L. IX 13. — v. a. Mc. VIII 19. — Th. IV 8. — C. III 9. — Einmal findet sich ein acc.: saei wajamereiþ ahman weihana *ὃς δ' ἂν βλασφημήσῃ εἰς τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον* Mc. III 29. —

In § 107 wurde ein fall vorgeführt, wo *ἕνεκεν*, das gewöhnlich mit *in* c. g. übersetzt wird, durch *in* c. a. wiedergegeben wird. Umgekehrt gibt es auch einige fälle, wo *ἐν*, *ἐπί* oder *εἰς* mit *in* c. g. übersetzt werden.

= *ἐν*: mis ni sijai hopan ni in waihtai niba in galgins fraujins unsaris Iesuis Xristaus *ἐμοὶ δὲ μὴ γένοιτο καυχᾶσθαι εἰ μὴ ἐν τῷ σταυρῷ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ* G. VI 14. — ebenso k. VIII 18 A: þizei hazeins in aiwaggeljons *οὗ ὁ ἔπαινος ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ*, wo B liest: in aiwaggeljon. Streitberg nimmt in A einen schreibfehler an, weil dieser gebrauch ohne vorbild sei, was, wie man sieht, nicht ganz richtig ist. Wenn wir nun weiter sehen, dass *ἐπί* c. d., das in verbindung mit *χαίρειν* L. I 14 mit *in* c. d. übersetzt wird, [4]) einmal mit *in* c. g. wiedergegeben wird: fagino in qumis Staifanaus *χαίρω . . . ἐπὶ τῇ παρουσίᾳ Στεφανᾶ* K. XVI 17, so ergibt sich daraus, dass es fälle gibt, wo *in* c. d. und *in* c. g. als gleichwertig betrachtet werden und dann spricht nichts dagegen, auch für k. VIII 18 anzunehmen, dass beide lesarten richtig sind und dass wir nur mit varianten zu tun haben.

Einmal wird *εἰς* mit *in* c. g. übersetzt: qimands in Trauadai in aiwaggeljons Xristaus *ἐλθὼν . . . εἰς τὴν Τρῳάδα εἰς τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τοῦ Χριστοῦ* k.

[1]) § 62. — [2]) § 91. — [3]) §§ 170 u. 62 anm. — [4]) § 93 anm. 1.

II 12 A, wo B liest: in aiwaggeljon. FG lesen hier *διὰ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον* und defg vg propter evangelium. Streitberg nimmt nun an, dass A nach der it. geändert wurde. Nötig ist diese annahme, wie man sieht, nicht. Die ausdrücke können gleichwertig gewesen sein und ein abschreiber kann unabhängig von einer lat. hs. den dat. (acc.) in einen gen. oder umgekehrt geändert haben.

§ **110.** *in* vor zeitbestimmungen regiert den dat. und den acc. Mit dem dat. bezeichnet es den zeitpunkt, an welchem etwas stattfindet, mit dem acc. den zeitpunkt, bis an den sich der vorgang erstreckt. Hier sind aber die grenzen auch wieder fliessend. So findet sich nebeneinander, wo die vorlage *ἐν* hat: warþ in jainaim dagam qam Iesus fram Nazaraiþ Galeilaias *ἐγένετο ἐν ἐκείναις ταῖς ἡμέραις ἦλθεν Ἰησοῦς ἀπὸ Ναζαρὲθ τῆς Γαλιλαίας* Mc. I 9. — und: warþ þan in dagans jainans, urrann gagrefts fram kaisara Agustau *ἐγένετο δὲ ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις ἐκείναις ἐξῆλθεν δόγμα παρὰ Καίσαρος Αὐγούστου* L. II 1. — v. a. R. XIII 13 und J. XI 9. — Man könnte meinen, dass Mc. XIII 24: in jainans dagans afar þo aglon jaina sauil riqizeiþ *ἐν ἐκείναις ταῖς ἡμέραις μετὰ τὴν θλίψιν ἐκείνην ὁ ἥλιος σκοτισθήσεται ἐν* mit *in* c. a. übersetzt wird, weil der bezeichnete zeitpunkt in der zukunft liegt; L. I 20 wird aber in demselben fall *εἰς* mit *in* c. d. wiedergegeben: waurdam meinaim, þoei usfulljanda in mela seinamma *τοῖς λόγοις μου οἵτινες πληρωθήσονται εἰς τὸν καιρὸν αὐτῶν*. Ebensowenig ist der unterschied deutlich zwischen: mahteigs ist þata anafilh mein fastan in jainana dag *δυνατός ἐστιν τὴν παραθήκην μου φυλάξαι εἰς ἐκείνην τὴν ἡμέραν* t. I 12. — v. a. J. XII 7. — und: þammei gasiglidai sijuþ in daga uslauseinais *ἐν ᾧ ἐσφραγίσθητε εἰς ἡμέραν ἀπολυτρώσεως* E. IV 30. — oder zwischen: unte þeina ist þiudangardi jah mahts jah wulþus in aiwins *ὅτι σοῦ ἐστιν ἡ βασιλεία καὶ ἡ δύναμις καὶ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας* M. VI 13 und: saei ist ufar allaim guþ þiuþiþs in aiwam *ὁ ὢν ἐπὶ πάντων θεὸς εὐλογητὸς εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας* R. IX. 5, wo die vorlage *εἰς* hat.

in c. d. = *ἐν* in verbindung mit zeit-substantiven: saei ni andnimai managfalþ in þamma mela jah in aiwa þamma qimandin libain aiweinon *ὃς οὐ μὴ ἀπολάβῃ πολλαπλασίονα ἐν τῷ καιρῷ τούτῳ καὶ ἐν τῷ αἰῶνι τῷ ἐρχομένῳ ζωὴν αἰώνιον* L. XVIII 30. — allai inmaidjanda ... in brahva augins *πάντες ... ἀλλαγησόμεθα ... ἐν ῥιπῇ ὀφθαλμοῦ* K. XV 51, 52. — u. ö.

Anm. 1. Mit *in* konkurrieren *bi*, der nackte dativ und auch wohl der nackte acc.: bi þrins dagans gatimrjands þo (alh) *τὸν ναὸν ... ἐν τρισὶν ἡμέραις οἰκοδομῶν* Mc. XV 29. — Hier bedeutet *bi* „innerhalb" [1]).

Einmal findet sich der dat.: warþ þairhgaggan imma sabbato daga þairh atisk *ἐγένετο παραπορεύεσθαι αὐτὸν ἐν τοῖς σάββασιν διὰ τῶν σπορίμων* Mc. II 23 [2]). —

Einmal wohl ein acc.: ustauhana warþ so baurgswaddjus ... ·n· dage

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[1]) Vgl. wegen *und* c. d. = *ἐν* § 82. — [2]) C. S. § 67, s. 95, wo in übereinstimmung mit Bernhardt für die vorlage ein dat. angenommen wird.

jah ·b· συνετελέσθη τὸ τεῖχος ... ἐν πεντήκοντα καὶ δύο ἡμέραις Neh. VI 15. — Der acc. bezeichnet die zeitdauer. [1]

in c. a. zur übersetzung von εἰς in der verbindung εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας (τὸν αἰῶνα): libaiþ in ajukduþ ζήσεται (ζήσει) εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα J. VI 51, 58. — v. a. L. I 33. — M. VI 13. — T. I 17. —

Anm. 2. Mit *in* c. a. konkurrieren auch *in* c. d. [2], *du*, *und* c. a. [3] und der blosse dat. und. acc.: skalks ni wisiþ in garda du aiwa ὁ δοῦλος οὐ μένει ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα J. VIII 35. — v. a. J. XII 34. — J. XIV 16. — k. IX 9. — R. XI 36. — G. I 5. — k. XI 31. — dauþu ni gasaiƕiþ aiwa dage θάνατον οὐ μὴ θεωρήσῃ εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα J. VIII 51. — v. a. J. VIII 52. — ni gadauþniþ aiw οὐ μὴ ἀποθάνῃ εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα J. XI 26. — v. a. Mc. III 29. — K. VIII 13. —

in c. a. in anderen zeitbestimmungen = εἰς: immuh wulþus ... in allos aldins aiwe αὐτῷ ἡ δόξα ... εἰς πάσας τὰς γενεὰς τοῦ αἰῶνος τῶν αἰώνων E. III 21. — v. a. T. I 17. — weiter die bestimmung *in* c. a. in verbindung mit *dag.* [4]

in c. a. kommt in der verbindung *in maurgin* dreimal vor, einmal zur übersetzung von ἐπί c. a.: in maurgin garuni taujandans ἐπὶ τὸ πρωὶ συμβούλιον ποιήσαντες Mc. XV 1. —; einmal zur übersetzung eines dativs: usstandands ... in maurgin frumin sabbato ἀναστὰς ... πρωὶ πρώτῃ σαββάτου Mc. XVI 9; einmal übersetzt es ein adverb: in maurgin faurgaggandans πρωὶ παραπορευόμενοι Mc. XI 20. — *in naht*, wo der casus unsicher ist, übersetzt einen genitiv: atiddja du imma in naht ὁ ἐλθὼν πρὸς αὐτὸν νυκτός J. VII 50. —

in c. a. und du.

§ 111. Diese beiden praepositionen berühren sich in ihrer bedeutung besonders vor den namen von städten und vor *himins, hlaiw, gards* u. ä. So wird εἰς bald mit *in*, bald mit *du* übersetzt. In den meisten fällen ist es deutlich, weshalb entweder die eine oder die andere präposition gewählt wird. *du* bezeichnet die richtung und *in* „in etwas hinein." Ebenso wie man aber sagen kann: „ich fahre in die stadt" und „ich fahre nach der (zur) stadt", ohne dass dies immer einen erheblichen unterschied macht, so ist auch im got. der unterschied nicht immer deutlich.

§ 112. Nur mit *in* findet sich: *faran* (ni faraiþ us garda in gard μὴ μεταβαίνετε ἐξ οἰκίας εἰς οἰκίαν L. X 7. —) *atfarjan* (atfaridedun in gawi Gaddarene κατέπλευσαν εἰς τὴν χώραν τῶν Γαδαρηνῶν L. VIII 26. —) *innatgaggan* (innatgaggandans in þo weihon baurg εἰσῆλθον εἰς τὴν ἁγίαν πόλιν M. XXVII 53. — u. ö.) *usgaggan* (usiddja ... in wehsa ἐξῆλθεν ... εἰς τὰς κώμας Mc. VIII 27 — u. ö.) *faurbigaggan* (faurbigaggiþ izwis in

[1] C. S. § 37 s. 61. — [2] S. o. — [3] § 81. — [4] S. o. —. Wegen εἰς = *und* in der verbindung *und andi* s. § 81.

Galeilaian προάγει ὑμᾶς εἰς τὴν Γαλιλαίαν Mc. XVI 7. —) *inngaleiþan* (inngalaiþ in gard gudis εἰσῆλθεν εἰς τὸν οἶκον τοῦ θεοῦ L. VI 4. —) *miþinngaleiþan* (miþinngalaiþ ... in rohsn συνεισῆλθεν ... εἰς τὴν αὐλὴν J. XVIII 15. —) *andniman* (andnimaina izwis in aiweinos hleiþros δέξωνται ὑμᾶς εἰς τὰς αἰωνίους σκηνάς L. XVI 9, vgl. XVI 4. —) *urrinnan* (urrann ... us Galeilaia ... in baurg Daweidis ἀνέβη ... ἀπὸ τῆς Γαλιλαίας ... εἰς πόλιν Δαυείδ L. II 4 —) *sliupan* (þaiei sliupand in gardins ἐνδύνοντες εἰς τὰς οἰκίας t. III 6. —) *ussteigan* (ussteigiþ in himin ἀναβήσεται εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν R. X 6, vgl. J. VII 14. — usstigun in skip ἀναβάντες εἰς τὸ πλοῖον J. VI 17 u.ö. —) *þliuhan* (þliuhaiþ in anþara (baurg) φεύγετε εἰς τὴν ἄλλην (πόλιν) M. X 23, vgl. L. VIII 34. —) *(ga)tiuhan* (tauhun ... in praitoriaun ἄγουσιν ... εἰς τὸ πραιτώριον J. XVIII 28, vgl. L. IV 9. —)

§ 113. Nur mit *du* findet sich *fraletan* (fraleta ... du garda ize ἀπολύσω ... εἰς οἶκον αὐτῶν Mc. VIII 3. —)

§ 114. Mit *in* und *du*: *gaggan in*: (= εἰσέρχεσθαι gagg in heþjon þeina εἴσελθε εἰς τὸ ταμεῖόν σου M. VI 6 u.ö. — ; = εἰσπορεύεσθαι iddja in haimos εἰσεπορεύετο εἰς κώμας Mc. VI 56. — ; = πορεύεσθαι iddja in bairgahein ... in baurg Iudins ἐπορεύθη εἰς τὴν ὀρεινὴν ... εἰς πόλιν Ἰούδα L. I 39. — andwairþi seinata gatulgida du gaggan in Iairusalem αὐτὸς τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ ἐστήριξεν τοῦ πορεύεσθαι εἰς Ἰερουσαλήμ L. IX 51. — u.ö.; = ὑπάγειν gagg in Iudaian ὕπαγε εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν J. VII 3. — nim þana ligr þeinana jah gagg in gard þeinana ἆρόν σου τὴν κλίνην καὶ ὕπαγε εἰς τὸν οἶκόν σου M. IX 6. — u.ö.) *du*: (= ἀναβαίνειν ana wiga gaggandans du Iairusaulwmai ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ ἀναβαίνοντες εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα Mc. X 32. — ; = ἄγειν gaggam du þaim bisunjane haimom jah baurgim ἄγωμεν εἰς τὰς ἐχομένας κωμοπόλεις Mc. I 38. — ; = ὑπάγειν urreis nimuh þata badi þein jah gagg du garda þeinamma ἔγειρε καὶ ἆρον τὸν κράβαττόν σου καὶ ὕπαγε εἰς τὸν οἶκόν σου Mc. II 11; = πορεύεσθαι andwairþi is was gaggando du Iairusalem τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ ἦν πορευόμενον εἰς Ἰερουσαλήμ L. IX 53. u. ö.) *atgaggan in* (= εἰσέρχεσθαι atgaggands ... in alh εἰσελθὼν εἰς τὸ ἱερόν Mc. XI 15 u.ö., = συνέρχεσθαι Mc. III 20 —) *du* (= καταβαίνειν atiddja sa garaihtoza gataihans du garda seinamma κατέβη οὗτος δεδικαιωμένος εἰς τὸν οἶκον αὐτοῦ L. XVIII 14. — ; einmal dient es zur übersetzung von ἔρχεσθαι ἐπί c.a.: atiddjedun du þamma hlaiwa ἔρχονται ἐπὶ τὸ μνημεῖον Mc. XVI 2. —) *galeiþan in* (= εἰσέρχεσθαι galaiþ in gard εἰσῆλθεν εἰς οἶκον Mc. VII 17 u.ö.; = εἰσπορεύεσθαι galiþun in Kafarnaum εἰσπορεύονται εἰς Καπερναούμ Mc. I 21. — ; = ἐξέρχεσθαι galaiþ in Makaidonja ἐξῆλθον εἰς Μακεδονίαν k. II 13. — ; καταβαίνειν galaiþ ... in Iaireikon κατέβαινεν ... εἰς Ἱερειχώ L. X 30. — ; = ἔρχεσθαι galaiþ in gard ἔρχεται εἰς τὸν οἶκον Mc. V 38. — ; ἀπέρχεσθαι galaiþ in gard seinana ἀπῆλθεν εἰς τὸν οἶκον αὐτοῦ M. IX 7 u.ö. —) *du* (= ἀπέρχεσθαι galaiþ du garda seinamma ἀπῆλθεν εἰς τὸν οἶκον αὐτοῦ L. I 23, vgl. Mc. VII 30. — ; = πορεύεσθαι galaiþ du þaissalauneikai ἐπορεύθη εἰς Θεσσαλονίκην t. IV 10. —) *gawand-*

jan sik *in* (= *ὑποστρέφειν* gawandidedun sik . . . in baurg seina *ὑπέστρεψαν . . . εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἑαυτῶν* L. II 39, vgl. L. II 45. —) *du*: (= *ὑποστρέφειν* gawandida sik du garda seinamma *ὑπέστρεψεν εἰς τὸν οἶκον αὐτῆς* L. I 56, v.a. L. VII 10 und L. VIII 39. —) *insandjan in*: (= *ἀποστέλλειν* insandiþs was . . . in baurg Galeilaias *ἀπεστάλη . . . εἰς πόλιν τῆς Γαλιλαίας* L. I 26; = *πέμπειν* L. IV 26) *du* (= *ἀποστέλλειν* insandida ina du garda is *ἀπέστειλεν αὐτὸν εἰς οἶκον αὐτοῦ* Mc. VIII 26. —)

§ 115. In den meisten fällen ist es ohne weiteres deutlich, warum entweder *in* oder *du* gewählt wird: so bei den verben *innatgaggan*, *inngaggan*, *inngaleiþan*, *miþinngaleiþan*, *ussteigan*, weiter bei *gaggan*, *atgaggan*, *galeiþan*, wo sie *εἰσέρχεσθαι* oder *εἰσπορεύεσθαι* übersetzen, ebenso bei *andniman* = aufnehmen, *sliupan*, *gatiuhan*, dann bei *faran*, *urrinnan*, weil *in* hier einem *us* gegenübersteht; ebenso bei *galeiþan* k. II 13, wo *in* vor einem ländernamen steht. Dies stimmt zu dem älteren germanischen gebrauch, dass *in* vor länder- und städtenamen auch zur richtungsbezeichnung gebraucht wird. [1])

Auch bei *insandjan* kommt *in* vor bei städte- und ländernamen, während *du* bei *gards* steht. Bei dem verbum, das immer *du* bei sich hat, ist das motiv auch vollkommen deutlich; ebenso L. XVIII 14: atiddja sa garaihtoza du garda seinamma. Ebenso Mc. X 32: wesun . . . ana wiga gaggandans du Iairusaulwmai; auch Mc. XVI 2: atiddjedun du þamma hlaiwa, wo *du* *ἐπί* übersetzt. In einigen fällen, wo *in* gebraucht wird, könnte nach dem modernen sprachgefühl *du* stehen; z.b. bei *usgaggan*, *þliuhan*, *atfarjan*, *gawandjan*, *gaggan* (L. I 39: iddja in bairgahein . . . in baurg Iudins, wo Luther übersetzt: „ging auf das gebirge zu der stadt" und die nl. bibel: „reisde naar het gebergte in een stad"). Ebenso könnte man auch in Mc. I 38: gaggam du þaim . . . haimom jah baurgim *in* erwarten. *du* und *in* wechseln in: urreisands nim þana ligr þeinana jah gagg in gard þeinana M. IX 6 und Mc. II 11: urreis nim . . . þata badi þein jah gagg du garda þeinamma, desgleichen: is andwairþi seinata gatulgida du gaggan in Iairusalem L. IX 51 und zwei verse später: andwairþi is was gaggando du Iairusalem, ohne dass der grund deutlich ist.

§ 116. Mit einer zustands- oder tätigkeitsbestimmung verbunden bezeichnet *in* c.a. meist, ebenso wie *du* immer, ein richtungsverhältnis: in þiwadw bairandei *εἰς δουλείαν γεννῶσα* G. IV 24. — atdriusand in fraistubnja jah hlamma unhulþins *ἐμπίπτουσιν εἰς πειρασμὸν καὶ παγίδα* T. VI 9. — in tweifl atdraus Sk. II 14. — qima in siunins jah andhuleinins fraujins *ἐλεύσομαι . . . εἰς ὀπτασίας καὶ ἀποκαλύψεις κυρίου* k. XII 1. — ei ussatjai waurstwjans in þo asan seina *ὅπως ἐκβάλῃ ἐργάτας εἰς τὸν θερισμὸν αὐτοῦ* L. X 2. —

Es gibt aber auch fälle, wo das richtungsverhältnis sich nicht deutlich

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[1]) Vgl. Behaghel *Deutsche Syntax*, II, Heidelberg, 1924, § 525.

zeigt: garinnaima allai in ainamundiþa galaubeinais jah ufkunþjis sunus gudis, du waira fullamma, in mitaþ wahstaus fullons Xristaus *καταντήσωμεν οἱ πάντες εἰς τὴν ἑνότητα τῆς πίστεως καὶ τῆς ἐπιγνώσεως τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ, εἰς ἄνδρα τέλειον, εἰς μέτρον ἡλικίας τοῦ πληρώματος τοῦ Χριστοῦ* E. IV 13. — Es ist nicht deutlich, weshalb *in* und *du* miteinander abwechseln. Wahrscheinlich ist der wechsel rein stilistisch.

Bei *laþon* wird *εἰς* mit *in* c. d., *in* c. a. und *du* übersetzt: gawairþi... in þammei jah laþodai wesuþ in ainamma leika *ἡ εἰρήνη... εἰς ἣν καὶ ἐκλήθητε ἐν ἑνὶ σώματι* C. III 15. — ni qam laþon garaihtans, ak frawaurhtans in idreiga *οὐκ ἐλήλυθα καλέσαι δικαίους ἀλλὰ ἁμαρτωλοὺς εἰς μετάνοιαν* L. V 32. — libain aiweinon du þizaiei laþoþs is *τῆς αἰωνίου ζωῆς, εἰς ἣν ἐκλήθης* T. VI 12. — u. ö. Merkwürdig ist Th. IV 7, wo *ἐπί* c. d. und *ἐν* bei *laþon* mit *du* bzw. *in* c. a. übersetzt werden: ni laþoda uns guþ du unhrainiþai, ak in weihiþa *οὐ... ἐκάλεσεν ἡμᾶς ὁ θεὸς ἐπὶ ἀκαθαρσίᾳ ἀλλ' ἐν ἁγιασμῷ.* Auch bei *satjan* finden sich *in* und *du* ni satida uns guþ in hatis, ak du gafreideinai ganistais *οὐκ ἔθετο ἡμᾶς θεὸς εἰς ὀργὴν ἀλλὰ εἰς περιποίησιν σωτηρίας* Th. V 9 [1]). — *in* c. a. und *du* zur übersetzung von *εἰς* finden sich auch bei *wahsjan*: wahsjaima in ina þo alla, ize ist haubiþ, Xristus *αὐξήσωμεν εἰς αὐτὸν τὰ πάντα, ὅς ἐστιν ἡ κεφαλή, ὁ Χριστός* E. IV 15. — E. II 21, wo *du* sich findet, ist die bestimmung die vertreterin eines prädikatssubstantivs und gehört also unter § 126: alla gatimrjo... wahseiþ du alh weihai *πᾶσα οἰκοδομὴ... αὔξει εἰς ναὸν ἅγιον* E. II 21. —

du.

§ 117. *du* entspricht, wenn auch nicht etymologisch, dem westgermanischen *tō. In örtlichem sinn bezeichnet es also die richtung und berührt sich mit *in* c.a., nur dass es die richtung nach dem gegenstand bezeichnet.[2])

Ebenso wie das deutsche „zu" wird es in örtlichem sinn sehr oft mit personennamen verbunden; es bekommt dann aber oft eine geistige bedeutung und bezeichnet die person, in deren interesse etwas geschieht und berührt sich so mit dem dat. Deshalb wird das gr. *πρός* bald mit einem dat., bald mit *du* übersetzt.

Inwiefern in diesen fällen noch ein unterschied der bedeutung herausgefühlt werden kann, soll bei den einzelnen beispielen näher untersucht werden. Befremdend ist es, dass *du* nur mit dem dat. und nicht mit dem acc. konstruiert wird. Nach Delbrück kommt der reine dat. bei präpositionen ursprünglich nicht vor. Diese verbindung sei erst im germanischen entstanden.[3]) Weil der dat. an sich schon eine richtung bezeichnete, konnte *du* naturgemäss zu diesem casus in beziehung treten. Zwar kommt im got. *du* auch noch mit einem instr. vor, diese verbindungen sind aber

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[1]) Vgl. wegen *gasatjan*, § 123, anm. 1. — [2]) § 111. — [3]) Synkretismus, s. 149.

fast alle formelhaft, sodass nichts dagegen spricht, mit Delbrück anzunehmen, dass der instr. als erstarrter casus die verbindung mit *du* eingegangen ist. [1])

§ **118.** *du* in örtlichem sinn in verbindung mit intransitiven bewegungsverben.

= πρός c. acc.: letiþ þo barna gaggan du mis ἄφετε τὰ παιδία ἔρχεσθαι πρός με L. XVIII 16. — v. a. J. VI 5. — Mc. VI 30. — Mc. X 1. —; jah galesun sik du imma manageins filu καὶ συνήχθη πρὸς αὐτὸν ὄχλος πολύς Mc IV 1. —

Anm. 1. Abweichend von der vorlage wird πρός übersetzt J. XI 19: managai Iudaie gaqemun bi Marþan jah Marjan πολλοὶ ἐκ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἐληλύθεισαν πρὸς τὰς περὶ Μάρθαν καὶ Μαρίαν. Wie Streitberg bemerkt, hat dem got. text ursprünglich die oben erwähnte fassung von *K zugrunde gelegen, aber die stelle ist nach *I πρὸς τὴν Μάρθαν καὶ τὴν Μαρίαν geändert worden. Die ursprüngliche fassung wäre demnach gewesen: du þaim bi Marþan jah Marjan. [2])

= ἐπί c. acc.: gaqemun sik manageins filu du imma συνήχθη ὄχλος πολὺς ἐπ᾽ αὐτόν Mc. V 21. — v. a. Mc. XIV 48. — L. X 6. — atiddjedun du þamma hlaiwa ἔρχονται ἐπὶ τὸ μνημεῖον Mc. XVI 2. — Aehnlich bei einem substantiv: jah gaqumþais unsaraizos du imma καὶ ἡμῶν ἐπισυναγωγῆς ἐπ᾽ αὐτόν th. II 1. —

= εἰς: bei sachen findet sich *du* in dieser bedeutung einmal zur übersetzung von εἰς: draus imma du fotum ἔπεσεν αὐτοῦ εἰς τοὺς πόδας J. XI 32. Der ausdruck ist synonym mit: draus du imma. εἰς in verbindung mit personen wird so nur einmal mit *du* (k. IX: 5) und einmal mit *und* [3]) übersetzt.

= blosser dativ: meist bei zusammensetzungen mit πρός: draus du imma προσέπεσεν αὐτῷ L. VIII 28. — v. a. L. V 8. — L. VIII 47. — M. XXVII 58. — Mc. XIV 45. — J. XII 21. — Mc. X 35. —

Anm. 2. Einmal findet sich bei driusan *ana*: drusun ana ina ἐπιπίπτειν αὐτῷ Mc. III 10. — [4]) Hier entspricht *ana* dem ἐπί des zusammengesetzten verbums.

Anm. 3. Neben *du* findet sich auch der blosse dativ bei zusammensetzungen mit *du*: duatiddjedun imma þai blindans προσῆλθον αὐτῷ οἱ τυφλοί M. IX 28. — v. a. M. XXVI 69. —, wahrscheinlich um eine wiederholung des *du* zu vermeiden.

= adv.: atgaggandei du aftaro προσελθοῦσα ὄπισθεν L. VIII 44.

§ **119.** *du* in örtlichem sinn in verbindung mit transitiven bewegungsverben.

= πρός c. acc.: sah atwaurpans was du daura is ὃς ἐβέβλητο πρὸς

[1]) §§ 128. 129. — [2]) § 148. — [3]) § 78. — [4]) § 90.

τὸν πυλῶνα αὐτοῦ L. XVI 20. — bairiþ ina du mis *φέρετε αὐτὸν πρός με* Mc. IX 19. — v. a. Mc. I 32. — R. X 21. — Th. III 11. — u. ö.

= *ἐπί* c. acc.: jah atwalwida stain du daura *καὶ προσεκύλισεν λίθον ἐπὶ τὴν θύραν* Mc. XV 46. — duhe ni atlagides þata silubr mein du skattjam *διατί οὐκ ἔδωκάς μου τὸ ἀργύριον ἐπὶ τράπεζαν* L. XIX 23., wo also der gote anstatt der sache die person nennt.[1]) — v. a. M. V 23. —

= blosser dativ: bistuggqun du staina bistuggqis *προσέκοψαν γὰρ τῷ λίθῳ τοῦ προσκόμματος* R. IX 32. — ganagljands ita du galgin *προσηλώσας αὐτὸ τῷ σταυρῷ* C. II 14. — berun du imma blindan *φέρουσιν αὐτῷ τυφλόν* Mc. VIII 22. — atberun du imma barna *προσέφερον αὐτῷ παιδία* Mc. X 13. — v. a. Mc. VII 32. — L. XVIII 15. — M. IX 2. — Weil ein blosser dativ bei *bairan* und *atbairan* nicht vorkommt, muss die konstruktion mit *du* wohl als die regelrechte betrachtet werden.

ἄγειν πρός wird einmal mit *tiuhan du*, einmal mit *gatiuhan du* und einmal mit *attiuhan* c. dat. übersetzt. Daneben kommt *gatiuhan du* zweimal als übersetzung von *ἀπάγειν πρός* vor: ina tiuhan du sis *αὐτὸν ἀχθῆναι πρὸς αὐτόν* L. XVIII 40. — gatiuhand ina du Fareisaium *ἄγουσιν αὐτὸν πρὸς τοὺς Φαρισαίους* J. IX 13. — = *ἀπάγειν* J. XVIII 13. — Mc. XIV 53. — attauhun þana fulan Iesua *ἤγαγον αὐτὸν (τὸν πῶλον) πρὸς τὸν Ἰησοῦν* L. XIX 35. — Hier tritt das dativ-verhältnis sehr deutlich hervor.

Anm. Neben *du* finden sich *and*[2]) und der genitiv: gaggida landis franiman sis þiudangardja *ἐπορεύθη εἰς χώραν μακράν, λαβεῖν ἑαυτῷ βασιλείαν* L. XIX 12. — galeiþands Makedonais *πορευόμενος εἰς Μακεδονίαν* T. I 3. — usleiþam jainis stadis *διέλθωμεν εἰς τὸ πέραν* Mc. IV 35. — insandida ina haiþjos seinaizos haldan sweina *ἔπεμψεν αὐτὸν εἰς τοὺς ἀγροὺς αὐτοῦ βόσκειν χοίρους* L. XV 15.[3]) — Mit Delbrück sind diese genitive für zielgenitive zu halten[4]). Wenn er[5]) L. XIX 12 davon abtrennt und behauptet, dass es ursprünglich zu bedeuten scheint: „ging durch das land hin" und es vergleicht mit: „*ἔρχεσθαι πεδίοιο*", so scheint mir diese annahme daran zu scheitern, dass in allen vorkommenden fällen der genitiv *εἰς* übersetzt, was doch deutlich auf ein richtungsverhältnis hinweist. Auch wenn Winkler[6]) in all diesen fällen etwas partitives findet und übersetzt: „irgendwohin im weiten lande" usw., so ist das immerhin möglich: wenn wir aber die folgenden fälle vergleichen, wo *εἰς* mit *in* c. a. oder *du* übersetzt wird, aflaiþ in land fairra wisando *ἀπεδήμησεν εἰς χώραν μακράν* L. XV 13. — iddja in bairgahein *ἐπορεύθη εἰς τὴν ὀρεινήν* L. I 39. — galeiþan in Makidonja *ἀπελθεῖν εἰς Μακεδονίαν* k. I 16. — insandida ina du garda is *ἀπέστειλεν αὐτὸν εἰς οἶκον αὐτοῦ* Mc. VIII 26. — so scheint es mir unmöglich, einen funktionsunterschied zwischen der präpositionalbestimmung und dem genitiv

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[1]) Dasselbe ist der Fall K. X 25: all þatei at skiljam frabugjaidau *πᾶν τὸ ἐν μακέλλῳ πωλούμενον*. Vgl. § 128 u. Kapteijn, *IF*, XXIX s. 335. — [2]) § 97. — [3]) *C. S.*, § 145 s. 179. — [4]) S. 69, 209. — [5]) S. 219. — [6]) S. 343.

herauszufinden, und so müssen wir schliessen, dass wir mit zwei konkurrierenden konstruktionen zu tun haben. Weshalb kann *gaggida landis* nicht als parallele des von Delbrück [1]) angeführten an. ganga fagra Freyjo túna aufgefasst werden?

§ 120. Weiter verbindet sich *du* mit verben und ausdrücken, die ein „sehen nach" u. ä. bezeichnen.

= *εἰς*: ushafjands augona seina du siponjam seinaim *ἐπάρας τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς αὐτοῦ εἰς τοὺς μαθητὰς αὐτοῦ* L. VI 20. — v. a. J. XVII 1, L. XVIII 13. — insaiƕands (ussaiƕands) du himina *ἀναβλέψας εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν* L. IX 16, Mc. VII 34. — v. a. M. VI 26. — J. XIII 22. — swaei ni mahtededeina sunjus Israelis fairweitjan du wlita Mosezis *ὥστε μὴ δύνασθαι ἀτενίσαι τοὺς υἱοὺς Ἰσραὴλ εἰς τὸ πρόσωπον Μωσέως* k. III 7 u. ö.

Anm. *εἰς* wird bei *fairweitjan* k. III 13 und bei *saiƕan* Mc. XII 14 mit *in* übersetzt: ei ni fairweitidedeina sunjus Israelis in andi þis gataurnandins *πρὸς τὸ μὴ ἀτενίσαι τοὺς υἱοὺς Ἰσραὴλ εἰς τὸ τέλος τοῦ καταργουμένου*. — ni auk saiƕis in andwairþja manne *οὐ γὰρ βλέπεις εἰς πρόσωπον ἀνθρώπων*.

= *ἐπί* c. a.: insaiƕan du sunu meinamma *ἐπιβλέψαι ἐπὶ τὸν υἱόν μου* L. IX 38. — v. a. L. I 48. —

= blosser dat.: atsaiƕ du þus silbin jah du laiseinai *ἔπεχε σεαυτῷ καὶ τῇ διδασκαλίᾳ* T. IV 16. — insaiƕandei du imma *ἐμβλέψασα αὐτῷ* Mc. XIV 67. — insaiƕands du imma *ἐμβλέψας αὐτῷ* Mc. X 21. — insaiƕands du im *ἐμβλέψας αὐτοῖς* Mc. X 27. — L. XX 17. — wesun augona fairweitjandona du imma *ἦσαν οἱ ὀφθαλμοὶ ἀτενίζοντες αὐτῷ* L. IV 20. —

§ 121. *du* bei verben des sprechens u. ä.

= *εἰς*: ƕaiwa nu bidjand du þammei ni galaubidedun *πῶς οὖν ἐπικαλέσονται εἰς ὃν οὐκ ἐπίστευσαν* R. X 14. —

= *πρός* c. a.: bei *qiþan*: qaþ þan du imma sa aggilus *εἶπεν δὲ πρὸς αὐτὸν ὁ ἄγγελος* L. I 13. — (Die konstruktion mit *πρός* kommt im gr. gut 70 mal vor und wird stets mit *qiþan du* übersetzt). — Bei *rodjan*: dugann þan rodjan du im *ἤρξατο δὲ λέγειν πρὸς αὐτούς* L. IV 21. (*πρός* kommt in dieser verbindung 6 mal vor und wird stets mit *du* übersetzt). — Bei anderen verben des sprechens: bidja du guda *εὔχομαι . . . πρὸς τὸν θεόν* k. XIII 7. — du sis misso andrunnun *πρὸς ἀλλήλους . . . διελέχθησαν* Mc.

[1]) S. 35 u. verf. die got. ortsgenitive Neophil. I 263—266: gegen die dort vorgeschlagene konjektur Str. elementarbuch s. 180 fussn. 1. Neckel *IF* anz. 38. 39 s. 57. ff (besprechung von Heuslers altisl. elementarbuch) vergleicht die hier verzeichneten gen. mit einem an. gen. wie *fara leiđar sinnar* „seines weges ziehen" gegenüber *fara leiđ sina* „seinen weg machen", die psychologische begründung des gen. läge hier besonders in dem „nach und nach": die verben müssten also durativ sein. Demgegenüber ist zu bemerken, dass *galeiþan* und *insandjan* perfektive verben sind, dass weiter in dem beispiel: *usleiþam jainis stadis* und ebenso *insandida ina haiþjos seinaizos haldan sweina* das „nach und nach" doch nicht angebracht ist.

IX 34. — v. a. Mc. IX 10. — u. ö. — Zu dieser kategorie können auch gerechnet werden: munþs unsar usluknoda du izwis τὸ στόμα ἡμῶν ἀνέῳγεν πρὸς ὑμᾶς k. VI 11. — anafilhis boko du izwis συστατικῶν ἐπιστολῶν πρὸς ὑμᾶς k. III 1. — aipistaule Pawlaus du þaissalauneikaium . b . πρὸς Θεσσαλονικεῖς β überschrift. — v. a. k. VII 14. — L. I 80. — k. I 18. — R. X 1. — u. ö.

Anm. 1. Daneben findet sich als übersetzung von πρός auch *miþ*, mit ausnahme von einem fall stets in reziproker bedeutung, wo *miþ* als „inter" gedeutet werden kann: bilaikandans ina miþ sis misso miþ þaim bokarjam ἐμπαίζοντες πρὸς ἀλλήλους μετὰ τῶν γραμματέων Mc. XV 31. — v. a. Mc. IX 33. — u. ö. — Nicht reziprok: ƕa sokeiþ miþ þaim τί συζητεῖτε πρὸς αὐτούς Mc. IX 16. —

= blosser dat: bei *qiþan:* qaþ du þamma usliþin λέγει τῷ παραλυτικῷ Mc. II 5. — u. ö.[1]) (im gr. wird λέγειν ungefähr 500 mal mit dem dat. konstruiert; in ungefähr der hälfte der fälle hat man im got. eine konstruktion mit *du*) —bei *rodjan:* rodida du im þata waurd ἐλάλει αὐτοῖς τὸν λόγον Mc. IV 33[2]). (70 mal wird der gr. dat. durch eine *du*-bestimmung wiedergegeben). — Bei anderen verben des sprechens: bidei du attin þeinamma þamma in fulhsnja πρόσευξαι τῷ πατρί σου τῷ ἐν τῷ κρυπτῷ M. VI 6. — v. a. L. XIX 15. — L. XVI 1. —

Anm. 2. Daneben findet sich einmal ein blosser dativ zur übersetzung von πρός: sa Fareisaius standands sis þo bad ὁ Φαρισαῖος σταθεὶς πρὸς ἑαυτὸν ταῦτα προσηύχετο L. XVIII 11. —

= ἐπί c. d.: swegneid ahma meins du guda nasjand meinamma ἠγαλλίασεν τὸ πνεῦμά μου ἐπὶ τῷ θεῷ τῷ σωτῆρί μου L. I 47. —

§ 122. *du* bei andern wörtern, die eine geistige richtung bezeichnen, wo es gewöhnlich eine freundliche oder feindliche gesinnung bezeichnet.

= εἰς, bei *galaubjan:* þize leitilane þize galaubjandane du mis τῶν μικρῶν τῶν πιστευόντων εἰς ἐμέ Mc. IX 42. Dieser fall kommt 17 mal vor. — Bei *frawaurkjan* vgl. § 109. — Bei *waurstweig gataujan* ibd. — brusts is ufarassau du izwis sind, ibd. — fijands du guda ἔχθρα εἰς θεόν R. VIII 7. — gamainduþais du im jah du allaim τῆς κοινωνίας εἰς αὐτοὺς καὶ εἰς πάντας k. IX 13. — bei *wenjan*: J. V: 45. — k. I: 10. —

Hierher gehört auch: swe weis du þiudom, iþ eis du bimaita ἵνα ἡμεῖς εἰς τὰ ἔθνη, αὐτοὶ δὲ εἰς τὴν περιτομήν G. II 9. — Auch: bi andbahti þatei rahtoda du weihaim περὶ . . . τῆς διακονίας τῆς εἰς τοὺς ἁγίους k. IX 1, wo nach Deissmann[3]) εἰς ein dativverhältnis bezeichnet. Die änderung stimmt mit der itala überein: quod fit in sanctos. *rahton* ist ein ἅπαξ λεγόμενον, sodass wir nicht wissen, ob hier der dativ dem got. idiom

[1]) Der gr. dat. wird bei *qiþan* etwa 150 mal mit einem got. dat. wiedergegeben.
[2]) Der gr. dat. bei *rodjan* wird 20 mal durch einen got dat. wiedergegeben.
[3]) Bibelstudien. Marburg 1895. s. 115.

entsprechen würde. Wenn es „darreichen" bedeutet, wäre ein dat. angebracht. Vielleicht ist *rahton* eingefügt, weil *andbahti du* dem got. idiom nicht entspräche. So finden wir auch K. XVI 15 in übereinstimmung allerdings mit der vorlage: du andbahtja þaim weiham gasatidedun sik εἰς διακονίαν τοῖς ἁγίοις ἔταξαν ἑαυτούς. [1]). Einmal findet sich in solch einem fall denn auch der dat. zur übersetzung von εἰς: bi gabaur þata þaim weiham περὶ τῆς λογίας τῆς εἰς τοὺς ἁγίους K. XVI 1. —

Anm. 1. Der dat. bei *galaubjan* übersetzt eine εἰς-bestimmung: amen, amen, qiþa izwis, saei galaubeid mis ἀμὴν ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν, ὁ πιστεύων εἰς ἐμέ J. XIV 12. Dieser fall kommt 9 mal vor. — Einmal dient der dat. zur übersetzung von ἐν: þammei galaubjandans gasiglidai waurþuþ ahmin gahaitis ἐν ᾧ καὶ πιστεύσαντες ἐσφραγίσθητε τῷ πνεύματι τῆς ἐπαγγελίας E. I 13. — Einmal dient der dat. zur übersetzung von ἐπί c. d.: du galaubjan imma du libainai aiweinon πιστεύειν ἐπ' αὐτῷ εἰς ζωὴν αἰώνιον T. I 16. —

= ἐπί c. d.: infeinoda du izai ἐσπλαγχνίσθη ἐπ' αὐτῇ L. VII 13. — bei *wenjan*: R. XV 12. — T. IV 10. —

Bei *wenjan* wird auch einmal ἐπί c. a. mit *du* übersetzt: wenida du guda ἤλπικεν ἐπὶ τὸν θεόν T. V 5. — Bei *trauan* werden ἐπί c. d. u. ἐπί c. a. je einmal mit *du*, bei *gatrauan* ἐπί c. a. zweimal mit *in* c. d. übersetzt: ei nu sijaima trauandans du uns silbam, ak du guda ἵνα μὴ πεποιθότες ὦμεν ἐφ' ἑαυτοῖς, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τῷ θεῷ k. I 9. — trauaida du guda πέποιθεν ἐπὶ τὸν θεόν M. XXVII 43. — Dagegen: gatrauands in allaim izwis þatei meina faheds allaize izwara ist πεποιθὼς ἐπὶ πάντας ὑμᾶς ὅτι ἡ ἐμὴ χαρὰ πάντων ὑμῶν ἐστιν k. II 3. — aþþan gatrauam in fraujin in izwis πεποίθαμεν . . . ἐν κυρίῳ ἐφ' ὑμᾶς th. III 4. — Bei *galaubjan* wird ἐπί c. d. einmal mit *du* übersetzt: sa galaubjands du imma ὁ πιστεύων ἐπ' αὐτῷ R. X 11. —

Anm. 2. Einmal findet sich bei *trauan* ein dat. als übersetzung von ἐπί c. d.: þaiei silbans trauaidedun sis ei weseina garaihtai τοὺς πεποιθότας ἐφ' ἑαυτοῖς ὅτι εἰσὶν δίκαιοι L. XVIII 9, wo der dat. wohl als eine art dat. eth. zu fassen ist. [2])

= παρά c. g.: sokjandans du imma taikn us himina ζητοῦντες παρ' αὐτοῦ σημεῖον ἀπὸ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ Mc VIII 11. Hier wird also das ursprungsverhältnis in ein richtungsverhältnis umgewandelt.

= πρός: in þis biuga kniwa meina du attin τούτου χάριν κάμπτω τὰ γόνατά μου πρὸς τὸν πατέρα E. III 14. — u. ö.

= dat.: du abin seinamma aftra gagawairþjan τῷ ἰδίῳ ἀνδρὶ καταλλαγήτω K. VII 11. —

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[1]) § 123. — [2]) C. S., § 56 s. 86. — Vgl. wegen *du* bei *horinon* und *weitwoþs* = ἐπί, § 91 anm. 2.

= ein zusammengesetztes verbum K. XV 32: du diuzam waih in Aifaison *ἐθηριομάχησα ἐν Ἐφέσῳ*.

Auch J. VI 9 = Sk. VII 6 gehört wohl zu dieser gruppe: þata ƕa ist du swa managaim *ταῦτα τί ἐστιν εἰς τοσούτους*. Das verhältnis hat grosse ähnlichkeit mit K. XVI 1, wo *εἰς* mit dem dat. übersetzt wird. [1])

§ 123. Sehr oft kommt *du* in verbindungen mit zustands- oder tätigkeitsbestimmungen vor. Wenn es *εἰς* übersetzt, konkurriert es mit *in* c. d. oder c. a. [2]) Wenn das verbum ein bewegungsverbum ist, ist der unterschied gewöhnlich der, dass *du* eine annäherung bezeichnet, während *in* ein kommen in den zustand bezeichnet. Der unterschied ist wie früher gezeigt wurde, nicht immer sehr scharf.

= *εἰς*: þata mis gagaggiþ du ganistai *τοῦτό μοι ἀποβήσεται εἰς σωτηρίαν* Ph. I 19. — v. a. J. XVII 23. — T. I 6. — u. ö. —

Anm. 1. *gasatjan*, das gewöhnlich *du* hat, kommt einmal mit *in* vor: aiwaggeljon in þoei gasatiþs im ik merjands jah apaustaulus jah laisareis þiudo *τοῦ εὐαγγελίου, εἰς ὃ ἐτέθην ἐγὼ κήρυξ καὶ ἀπόστολος καὶ διδάσκαλος ἐθνῶν* t. I 10, 11 neben: weitwodein … du þammei gasatiþs im ik merjands jah apaustaulus … laisareis þiudo *τὸ μαρτύριον … εἰς ὃ ἐτέθην ἐγὼ κήρυξ καὶ ἀπόστολος … διδάσκαλος ἐθνῶν* T. II 6, 7. — Diese beiden stellen sind sehr merkwürdig, weil die bedeutung genau dieselbe und auch der wortlaut im grossen und ganzen der gleiche ist. Weiter findet sich noch *du*: K. XVI 15. — Ph. I 16. —

= *ἐπί* c. a.: þai galisanans du þamma waurstwa *οἱ συνηγμένοι … ἐπὶ τὸ ἔργον* Neh. V 16. — gawandideduþ izwis … du þaim unmahteigam jah halkam stabim *ἐπιστρέφετε … ἐπὶ τὰ ἀσθενῆ καὶ πτωχὰ στοιχεῖα* G. IV 9. — u. ö. —

= *πρός* c. a.: du seinaim lustum dragand (gadragand) sis laisarjans *πρὸς τὰς ἰδίας ἐπιθυμίας ἑαυτοῖς ἐπισωρεύσουσιν διδασκάλους* t. IV 3. — v. a. G. II 14. —

= dat.: ni atgaggiþ du hailaim waurdam *μὴ προσέρχεται ὑγιαίνουσιν λόγοις* T. VI 3. — v. a. Ph. III 14. —

= gen.: filu gaggand du afgudein *ἐπὶ πλεῖον … προκόψουσιν ἀσεβείας* t. II 16. —

= zusammengesetztes verb: þoei du þaurftai ni fairrinnand *τὰ οὐκ ἀνήκοντα* E. V 4. (die Itala: quae ad rem non pertinet (pertinent) defg vg). — v. a. M. XXVII 3. —

= adverb: aþþan ik nu swa rinna, ni ⟨swe du unwis⟨s⟩amma *ἐγὼ τοίνυν οὕτως τρέχω ὡς οὐκ ἀδήλως* K. IX 26, was an das „incertum" der Itala erinnert.

Aus der Skeireins: sunjos kunþi du aftraanastodeinai þize in guda usmete gasatjan Sk I 22. — v. a. Sk. IV 11. — Sk. I 17. —

Anm. 2. t. III 6. hat die vorlage *ἀγόμενα ἐπιθυμίαις ποικίλαις* und B liest

[1]) S. oben. — [2]) § 116.

dementsprechend: þoei tiuhanda lustum missaleikaim. A dagegen: þoei tiuhanda du lustum missaleikaim, was sprachgemäss ist. Eine derartige abweichung ist aber ungewöhnlich.

§ 124. Solche *du*-bestimmungen kommen weiter mit allerhand verben, mit substantiven und adjektiven in mehr oder weniger festen verbindungen vor. Sehr oft sind sie dazu nur notwendige ergänzungen.

Wenn der zusammenhang lockerer ist, bezeichnen sie meistens den zweck oder die absicht. Bisweilen übersetzen sie ein zusammengesetztes verbum der vorlage: ni gramjaiþ barna izwara du þwairhein *μὴ παροργίζετε τὰ τέκνα ὑμῶν* C. III 21. — Hier liest de: nolite in iram provocare, t: ad iracundiam, g: indignationem, f vg: ad indignationem. — v. a. L. XVII 8. — G. V 2. — Eine ähnliche abweichung findet sich T. IV 4: all gaskaftais gudis goþ jah ni waiht du uswaurpai miþ awiliudam andnuman *πᾶν κτίσμα θεοῦ καλὸν καὶ οὐδὲν ἀπόβλητον μετὰ εὐχαριστίας λαμβανόμενον.*

du anstatt eines nackten casus findet sich: uns silbans du frisahtai gebeima ‹izwis› *ἵνα ἑαυτοὺς τύπον δῶμεν ὑμῖν* th. III 9. — v. a. J. XIII 15. — Ebenso C. IV 11: þai ainai gawaurstwans sind þiudangardjos gudis þaiei wesun mis du gaþrafsteinai *οὗτοι μόνοι συνεργοὶ εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ, οἵτινες ἐγενήθησάν μοι παρηγορία.* — Bezeichnend ist, dass *εἰς* durch einen nackten genitiv übersetzt wird, während das zweite mal *du* eingefügt wird.

Einmal wird auch ein inneres objekt mit *du* übersetzt: wahseiþ du wahstau gudis *αὔξει τὴν αὔξησιν τοῦ θεοῦ* C. II 19. — All diese fälle bilden einen übergang zur *du*-bestimmung als prädikatsnomen.

Sonst übersetzt *du* *εἰς*, *ἐπί* c. d. und *πρός* c. a. Wenn es *εἰς* übersetzt, konkurriert es mit *in* c. d. und *in* c. a. [1]) Synonym mit dem früher schon besprochenen: leikis mun ni taujaiþ in lustuns R. XIII 14, findet sich *du* G. V 13: ibai þana freihals du lewa leikis taujaiþ *μὴ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν εἰς ἀφορμὴν τῇ σαρκί*. Auch bei *atgiban* kommt *du* neben *in* zur übersetzung von *εἰς* vor: weis libandans in dauþu atgibanda *ἡμεῖς οἱ ζῶντες εἰς θάνατον παραδιδόμεθα* k. IV 11. — atgiban þana swaleikana unhulþin du qisteinai leikis *παραδοῦναι τὸν τοιοῦτον τῷ σατανᾷ εἰς ὄλεθρον τῆς σαρκός* K. V 5. — v. a. E. V 2.—

Die *du*-bestimmungen stehen hier aber in einem loseren zusammenhang mit dem verbum als die *in*-bestimmung, daher tritt die zweckbezeichnung mehr hervor.

du = *εἰς*: giba þoei anabauþ Moses du weitwodiþai im *τὸ δῶρον ὃ προσέταξεν Μωσῆς εἰς μαρτύριον αὐτοῖς* M. VIII 4. — u. ö.

Anm. 1. C. IV 11 wird *εἰς* durch einen nackten gen. übersetzt: gawaurstwans sind þiudangardjos gudis *συνεργοὶ εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ.* [2])

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[1]) § 116. — [2]) S. oben.

= *ἐπί* c. d.: du freihalsa laþodai sijuþ *ἐπ' ἐλευθερίᾳ ἐκλήθητε* G. V 13. — apaustaulus Iesuis Xristaus ... du wenai libainais aiweinons *ἀπόστολος ... Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ... ἐπ' ἐλπίδι ζωῆς αἰωνίου* Tit. I 1, 2. u. ö. Hier wird der grund in ein zweckverhältnis umgewandelt.

Anm. 2. *du* zur übersetzung von *ἐπί* c. d. wird einmal erspart: waurdam weihan du ni waihtai daug, niba uswalteinai þaim hausjondam *μὴ λογομαχεῖν, εἰς οὐδὲν χρήσιμον, ἐπὶ καταστροφῇ τῶν ἀκουόντων* t. II 14. —

= *πρός* c. a.: anstai þizai andbahtidon fram uns du fraujins wulþau jah gairnein unsarai *τῇ χάριτι ταύτῃ τῇ διακονουμένῃ ὑφ' ἡμῶν πρὸς τὴν τοῦ κυρίου δόξαν καὶ προθυμίαν ἡμῶν* k. VIII 19. — allata du timreinai wairþai *πάντα πρὸς οἰκοδομὴν γινέσθω* K. XIV 26. — u. ö. —

Anm. 3. Eine ganz abweichende konstruktion für eine bestimmung mit *πρός* findet sich M. XXVII 4: ƕa kara unsis *τί πρὸς ἡμᾶς;* auch: bidjiþ gawairþjis *ἐρωτᾷ τὰ πρὸς εἰρήνην* L. XIV 32. —

Aus der Skeireins: du gasahtai jainaize unseleins faur ina rodjands Sk. VIII 25. — vgl. Theod. (442) *εἰς ἔλεγχον τῆς ἐκείνων ὑπερβαλούσης κακίας.* — u. ö.

Ganz adverbiell ist die *du*-bestimmung in den folgenden fällen gebraucht. *du* regiert ein neutrales pronomen: du þammei arbaidja *εἰς ὃ ... κοπιῶ* C. I 29. — du þamma qam in þamma fairƕau *εἰς τοῦτο ἐλήλυθα εἰς τὸν κόσμον* J. XVIII 37. — v. a. Ph. III 16. — E. VI 18. — L. XVIII 1. — Eine art bezug muss *du* wohl bezeichnen k. X 16: ni in framaþjaim arbaidim du manwjaim ƕopan *οὐκ ἐν ἀλλοτρίῳ κανόνι εἰς τὰ ἕτοιμα καυχήσασθαι.*

§ 125. Schon unter den vorhergehenden belegen gab es welche, in denen die *du*-bestimmungen als prädikatsnomina betrachtet werden konnten, so bei *taujan* (z. b. G. V 13), *wairþan* (z. b. K. XIV 26) und *wisan* (z. b. C. IV 11). (In einigen fällen diente denn auch die *du*-bestimmung zur übersetzung eines blossen nominativs oder acc.) In den folgenden fällen ist dies noch mehr der fall: saei inmaideiþ leika hauneinais unsaraizos du ibnaskaunjamma leika wulþaus seinis *ὃς μετασχηματίσει τὸ σῶμα τῆς ταπεινώσεως ἡμῶν εἰς τὸ γενέσθαι αὐτὸ σύμμορφον τῷ σώματι τῆς δόξης αὐτοῦ* Ph. III 21. — Diese konstruktion steht ganz unabhängig von der vorlage. Anstatt eines dat. findet sich dieselbe konstruktion k. X 12: unte ni gadaursum domjan unsis silbans aiþþau gadomjan uns du þaim sik silbans anafilhandam; ak eis in sis silbam sik silbans mitandans jah gadomjandans sik silbans du sis silbam *οὐ ... τολμῶμεν ἐγκρῖναι ἢ συγκρῖναι ἑαυτούς τισιν τῶν ἑαυτοὺς συνιστανόντων· ἀλλὰ αὐτοὶ ἐν ἑαυτοῖς ἑαυτοὺς μετροῦντες καὶ συγκρίνοντες ἑαυτοὺς ἑαυτοῖς.* Hier schliesst sich an: gagaleikondans sik du apaustaulum Xristaus *μετασχηματιζόμενοι εἰς ἀποστόλους Χριστοῦ* k. XI 13. — Weil v. 14 *εἰς* in demselben ausdruck mit dem dat. übersetzt

wird, erklären Streitberg [1]) und Kapteijn [2]) die *du*-bestimmung für einen gräzismus. Nun kommt aber bei *gadomjan* eine derartige *du*-bestimmung unabhängig von der vorlage vor (s.o.); v. 15 findet sich: gagaleikond sik swe andbahtos garaihteins, eine konstruktion, die man doch wohl nicht wegen der wörtlichen übersetzung *μετασχηματίζονται ὡς διάκονοι δικαιοσύνης* für einen gräzismus erklären will, wo *andbahts* grosse ähnlichkeit mit einem prädikatsnomen hat; weiter finden sich prädikatsbestimmungen mit *du* unabhängig von der vorlage und treten *du*-bestimmungen und dative nebeneinander auf, ohne dass eine von den beiden als ein gräzismus zu betrachten ist; darum scheint es mir am wahrscheinlichsten, dass beide konstruktionen auch hier idiomatisch sind. Zu dieser kategorie gehört auch: barna gahaitis rahnjanda du fraiwa *τὰ τέκνα τῆς ἐπαγγελίας λογίζεται εἰς σπέρμα* R. IX 8.

§ **126.** Die *du*-bestimmung als prädikatsnomen; diese bestimmungen sind idiomatisch, sie kommen unabhängig von der vorlage vor. Wahrscheinlich sind die beiden konstruktionen gleichwertig, denn auch bestimmungen mit *εἰς* werden mit prädikatsnomina übersetzt: nih warþ analaugn, ak ei swikunþ wairþai *οὐδὲ ἐγένετο ἀπόκρυφον, ἀλλ' ἵνα εἰς φανερὸν ἔλθῃ* Mc. IV 22. — v.a. L. VIII 17. — J. VI 66. — L. XVII 31. — Neh. V 14. —

= blosser acc.: aihtedun þo du qenai *ἔσχον αὐτὴν γυναῖκα* L. XX 33. — Mc. XII 23. — u. ö.

= ein zusammengesetztes verbum: ei Xristau du gawaurkja habau *ἵνα Χριστὸν κερδήσω* Ph. III 8. —

= *εἰς*: Ioanan ... nam dauhtar Maisaullamis ... du qenai *Ιωναν ... ἔλαβε τὴν θυγατέρα Μεσολλαμ ... εἰς γυναῖκα* Neh. VI 18. — taujan sum du galaubamma kasa, sumuþ-þan du ungalaubamma *ποιῆσαι ὃ μὲν εἰς τιμὴν σκεῦος, ὃ δὲ εἰς ἀτιμίαν* R. IX 21. — sind ... kasa ... suma du sweraim, sumuþ-þan du unsweraim *ἔστιν ... σκεύη ... ἃ μὲν εἰς τιμήν, ἃ δὲ εἰς ἀτιμίαν* t. II 20. — u. ö. —

Anm. 1. Die abweichungen in R. IX 21 und t. II 20 werden wohl so erklärt werden müssen, dass das verbum substantivum der vorlage in eine kopula verwandelt wurde. Das ist aber nicht der fall t. II 21: wairþiþ kas du sweriþai *ἔσται σκεῦος εἰς τιμήν*, wie Winkler [3]) annimmt: *kas* ist prädikat und *du sweriþai* ist dazu eine bestimmung.

Anm. 2. M. IX 16 findet sich: ni ƕashun lagjiþ du plata fanan þarihis ana snagan fairnjana; als übersetzung von *οὐδεὶς ... ἐπιβάλλει ἐπίβλημα ῥάκους ἀγνάφου ἐπὶ ἱματίῳ παλαιῷ*. Kauffmann [4]) fragt, ob der übersetzer das *ἐπί* von *ἐπίβλημα* vielleicht als präposition gefasst habe. Das scheint mir sehr unwahrscheinlich, weil *βλῆμα* kein griechisches wort ist und er dann auch *ῥάκους ἀγνάφου* als acc. hätte missverstehen

[1]) Z. stelle. — [2]) S. 362. — [3]) S. 286. — [4]) *Zfdph.* XXX. 167.

müssen. Wahrscheinlicher scheint mir Winklers [1]) annahme, dass *du* hier als „zu" zu fassen ist, also *du plata* heisst „zum flick". Auch Streitberg scheint dies jetzt für wahrscheinlicher zu halten. [2]) Es bleibt aber das bedenken, dass die übersetzung ungewöhnlich frei ist und die parallelstellen eine wörtliche übersetzung haben. Wenn Winklers auffassung richtig ist, so gehört diese stelle zur besprochenen gruppe. [3])

§ **127.** *du* kommt auch in zeitbestimmungen vor und bedeutet dann „für eine bestimmte zeit". Einmal dient es als übersetzung eines adverbs: du maurgina gaswiltam *αὔριον . . . ἀποθνήσκομεν* K. XV 32. Hier bezeichnet es mehr den zeitpunkt: Winkler vergleicht wohl mit recht „auf den morgen". Einmal übersetzt es *ἐπί* c. a.: galuknoda himins du jeram þrim jah menoþs saihs *ἐκλείσθη ὁ οὐρανὸς ἐπὶ ἔτη τρία καὶ μῆνας ἕξ* L. IV 25. — Sonst übersetzt es *εἰς* [4]) und *πρός* c. a.

= *πρός* c. a: jus wildeduþ swignjan du ƕeilai Sk. VI 6 = J. V 35: *ὑμεῖς . . . ἠθελήσατε ἀγαλλιαθῆναι πρὸς ὥραν*. — v. a. k. VII 8. — Th. II 17. — Weiter aus der Sk.: du leitilai ƕeilai galaubjan Sk. VI 3. — v. a. Sk. IV 7. —

J. XV 16 findet sich *du aiwa*: akran izwar du aiwa sijai, ohne entsprechung in der vorlage: *ὁ καρπὸς ὑμῶν μένῃ*. Es ist ein zusatz nach parallelstellen, vgl. J. VIII 35: wisiþ du aiwa *μένει εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα*. —

Anm. 1. *ἐπί* c. a. wird einmal mit *in* c. a. (Mc. XV 1) und einmal mit *und* (Mc. IX 15) übersetzt, welche stellen schon früher [5]) aufgeführt wurden.

Anm. 2. Einmal findet sich der dat.: ni wilda laggai ƕeilai *οὐκ ἠθέλησεν ἐπὶ χρόνον* L. XVIII 4 und zweimal der acc.: witoþ fraujinoþ mann s‹wa› lagga ƕeila swe libaiþ *ὁ νόμος κυριεύει τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐφ᾽ ὅσον χρόνον ζῇ* R. VII 1. — v. a. G. IV 1. — In den beiden letzten fällen ist deutlich von einer zeitdauer die rede, im ersten beleg handelt es sich aber auch mehr um einen zeitraum als einen zeitpunkt. [6])

Anm. 3. Auch *πρός* c. a. wird mit dem acc. übersetzt: . . . izwara misso, niba þau us gaqissai ƕo ƕeilo (*μὴ ἀποστερεῖτε*) *ἀλλήλους, εἰ μήτι ἂν ἐκ συμφώνου πρὸς καιρόν* K. VII 5. — v. a. G. II 5. [7]) —. Auch hier wird die zeitdauer bezeichnet, während in der vorlage mehr auf den endpunkt hingewiesen wird.

du c. instr.

§ **128.** *du* kommt auch in den verbindungen *duþe, duþþe = du-uh-þe* und *duƕe* vor. Nach Delbrück [8]) muss man annehmen, dass die verbin-

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[1]) S. 285. — [2]) Glossar. *s. v. plat.* — [3]) Boer *Ts.* XLVII. s. 1—7 will anstatt *þarihis* lesen: *niujis.* — [4]) § 110 Anm. 2. — [5]) §§ 110 (s. 71), 82. — [6]) *C. S.*, § 37 s. 61 und § 67 opm. 1 s. 96. — [7]) *C. S.*, § 37 s. 61. — [8]) S. 162.

dung entstanden ist, als die kasusform bereits erstarrt war, sodass eine zusammensetzung mit einem adverb vorliegt. In sehr vielen fällen haben die verbindungen denn auch die bedeutung eines adverbs oder einer konjunktion. In einigen belegen aber ist die ursprüngliche bedeutung von *du* noch deutlich, besonders dort, wo es *εἰς* oder *πρός* c. a. übersetzt.

= *εἰς*: ei jah jainar merjau, unte duþe qam *ἵνα καὶ ἐκεῖ κηρύξω· εἰς τοῦτο γὰρ ἐξελήλυθα* Mc. I 38. — duþþe gamelida ei ufkunnau kustu izwarana *εἰς τοῦτο . . . ἔγραψα, ἵνα γνῶ τὴν δοκιμὴν ὑμῶν* k. II 9. — u. ö. Hier ist *duþe* vollkommen gleichbedeutend mit *du þamma*. [1]) Man vergleiche beispielsweise: du þamma gabaurans im jah du þamma qam in þamma fairƕau J. XVIII 37. —

Einmal steht *duƕe* für *εἰς τί*: duƕe mis bilaist *εἰς τί με ἐγκατέλιπες* Mc. XV 34. — Hier ist die bedeutung von *du* weniger deutlich.

= *πρός* c. a.: jah ni swaswe Mosez lagida hulistr ana andawleizn, duþe ei ni fairweitidedeina sunjus Israelis in andi þis gataurnandins *καὶ οὐ καθάπερ Μωσῆς ἐτίθει κάλυμμα ἐπὶ τὸ πρόσωπον ἑαυτοῦ, πρὸς τὸ μὴ ἀτενίσαι τοὺς υἱοὺς Ἰσραὴλ εἰς τὸ τέλος τοῦ καταργουμένου* k. III 13. — v. a. E III 4. — u. ö. — Auch in diesen fällen ist die ursprüngliche bedeutung von *du* noch klar. Sonst übersetzt *du* meistens *διά* c. a. In einigen fällen blickt die bedeutung von *du* noch durch: duþe afgaf sik du ƕeilai ei aiweinana ina andnimais *διὰ τοῦτο ἐχωρίσθη πρὸς ὥραν, ἵνα αἰώνιον αὐτὸν ἀπέχῃς* Phil. 15. — v. a. J. XII 27. — k. XIII 10. — u. ö. —

§ 129. In den meisten fällen aber bedeuten *duþe* (*duþþe*) und *duƕe* einfach „deshalb" und „weshalb" und konkurrieren denn auch mit *in þis* und *in ƕis*, die immer diese bedeutung haben. Zuweilen ist der unterschied rein stilistisch; auch an den beiden stellen, wo *du* und *in ἀντί* übersetzen: sijais þahands jah ni magands rodjan . . . duþe ei ni galaubides waurdam meinaim *ἔσῃ σιωπῶν καὶ μὴ δυνάμενος λαλῆσαι . . . ἀνθ' ὧν οὐκ ἐπίστευσας τοῖς λόγοις μου* L. I 20. — Dagegen: airþai þuk gaibnjand jah barna þeina in þus jah ni letand in þus stain ana staina, in þizei ni ufkunþes þata mel niuhseinais þeinaizos *ἐδαφιοῦσίν σε καὶ τὰ τέκνα σου ἐν σοὶ καὶ οὐκ ἀφήσουσιν ἐν σοὶ λίθον ἐπὶ λίθῳ, ἀνθ' ὧν οὐκ ἔγνως τὸν καιρὸν τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς σου* L. XIX 44. — In dem letzten beispiel, das sehr rhetorisch gefärbt ist, ist *in þis* offenbar gebraucht, um eine alliteration hervorzurufen. *in þis* wird abwechslungshalber neben *duþe* gebraucht: duþþe ufhausjaiþ ni þatainei in þwairheins, ak jah in miþwisseins. inuþ-þis auk jah gilstra ustiuhaiþ *διὸ ἀνάγκη ὑποτάσσεσθαι, οὐ μόνον διὰ τὴν ὀργὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ διὰ τὴν συνείδησιν. διὰ τοῦτο γὰρ καὶ φόρους τελεῖτε* R. XIII 5, 6. — v. a. Th. III 7. — Vielleicht auch: inuh þis bidja izwis tulgjan in imma friaþwa *διὸ παρακαλῶ ὑμᾶς κυρῶσαι εἰς αὐτὸν ἀγάπην* k. II 8, weil dann *duþþe* als übersetzung von *εἰς τοῦτο* folgt. [2])

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[1]) § 124. — [2]) § 128. Vgl. weiter *in* c. g. § 145.

k. XI 11 findet sich *in ƕis* zur übersetzung von *διατί*. Paulus verteidigt sich hier in bezug darauf, dass er keinen unterhalt von den K. genommen hat, und fährt dann fort: in ƕis? unte ni frijo izwis? guþ wait *διατί; ὅτι οὐκ ἀγαπῶ ὑμᾶς; ὁ θεὸς οἶδεν*. Im gegensatz zu *in þis* hat *in ƕis* hier noch eine stark ausgeprägte bedeutung und ist nicht einem adverb gleichzustellen. Wir können es mit dem deutschen „wegen was" vergleichen. *duƕe* wäre hier nicht stark genug, weil wie wir sehen werden, die bedeutung der beiden teile in dieser verbindung meist nicht mehr sehr hervortritt.

duþþe = *διὰ τοῦτο*: Iohannis sa daupjands us dauþaim urrais ⟨jah⟩ duþþe waurkjand þos mahteis in imma *Ἰωάννης ὁ βαπτίζων ἐκ νεκρῶν ἠγέρθη, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἐνεργοῦσιν αἱ δυνάμεις ἐν αὐτῷ* Mc. VI 14. — u. ö. —

= *διό*: duþþe haitans warþ akrs jains akrs bloþis *διὸ ἐκλήθη ὁ ἀγρὸς ἐκεῖνος ἀγρὸς αἵματος* M. XXVII. 8. — u. ö. —

duþe ei = *διότι*: ni ogs þus, Zakaria, duþe ei andhausida ist bida þeina *μὴ φοβοῦ, Ζαχαρία, διότι εἰσηκούσθη ἡ δέησίς σου* L. I 13. — v. a. K. XV 9. — [1])

= *διά* c. inf.: urrann ... Iosef ... in Iudaian, in baurg Daweidis sei haitada Beþlahaim, duþe ei was us garda fadreinais Daweidis *ἀνέβη ... Ἰωσὴφ ... εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν, εἰς πόλιν Δαυεὶδ ἥτις καλεῖται Βηθλεέμ, διὰ τὸ εἶναι αὐτὸν ἐξ οἴκου καὶ πατριᾶς Δαυείδ* L. II 4. —

= *ἵνα*: lukarn qimiþ duþe ei uf melan satjaidau *ὁ λύχνος ἔρχεται ἵνα ὑπὸ τὸν μόδιον τεθῇ* Mc. IV 21. —

= *διό*: hier tritt es also an die stelle eines demonstrativs: mahts hauhistins ufarskadweid þus, duþe ei ⟨jah⟩ saei gabairada, weihs haitada sunus gudis *δύναμις ὑψίστου ἐπισκιάσει σοι· διὸ καὶ τὸ γεννώμενον ἅγιον κληθήσεται υἱὸς θεοῦ* L. I 35. —

Anm. Einmal tritt an die stelle von *διά* c. inf. *bi* c. a.: qaþ gajukon, bi þatei neƕa Iairusalem was, jah þuhta im ei suns skulda wesi þiudangardi gudis gaswikunþjan *εἶπεν παραβολήν, διὰ τὸ ἐγγὺς αὐτὸν εἶναι Ἰερουσαλὴμ καὶ δοκεῖν αὐτοὺς ὅτι παραχρῆμα μέλλει ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ ἀναφαίνεσθαι* L. XIX 11. — Hier bedeutet *bi þatei* „weil". [2])

duƕe übersetzt ein paar mal *ἱνατί*; in diesen fällen ist die ursprüngliche bedeutung noch ziemlich deutlich. duƕe mis bilaist? *ἱνατί με ἐγκατέλιπες* M. XXVII 46. — In der parallelstelle Mc. XV 34 ist *duƕe* die übersetzung von *εἰς τί* [3]) — v. a. M. IX 4. — K. X 29. —

= *διὰ τί*: duƕe ni mag þuk laistjan? *διατί οὐ δύναμαί σοι ἀκολουθῆσαι* J. XIII 37. — u. ö.

= *πρὸς τί*: duƕe qaþ imma *πρὸς τί εἶπεν αὐτῷ* J. XIII 28. —

= *τί*: duƕe þata hausja fram þus *τί τοῦτο ἀκούω περὶ σοῦ* L. XVI 2. — Mc. II 8. — (= M. IX 4. s. o.) — u. ö. —

duƕe ist in den letzten zwei fällen immer „warum". [4])

[1]) Wegen der übersetzung von *διότι* durch *in þizei* § 145. — [2]) § 149. — [3]) § 128. —
[4]) Wegen du scheinbar c. g. § 24 anm.

at c. d.

§ 130. *at* ist immer eine präposition der ruhe. Es bezeichnet in ganz unbestimmter weise das sein in der nähe eines gegenstandes. Es bildet ein gegenstück zu *fram*, sofern dieses das ursprungsverhältnis sehr stark hervorhebt, während *at* in dieser beziehung ziemlich neutral ist. Man kann *at* und *fram* vergleichen mit „bei" und „von" in „etwas ist zu haben bei einem" und: „man bekommt etwas von einem". Auch wo es mehr oder weniger übertragen gebraucht wird, zeigt sich dasselbe verhältnis. Wenn *at* mit sachnamen verbunden ist, hat es die gleiche allgemeine bedeutung.

§ 131. *at* kommt örtlich vor in verbindung mit sachen und dient dann zur übersetzung von *εἰς*: qam at dulþai *ἐλθὼν εἰς τὴν ἑορτήν* J. XII 12. —
= *ἐπί* c. d.: nehva sijuþ at... *ἐγγύς ἐστιν ἐπὶ (θύραις)* Mc. XIII 29. —
= *ἐπί* c. a.: sitandan at motai *καθήμενον ἐπὶ τὸ τελώνιον* M. IX 9. — Mc. II 14. — (Diese fälle wurden früher schon besprochen. [1])) — qimands at imma (smakkabagma) *ἐλθὼν ἐπ' αὐτήν* Mc. XI 13. [2]) —
= *παρά* c. a.: twa skipa standandona at þamma saiwa *δύο πλοῖα ἑστῶτα παρὰ τὴν λίμνην* L. V 2. — v. a. Mc. IV 1. — Auch K. XII 15 wird *παρά* c. a. mit *at* übersetzt: jabai qiþai fotus þatei ni im handus, ni im þis leikis, nih at þamma leika: nist us þamma leika *ἐὰν εἴπῃ ὁ πούς ὅτι οὐκ εἰμὶ χείρ, οὐκ εἰμὶ ἐκ τοῦ σώματος, οὐ παρὰ τοῦτο οὐκ ἔστιν ἐκ τοῦ σώματος* K. XII 15. — Streitberg fragt, ob der übersetzer *παρὰ τοῦτο* mit *at þamma* übersetzt habe und *leika* ein späterer sinnloser zusatz sei. *παρά* kommt sonst in kausaler bedeutung in der vorlage der auf uns gekommenen got. bruchstücke nicht vor und wir wissen also nicht, wie Wulfila es übersetzt hat: wie aber Streitberg selbst zugibt, wird *at þamma* dem sinn nicht gerecht. Wahrscheinlicher erscheint mir Bernhardts annahme, dass der übersetzer *τοῦτο* auf *σώματος* bezogen hat und *leika* zur verdeutlichung hinzugesetzt hat. Es hiesse dann: „weder bin ich von dem leibe noch an dem leibe".
= *πρός* c. d.: Paitrus stoþ at daurom uta *ὁ... Πέτρος εἱστήκει πρὸς τῇ θύρᾳ ἔξω* J. XVIII 16. — v. a. L. XIX 37. — Mc. V 11. —
= *πρός* c. a.: so aqizi at waurtim bagme ligiþ *ἡ ἀξίνη πρὸς τὴν ῥίζαν τῶν δένδρων κεῖται* L. III 9. — v. a. Mc. XIV 54 [3]). —

§ 132. *at* kommt örtlich bei personen vor und übersetzt *ἐν*: þatei at skiljam frabugjaidau *τὸ ἐν μακέλλῳ πωλούμενον* K. X 25 [4]). —
= *παρά* c. d.: hakul þanei bilaiþ in Trauadai at Karpau *τὸν φαιλόνην ὃν ἀπέλιπον ἐν Τρῳάδι παρὰ Κάρπῳ* t. IV 13. — v. a. C. IV 16. — J. XIV 23. — J. XIV 25. —
= *πρός* c. a.: brahtedun ins at imma *ἤγαγον αὐτοὺς πρὸς αὐτόν* L. IV 40. — v. a. Mc. XI 7. — Mc. IX 20 [2]). —

[1]) § 88 anm. 2. — [2]) Vgl. wegen *qiman* und *briggan* mit *du* § 178 (s. 135 fussn. u. s. 131). — [3]) Vgl. wegen *bi* c. d. zur übersetzung von *πρός* c. a. (L. IV 11) § 147. — [4]) § 119 (s. 76 fussn. 1.)

= dat.: brahtedun ina at Peilatau παρέδωκαν τῷ Πειλάτῳ Mc. XV 1. — Ohne entsprechung für *at þaimei jah salja*: Akwla jah Priska ... at þaimei jah salja K. XVI 19. DEFG lesen aber: παρ' οἷς καὶ ξενίζομαι.

Anm. L. IX 47 [1]) wird παρά c. d. mit *faura* übersetzt: (barn) gasatida faura sis ἔστησεν αὐτὸ παρ' ἑαυτῷ. Hier wollte der übersetzer offenbar den platz näher bezeichnen und dafür genügte das unbestimmte *at* nicht.

§ 133. Nicht rein örtlich ist das verhältnis in den folgenden fällen. Das liegt aber an dem kontext: þatei gasah at attin meinamma ἃ ἑώρακα παρὰ τῷ πατρί μου J. VIII 38. — v. a. K. VII 24. — E. VI 9. — C. III 25. (wo in der vorlage παρὰ τῷ θεῷ fehlt: *at guda* ist ein zusatz nach R. II 11.) — J. XVII 7. —

L. X 7 wird τὰ παρ' αὐτῶν übersetzt mit: *þo at im*, das wohl heissen soll: „das bei ihnen, das ihnen zugehörige". Hier wird also das ursprungsverhältnis in ein ruheverhältnis umgewandelt. Eine wörtliche übersetzung wäre: *þo fram im* gewesen. τὰ παρ' αὐτῆς, das in ungefähr derselben bedeutung Mc. V 26 vorkommt, wird mit *allamma seinamma* übersetzt.

= ἐπί c. a.: warþ waurd gudis at Iohannen ἐγένετο ῥῆμα θεοῦ ἐπὶ Ἰωάννην L. III 2. —

= πρός c. a.: þanei ik wilda at mis gahaban ὃν ἐγὼ ἐβουλόμην πρὸς ἐμαυτὸν κατέχειν Phil. 13. — ei sunja aiwaggeljons gastandai at izwis ἵνα ἡ ἀλήθεια τοῦ εὐαγγελίου διαμείνῃ πρὸς ὑμᾶς G. II 5. — ik sijau andwairþs at izwis παρεῖναί με πρὸς ὑμᾶς G. IV 18. — u. ö. — k. I 12 und G. II 5 ist das verhältnis durch den kontext wieder nicht rein örtlich.

= dat.: ei skip habaiþ wesi at imma ἵνα πλοιάριον προσκαρτερῇ αὐτῷ Mc. III 9. — wisa jah þairhwisa at allaim izwis μενῶ καὶ συμπαραμενῶ πᾶσιν ὑμῖν Ph. I 25. — Im ersten fall ist das verhältnis nicht rein örtlich, im dem zweiten beleg übersetzt *at* eigentlich das συν von συμπαραμενῶ. Daneben kommen verben wie *atligan* und *atwisan* c. d. vor. [2])

Aus der Skeireins: qimandin at imma in naht Sk. VIII 19. —

§ 134. Obgleich in den folgenden belegen das örtliche verhältnis noch ziemlich deutlich ist, tritt der grund oder der bezug doch stärker hervor als in einigen der obigen fälle, wo die beziehung auch nicht rein örtlich mehr war.

= παρά c. d.: at guda usgildan þaim gaþreihandam izwis aggwiþa παρὰ θεῷ ἀνταποδοῦναι τοῖς θλίβουσιν ὑμᾶς θλῖψιν th. I 6. — v. a. J. XVII 5. — L. II 52. — [3])

Anm. 1. Während man L. XVIII 27 *at* findet: þata unmahteigo at mannam mahteig ist at guda τὰ ἀδύνατα παρὰ ἀνθρώποις δυνατά ἐστιν παρὰ τῷ θεῷ, hat die parallelstelle Mc. X 27 *fram*. fram mannam

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[1]) § 50. — [2]) C. S., § 75, s. 103. — [3]) Vgl. wegen *fram* als übersetzung von παρά c. d. § 17.

unmahteig ist. ‹akei› ni fram guda. Dagegen finden wir L. I 37 den dat.: nist unmahteig guda ainhun waurde. [1])

= *πρός* c. a.: ei waurd fraujins þragjai jah mikiljaidau, swaswe jah at izwis *ἵνα ὁ λόγος τοῦ κυρίου τρέχῃ καὶ δοξάζηται καθὼς καὶ πρὸς ὑμᾶς* th. III 1. — v. a. k. XII 21.

= dat.: gairnein izwara, þizaiei fram izwis ƕopam at Makidonim *τὴν προθυμίαν ὑμῶν, ἣν ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν καυχῶμαι Μακεδόσιν* k. IX 2. — v. a. k. II 1. — Wenn wir sehen, dass k. IX 2 die itala *apud* liest und dass k. VII 14 als übersetzung von *εἴ τι αὐτῷ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν κεκαύχημαι* steht: jabai ƕa imma fram izwis ƕaiƕop, so ist es allerdings möglich, dass k. IX 2 unter dem einfluss der itala steht.

Aus der Sk.: at allamma waurstwe ainaizos anabusnais beidiþ Sk. V 1. —

Anm. 2. Sk. III 19 bezeichnet *at* ein beifügen und ist also gleichbedeutend mit *ana* c. a. zur übersetzung von *πρός* c. d. [2]): at afleta frawaurhte jah fragift weihis ahmins jah fragibands.

§ **135.** Deutlich bezeichnet *at* den ursprung bei verben des nehmens und des erfahrens, nur dass es das ursprungsverhältnis nicht betont.

= *ἀπό* c. g.: andnam at fraujin þatei jah anafalh izwis *παρέλαβον ἀπὸ τοῦ κυρίου, ὃ καὶ παρέδωκα ὑμῖν* K. XI 23. — v. a. C. I 7. —

Anm. 1. Mc. XIII 28 wird *ἀπό* in dieser bedeutung mit *af* übersetzt, dort ist aber von einer sache die rede. [3])

= *παρά* c. g.: bigitan armahairtein at fraujin *εὑρεῖν ἔλεος παρὰ κυρίου* t. I 18. — þoei at mis hausides *ὧν παρ᾽ ἐμοῦ ἤκουσας* t. I 13. II 2. — v. a. J. VIII 26. — J. XV 15. —

Zu dieser gruppe kann auch gerechnet werden: nih arwjo hlaib matidedum at ƕamma *οὐδὲ δωρεὰν ἄρτον ἐφάγομεν παρά τινος* th. III 8. —

Anm. 2. In derselben bedeutung wird auch *fram* gebraucht, auch als übersetzung von *παρά* c. g. [4])

= eine andere konstruktion: frawardidaize manne ahin at þaimei gatarniþ ist sunja *διεφθαρμένων ἀνθρώπων τὸν νοῦν καὶ ἀπεστερημένων τῆς ἀληθείας* T. VI 5. —

= zusammengeseztes wort: silbans jus at guda uslaisidai sijuþ *αὐτοὶ… ὑμεῖς θεοδίδακτοί ἐστε* Th. IV 9. —

Aus der Sk.: ƕarjatoh waurde at mannam innuman Sk. VI 13. — v. a. Sk. IV 24. — Sk. VI 25. —

Mc. X 45 wird *οὐκ ἦλθεν διακονηθῆναι, ἀλλὰ διακονῆσαι* übersetzt: ni qam at andbahtjam, ak andbahtjan, wo *at* wohl einen zweck bezeichnet. *at* steht hier für *du*, weil *qiman* regelmässig mit dieser präposition konstruiert wird [5]). Richtig übersetzen von der Gabelentz und Löbe: ad servitia (sibi praestanda).

at zeitlich.

§ **136.** Zeitlich kommt *at* c. d. und c. a. vor. Der unterschied zwischen

1) § 21. — 2) § 90. — 3) § 11. — 4) § 22. — 5) § 178 (s. 135 fussn.).

dem dat. und dem acc. tritt nicht sehr hervor. Höchstens könnte man sagen, dass *at* c. d. bestimmter ist als *at* c .a. Dies ersieht man, wenn man die folgenden fälle vergleicht, wo beide an die stelle eines dativs treten: insandida du þaim waurstwjam at mel skalk *ἀπέστειλεν πρὸς τοὺς γεωργοὺς τῷ καιρῷ δοῦλον* Mc. XII 2. — v. a. G. VI 9. — L. II 41. — und: ufwaira qens at libandin abin gabundana ist witoda *ἡ . . . ὕπανδρος γυνὴ τῷ ζῶντι ἀνδρὶ δέδεται νόμῳ* R. VII 2. —

Sonst kommt der acc. noch einmal als übersetzung eines abs. gen. vor: at maurgin þan waurþanana runa nemun allai gudjans *πρωίας δὲ γενομένης συμβούλιον ἔλαβον πάντες οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς* M. XXVII 1. —

§ 137. Gewöhnlich wird der gen. abs. in zeitlicher bedeutung mit *at* c. d. übersetzt: at andanahtja juþan wisandin hveilai usiddja in Beþanian *ὀψίας ἤδη οὔσης τῆς ὥρας ἐξῆλθεν εἰς Βηθανίαν* Mc. XI 11. — v. a. Mc. XV 42, 43. — L. IV 2. — L. II 2. — Mc. XVI 2. —

Wenn man diese belege des dativs mit dem obigen mit dem acc. vergleicht, wird man m. e. wenig unterschied entdecken.

Anm. 1. Auch in dem fall, wo ein abs. gen. mit einem dat. temp. übersetzt wird: andanahtja þan waurþanamma, þan gasaggq sauil, berun du imma *ὀψίας δὲ γενομένης ὅτε ἔδυ ὁ ἥλιος, ἔφερον πρὸς αὐτὸν* Mc. I 32[1]), ist ein grund für die verschiedene übersetzung nicht ersichtlich.

Anm. 2. Einmal wird ein derartiger gen. im got. mit einem gen. wiedergegeben: inwisandins sabbate dagis Marja so Magdalene jah Marja so Iakobis . . . usbauhtedun *διαγενομένου τοῦ σαββάτου Μαρία ἡ Μαγδαληνὴ καὶ Μαρία ἡ Ἰακώβου . . . ἠγόρασαν* Mc. XVI 1. — Weil solch eine wörtliche übersetzung nur einmal vorkommt, wird diese konstruktion wohl unter dem einfluss der vorlage gewählt sein. Sie lässt sich aber auch als ein etwas schwerfälliger gen. temp. auffassen, braucht also kein eigentlicher gräzismus zu sein. [2])

at c. d. als zeitbestimmung kommt sonst noch vor als übersetzung von *ἐπί* c. g.: at auhmistam gudjam Annin jah Kajafin, warþ waurd gudis at Iohannen *ἐπὶ ἀρχιερέων Ἄννα καὶ Καϊάφα, ἐγένετο ῥῆμα θεοῦ ἐπὶ Ἰωάννην* L. III 2. — In derselben bedeutung findet sich öfters *uf* c. d. [3])

Ausser in den obigen beispielen wird auch sonst der gen. abs. durch eine *at*-bestimmung übersetzt. Damit konkurriert der dat. Winkler hat in seiner germanischen casus-syntax versucht, den beweis zu führen, dass Wulfila überall, wo er den gr. gen. abs. durch einen blossen dat. übersetzt, denselben als einen konjuncten casus fühlte und dass er, wo diese auffassung nicht möglich ist, eine andere konstruktion wählte und mit einiger einschränkung schliesst sich der verfasser dieser arbeit dieser ansicht an. [4]) Zwar glaubt er, wie oben schon an einem beispiel gezeigt wurde, dass nicht immer der unterschied zwischen dem blossen dat. und

[1]) *C. S.*, § 98, s. 119. — [2]) *C. S.*, § 115, s. 134. — [3]) § 77 — [4]) *C. S.*, §§ 95—99 s. 116 ff.

den anderen konstruktionen auf funktionsunterschiede zurückzuführen ist, im grossen und ganzen ist dies aber der fall. So geht die *at*-konstruktion von der zeitlichen funktion aus und ist unseren „bei"-bestimmungen gleichzusetzen. Ebenso wie „bei" aber nicht immer eine zeit, sondern auch andere logische beziehungen bezeichnen kann, wie z. b.: „bei diesem wetter gehe ich nicht aus", so ist das auch mit *at* der fall, wenn auch der unterschied dem sprechenden gewöhnlich nicht bewusst ist. Also könnte man die *at*-bestimmungen, die an die stelle eines gen. abs. treten, nach ihrem logischen wert einteilen. Weil aber die einteilung psychologisch nur wenig bedeutung hat, werden hier nur einige beispiele verzeichnet.

Zeitliche *at*-bestimmungen für gr. gen. abs.: at haurdai mis uslukanai in fraujin, ni habaida gaƕeilain ahmin meinamma *θύρας μοι ἀνεῳγμένης ἐκ κυρίῳ, οὐκ ἔσχηκα ἄνεσιν τῷ πνεύματί μου* k. II 12, 13 — at sunnin... urrinnandin ufbrann *ἡλίου ... ἀνατείλαντος ἐκαυματίσθη* Mc. IV 6. — wen habam at wahsjandein galaubeinai izwarai in izwis mikilnan *ἐλπίδα ἔχοντες αὐξανομένης τῆς πίστεως ὑμῶν, ἐν ὑμῖν μεγαλυνθῆναι* k. X 15. — at libandin abin haitada horinondei *ζῶντος τοῦ ἀνδρὸς μοιχαλὶς χρηματίσει* R. VII 3. — u. ö. — v. 2 wird der dat. ebenso übersetzt. [1])

In der Sk. ist die konstruktion mit *at* ziemlich häufig. Schon sind im vorhergehenden ein paar nicht absolute konstruktionen erwähnt. Die jetzt noch zu besprechenden kommen im grossen und ganzen mit den obigen aus der bibelübersetzung verzeichneten überein. Dass die durch *at* angedeutete beziehung eine verschiedene sein kann, sieht man, wenn man die übersetzung von Dietrich [2]) vergleicht. Nicht absolut wird von ihm gefasst: skulum nu allai weis at swaleikai jah swa bairhtai insahtai guda unbauranamma andsaljan sweriþa Sk. V 19. — „bei einer solchen und so klaren angabe". — Weiter in der Sk.: at bajoþum daupjandam jah ainƕaþarammeh seina anafilhandam daupein miþ sis misso sik undrunnun sumai Sk. III 4. — in þammei liugandans bigitanda... at Neikaudaimau... qimandin at imma... jah... insakandin jah qiþandin Sk. VIII 17. — at ni wisandin aljai waihtai ufar þans fimf hlaibans jah twans fiskans ... ni þatainei ganauhan þaurftais im fragaf, ak filaus maizo Sk. VII 10. —

in c. g.

§ 138. *in* ist die einzige wirkliche präposition, die den gen. regiert. Sonst ist noch merkwürdig, dass sie nie örtlich gebraucht wird. Sie bezeichnet in ziemlich unbestimmter weise ein kausalverhältnis, meistens ein „um ... willen", ein „in hinsicht auf", seltener einen wirklichen grund oder eine ursache. Sie übersetzt *διά* c. a., *διά* c. g., *ἐπί* c. d., *περί* c. g., *ἕνεκα, ὑπέρ* c. g., einmal *ἐν* und einmal *χάριν*. Sie konkurriert mit *fram, faur, ana, in* c. d. und c. a. und *bi*. Sie verbindet sich mit allerhand wörtern, ohne dass man sagen könnte, dass sie mit einer bestimmten

[1]) § 136. — [2]) Die bruchstücke der Sk. Strassburg 1903.

gruppe eine feste verbindung eingeht. Am festesten scheint mir noch die verbindung mit affektverben zu sein. Obgleich die belege zum teil schon früher verzeichnet wurden, will ich hier die wichtigsten kategorien noch einmal vorführen.

= *περί* c. g.: infeinoda in ize (manageins) *ἐσπλαγχνίσθη περὶ αὐτῶν* M. IX 36. —

= *διά* c. a.: fagino in izwara *χαίρω δι' ὑμᾶς* J. XI 15. — v. a. R. XIV 15. — Mc. VI 6. —

= *ἐπί* c. d.: fagino in qumis Staifanaus *χαίρω ἐπὶ τῇ παρουσίᾳ Στεφανᾶ* K. XVI 17. — u. ö.

§ 139. Brugmann und Delbrück vergleichen mit dem got. gebrauch das gr. *ἐν* c. g. in ausdrücken wie *ἐν Ἅιδου, ἐν τῶν πόλεων* und das osk. *en eituas* „in betreff einer geldsumme", das aber nach Buck acc. pl. ist.[1]) Bernhardt[2]) und auch Mourek[3]) knüpfen an den gen. des ursprungs an (M. vergleicht den gr. gen. der infinitive und ersterer vergleicht die beiden got. gen. bei *fram* und *du*, wo aber ein wort wie *gards* ergänzt werden muss und weiter die an. gen. bei *at* die nach Gering genau so zu erklären sind wie die got.). Beide erklärungen sind m. e. unbefriedigend, die Brugmannsche, weil sie nicht erklärt, warum das got. *in* niemals rein örtlich ist, sondern stets kausal gebraucht wird, die andere, weil sie unerklärt lässt, warum gerade die präposition *in* so gebraucht wird. Das osk. beispiel, das mit dem got. der bedeutung nach übereinstimmt, ist, wie wir oben sahen, unsicher. Weil also in keiner einzigen idg. sprache ein derartiger gebrauch von *in* c. g. auftritt, muss eine methodisch einwandfreie erklärung im got. selber den grund des entstehens dieser konstruktion suchen. Winkler scheint diese erklärung anzudeuten, wenn er sagt[4]): „nach meiner meinung liegt auch hier ein halb nominales, halb partitiv-ablatives verhältnis vor. R. VIII 36 sahen wir im gleichen sinne mit dem acc.: swaswe gameliþ ist þatei in þuk gadauþjanda all dagis *ὅτι ἕνεκεν σοῦ θανατούμεθα* um deinetwillen getötet werden; ziemlich dasselbe, nur den acc. in den part. umgesetzt, und somit etwas genauer und individueller gestaltet, möchte ich in der genitivverbindung sehen". Die nähere erklärung hat er sich für später vorbehalten. Auch meiner meinung nach muss man von dem partitiv-ablativen verhältnis ausgehen. Auch die beobachtung, dass der gen. mit dem acc. und, füge ich hinzu, mit dem dat. wechselt, ist ungemein wichtig. Nur möchte ich die erklärung etwas weniger logisch, etwas psychologischer gestalten.

Die verben und ausdrücke, die oben aufgeführt wurden, sind alle affektwörter und diese konnten im germanischen auch mit einem gen.

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[1]) Synkr., s. 148, wo Brugmann und Buck zitiert werden. — [2]) *Zfdph.* XIII, 13 ff.

[3]) S. 173: pád tento nejsnáze vyloží se jako genitiv odlukový, úžeji jako celkový čili possesivný, v jehož dosah, obvod děj náleží, čili z jehož působení se vyvíjí (jako známý genitiv infinitivu v řečtině). — [4]) s. 361.

verbunden werden, der den gegenstand bezeichnete, an dem man sich freut u.s.w. Obgleich nicht nachgewiesen werden kann, dass dieser gen. bei all diesen wörtern alt ist, ist dies doch für einige dieser wörter erwiesen. [1]) So ist es sehr wahrscheinlich bei *faginon*, so auch bei verben des wunderns, ebenso bei verben mit der bedeutung „rühmen". Sicher ist es bei *bidjan*, das im got. selber noch mit einem nackten gen. konstruiert wird. [2]) Ich möchte den gen. bei *in* erklären als eine kontamination des blossen gen. mit *in* c. d.; dass solch eine kontamination nichts seltenes ist, darauf ist schon bei *faurþis* hingewiesen. [3]) Weiter bemerke ich, dass van Helten [4]) den niederl. nom.-acc. „alles" erklärt als eine kontamination zwischen dem gen. „alles" und der gleichwertigen umschreibung „van allen". Man habe daraus gebildet „van alles" und dann diese form auch nach anderen präpositionen z.b. „in alles" und schliesslich auch ohne präposition gebraucht. Andere ursprüngliche gen., die als nom. oder acc. gebraucht werden, sind im mittelniederländischen: „das, des, wes" u.s.w. Dass eine derartige auf analogischem wege entwickelte form nicht nur halb erstarrt vorkommen, sondern auch sich zu einer ganz neuen begriffskategorie entwickeln kann, nimmt Salverda de Grave an, der [5]) den beachtenswerten versuch macht, die niederländischen und niederdeutschen *s*-plurale aus dem genitiv-s zu erklären. Theoretisch ist also gegen meine annahme nichts einzuwenden. Ich erkläre also beispielsweise: *fagino in qumis Teitaus* aus: *fagino qumis Teitaus* und *fagino in quma Teitaus* und nehme weiter an, dass die bedeutung der *in*-bestimmung auf die genitiv-konstruktion abgefärbt hat, sofern *in* c. g. sehr oft nicht so sehr den grund bezeichnet als den gegenstand, in bezug auf welchen die handlung stattfindet. So finden sich nebeneinander bei *gairnjan* (k. IX 14 [6])) ein nackter gen. und *in* c. g. Dass der nackte gen. bei affektverben im got. sehr wenig vorkommt, ist daraus zu erklären, dass er teils in *in* c. g. teils in *in* c. d. aufgegangen ist. Die belege, wo man *in* c. d oder *in* c. g. nebeneinander findet, sind übergangsformen, bei denen man die entwicklung gleichsam auf der tat ertappt. [7]).

§ 140. Es schliessen sich an die schon erwähnten verben wo die verbindung meistens nicht so fest ist; zum teil bezeichnen sie eine affektäusserung. Sehr oft schliesst sich eine andere bestimmung näher dem verbum an.

= *περί* c. g.: awiliudon skulum guda ... in izwara *εὐχαριστεῖν ὀφείλομεν τῷ θεῷ ... περὶ ὑμῶν* th. I 3. — u. ö.

= *ἐν*: hazeins in aiwaggeljons and allos aikklesjons *ὁ ἔπαινος ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ διὰ πασῶν τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν* k. VIII 18 A. B liest: in aiwaggeljon [7]).

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[1]) Synkret., s. 206 ff. — [2]) *C. S.*, § 143, s. 178. — [3]) § 59. — [4]) *Middelnederlandsche spraakkunst*, s. 480. — [5]) *De nieuwe Taalgids*, VIII, s. 15 ff.; s. aber verf. *PBB*, XL, s. 525—528 und Oehman, *Der s-plural im deutschen*, Annales academiae scientiarum Fennicae, ser. B, tom. XVIII N. 1. Helsinki, 1924, s. 1—128; dagegen Salverda de Grave *N. Tg.*, XX, 24—26. — [6]) § 140. — [7]) § 109.

= ἐπί c. d.: mikiljandans jah hazjandans guþ in allaize þizeei gahausidedun δοξάζοντες καὶ αἰνοῦντες τὸν θεὸν ἐπὶ πᾶσιν οἷς ἤκουσαν L. II 20. u. ö. —
= ὑπέρ c. g.: unsweibands awiliudo in izwara οὐ παύομαι εὐχαριστῶν ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν E. I 16. — bidjam izwis . . . in qumis fraujins unsaris ἐρωτῶμεν . . . ὑμᾶς . . . ὑπὲρ τῆς παρουσίας τοῦ κυρίου th. II 1. — u. ö. — [1])
= διά c. a.: gairnjandans izwara in ufarassau s⟩ anstais gudis ἐπιποθούντων ὑμᾶς διὰ τὴν ὑπερβάλλουσαν χάριν τοῦ θεοῦ k. IX 14. — in þizozei fairinos gasak ins ƕassaba δι' ἣν αἰτίαν ἔλεγχε αὐτοὺς ἀποτόμως Tit. I 13. — u. ö. —
In dem folgenden satz werden περί c. g. und διά c. a. beide durch *in* übersetzt. in ƕarjis þize waurstwe staineiþ mik? . . . in godis waurstwis ni stainjam þuk, ak in wajamereins διὰ ποῖον αὐτῶν ἔργον λιθάζετέ με; . . . περὶ καλοῦ ἔργου οὐ λιθάζομέν σε, ἀλλὰ περὶ βλασφημίας J. X 32, 33. —

§ 141. Als eine besondere bedeutungsgruppe führe ich noch die wörter auf, die ein mühen, sorgen, leiden, vereinzelt auch ein leiden machen bezeichnen, weil bei diesen wörtern auch *fram* und *faur* in derselben bedeutung vorkommen. [2])
= ἕνεκεν: saei fraqisteiþ saiwalai seinai in meina jah in þizos aiwaggeljons ὃς δ' ἂν ἀπολέσῃ τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ ἕνεκεν ἐμοῦ καὶ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου Mc. VIII 35. —
= διά c. a.: in waurstwis Xristaus und dauþu atneƕida διὰ τὸ ἔργον τοῦ Χριστοῦ μέχρι θάνατον ἤγγισεν Ph. II 30. — u. ö. —
= ὑπέρ c. g.: þreihanda in izwaraizos gaþlaihtais θλιβόμεθα ὑπὲρ τῆς ὑμῶν παρακλήσεως k. I 6 [3]) — u. ö. —
= eine ganz abweichende konstruktion: gaswiltandans in izwaraizos ƕoftuljos ἀποθνήσκοντες νὴ τὴν ὑμετέραν καύχησιν K. XV 31. —

§ 142. *in* c. g. bei verschiedenen anderen verben.
= ἕνεκεν: þize afletandane gard . . . in þiudangardjos gudis ὃς ἀφῆκεν οἰκίαν . . . ἕνεκεν τῆς βασιλείας τοῦ θεοῦ L. XVIII 29. — u. ö. — [4])

Anm. 1. In dem folgenden satz kommen *in* c. g. und *du* nebeneinander vor, woraus der bedeutungsunterschied zwischen *in* und *du* klar hervorgeht: melida, ni in þis anamahtjandins, ni in þis anamahtidins, ak du gabairhtjan usdaudein unsara ἔγραψα ὑμῖν, οὐχ ἕνεκεν τοῦ ἀδικήσαντος οὐδὲ ἕνεκεν τοῦ ἀδικηθέντος, ἀλλ' ἕνεκεν τοῦ φανερωθῆναι τὴν σπουδὴν ἡμῶν k. VII 12. —

= διά c. g.: in þizos anþaraize usdaudeins jah izwaraizos friaþwos airkniþa kiusands διὰ τῆς ἑτέρων σπουδῆς καὶ τὸ τῆς ὑμετέρας ἀγάπης γνήσιον δοκιμάζων k. VIII 8. — u. ö.
= διά c. a.: bei personen bezeichnet es die person, mit rücksicht auf welche die handlung geschieht. ik liba in attins . . . jah sa libaiþ in meina ἐγὼ ζῶ διὰ τὸν πατέρα . . . ἐκεῖνος ζήσεται δι' ἐμέ J. VI 57. — v. a. K. VIII 11. — Mc. VI 17. — k. II 10. — u. ö. —

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[1]) Vgl. § 23. — [2]) §§ 23, 57 und anm. 1. — [3]) vgl. wegen k. I 6, wo ὑπέρ c. g. einmal mit *faur* und einmal mit *in* c. gen. übersetzt wird § 57. — [4]) wegen übersetzung von ἕνεκα durch *in* c. a. vgl. § 107.

Anm. 2. Einmal kommt neben *in* c. g. *ana* c. a. vor: bi aiwaggeljon fijandans in izwara, iþ bi gawaleinai liubai ana attans *κατὰ μὲν τὸ εὐαγγέλιον ἐχθροὶ δι' ὑμᾶς, κατὰ δὲ τὴν ἐκλογὴν ἀγαπητοὶ διὰ τοὺς πατέρας* R. XI 28. — [1])

Anm. 3. Weiter konkurriert mit *in* c. g. *bi* c. a.: in þis all gaþula bi þans gawalidans *διὰ τοῦτο πάντα ὑπομένω διὰ τοὺς ἐκλεκτούς* t. II 10. — v. a. J. VII 43. — Weil in beiden belegen schon *in* vorhergeht, ist die wahl von *bi* wohl auf variationsmotive zurückzuführen.

§ 143. Zur bezeichnung des grundes oder der ursache, meist bei sachen, = *διά* c. a.: in þis waurdis gagg *διὰ τοῦτον τὸν λόγον ὕπαγε* Mc. VII 29. — in þize aiþe jah in þize miþanakumbjandane ni wilda izai ufbrikan *διὰ τοὺς ὅρκους καὶ τοὺς συνανακειμένους οὐκ ἠθέλησεν αὐτὴν ἀθετῆσαι* Mc. VI 26. — framaþjai libainais gudis in unwitjis þis wisandins in im, in daubiþos hairtane seinaize *ἀπηλλοτριωμένοι τῆς ζωῆς τοῦ θεοῦ, διὰ τὴν ἄγνοιαν τὴν οὖσαν ἐν αὐτοῖς, διὰ τὴν πώρωσιν τῆς καρδίας αὐτῶν* E. IV 18. — u. ö. —

Anm. 1. Daneben findet sich auch *þairh* zur übersetzung von *διά* c. a.: þairh siukein leikis aiwaggelida izwis *δι' ἀσθένειαν τῆς σαρκὸς εὐηγγελισάμην ὑμῖν* G. IV 13. — v. a. E. V 6. — C. III 6. — L. I 77, 78 [2]). —

Anm. 2. Einmal wird *διά* c. a. mit *bi* c. d. übersetzt: ni waiht andsitandans bi gahugdai *μηδὲν ἀνακρίνοντες διὰ τὴν συνείδησιν* K. X 27 [3]). —

= *χάριν*: laisjandans þatei ni skuld ist, in faihugairneins *διδάσκοντες ἃ μὴ δεῖ αἰσχροῦ κέρδους χάριν.* Tit. I 11. —

= *ὑπέρ* c. g.: þata in izwara gabrukano *τὸ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν κλώμενον* K. XI 24. —

§ 144. Bisweilen bezeichnet *in* c. g. = *ὑπέρ* c. g mehr den zweck: so siukei nist du dauþau, ak in hauheinais gudis *αὕτη ἡ ἀσθένεια οὐκ ἔστιν πρὸς θάνατον ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ τῆς δόξης τοῦ θεοῦ* J. XI 4. — v. a. k. XII 19. — Das ist eigentlich überall der fall, wo es in verbindung mit sachen *ὑπέρ* übersetzt. So auch bei dem schon früher [4]) erwähnten *þreihan* und so auch bei dem in demselben vers vorkommenden: gaþrafstjanda in izwaraizos gaþlaihtais jah naseinais *παρακαλούμεθα, ὑπὲρ τῆς ὑμῶν παρακλήσεως καὶ σωτηρίας* k. I 6. —

Aus der Sk.: an⟨a⟩ airþai in manne garehsnais qam Sk. IV 22. — v. a. Sk. II 3. — Sk. VIII 9. — [5])

§ 145. *in* c. g. kommt ziemlich häufig in verbindung mit einem neutralen pronomen vor und die verbindung hat dann meistens die kraft eines adverbs oder einer konjunktion. Auf der grenze steht Tit. I 13, welche stelle schon früher zitiert wurde. [6]) — v. a. t. I 6. — Auf der anderen seite stehen: inuh þis nu saei ufbrikiþ, ni mann ufbrikiþ *τοιγαροῦν ὁ ἀθετῶν οὐκ ἄνθρωπον ἀθετεῖ* Th. IV 8. — v. a. Neh. V 18. — Hier über-

[1]) § 92. — [2]) § 164 anm. — [3]) 154. — [4]) § 141. — [5]) Wegen *in* c. g. zur bezeichnung des hinderungsgrundes § 53. — [6]) § 140.

setzt der ausdruck ein adverb oder eine konjunktion. *in* c. g. konkurriert in diesem fall mit *du* c. instr. Bisweilen ist der unterschied noch deutlich, bisweilen ist aber, wie schon gezeigt wurde, der unterschied rein stilistisch. [1])

Einmal ist *in hvis* übersetzung von *διὰ τί.* [1])

Sonst werden die pronomina in verbindung mit *in* entweder relativ oder demonstrativ gebraucht.

in þis demonstrativ = *τούτου χάριν* : in þis biuga kniwa meina *τούτου χάριν κάμπτω τὰ γόνατά μου* E. III 14. —

= *διὰ τοῦτο* : in ... þis ... gilstra ustiuhaiþ *διὰ τοῦτο ... φόρους τελεῖτε* R. XIII 6 [1]). — u. ö. —

= *ἕνεκεν τούτου* : in ... þis bileiþai manna attin seinamma *ἕνεκεν τούτου καταλείψει ἄνθρωπος τὸν πατέρα αὐτοῦ* Mc. X 7. —

= *διό* : in ... þis usdaudjam *διὸ ... φιλοτιμούμεθα* k. V 9. — u. ö. —

Aus der Sk. : in ... þis garaihtaba anaaiauk qiþands. Sk. VI 22. — u. ö. —

in þizei relativ = *οὗ χάριν* : si balsana gasalboda fotuns meinans. in þizei qiþa þus: afletanda frawaurhteis izos *αὕτη ... μύρῳ ἤλειψεν τοὺς πόδας μου. οὗ χάριν, λέγω σοι, ἀφέωνται αἱ ἁμαρτίαι αὐτῆς* L. VII 46. 47. —

= *οὗ εἵνεκα* : ahma fraujins ana mis, in þizei gasalboda mik *πνεῦμα κυρίου ἐπ' ἐμέ, οὗ εἵνεκεν ἔχρισέν με* L. IV 18. —

= *διότι* : unte gairnjands was allaize izwara jah unwunands, in þizei hausideduþ ina siukan *ἐπειδὴ ἐπιποθῶν ἦν πάντας ὑμᾶς καὶ ἀδημονῶν διότι ἠκούσατε ὅτι ἠσθένησεν* Ph. II 26. —

= *διά* c. inf.: urrann, in þizei ni habaida diupaizos airþos *ἐξανέτειλεν διὰ τὸ μὴ ἔχειν βάθος γῆς* Mc. IV 5. — gaþaursnoda in þizei ni habaida qrammiþa *ἐξηράνθη διὰ τὸ μὴ ἔχειν ἰκμάδα* L. VIII 6. — in þizei usþriutiþ mis so widuwo, fraweita þo *διά ... τὸ παρέχειν μοι κόπον τὴν χήραν ταύτην ἐκδικήσω αὐτήν* L. XVIII 5. — u. ö. [2])

Streitberg [3]) war der ansicht, dass die formen mit *ei* niemals demonstrativ gebraucht werden und nahm in dem hauptbeweisstück: in þizozei waihtais bilaiþ þus in Kretai in þize ei wanata atgaraihtjais jah gasatjais usw. Tit. I 5. — einen fehler an. Er hielt *in þize* mit Bernhardt für eine glosse und folgerte daraus, dass der abschreiber den satz in der überlieferten form nicht verstanden hat. Curme [4]) hat wahrscheinlich gemacht, dass die überlieferung richtig ist: er übersetzt: for this very thing I left you in Crete for this very thing that you should set in order etc. Diese beweisführung hat Streitberg überzeugt; in dem E.B.[5/6] § 347 nimmt er auch demonstrative bedeutung an. Dann kann auch in den folgenden fällen, wo *in þizei διό* übersetzt, *in þizei* als demonstrativ betrachtet werden. in þizei mis galeikaiþ *διὸ εὐδοκῶ* k. XII 10. — v. a. E. III 13. — R. XV 7. — E. IV 8. — k. IV 13. — E. IV 25. — Th. III 1. —

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[1]) § 129. — [2]) Wegen *in þizei* = *ἀνθ' ὧν* (L. XIX 44) und wegen *duþe ei* in derselben bedeutung wie *in þizei* § 129. — [3]) *E.B.*, 3/4 § 347 anm. 1. — [4]) *Journ. of eng. a. germ. phil.*, X. s. 353 ff.

Aus der Sk.: iþ in þizei þaim ... hardizo ... warþ hairto, inuh þis garaihtaba anaaiauk Sk. VI 21, 22. — þo nu insakana wesun fram Iohanne ni in þis þatainei, ei fraujins mikilein gakannidedi, ak du gatarhjan jah gasakan þo afgudon haifst Sabailliaus jah Markaill[i]aus Sk. IV 24. — Hier werden *in* c. g. und *du* wieder synonym gebraucht.

bi c. d. und c. a.

§ **146.** *bi* kommt in örtlichem sinn nicht sehr häufig vor, weder mit dem d., noch mit dem a. Winkler [1]), der beim dat. überall die idee der beteiligung sehen will, leugnet, dass der dat. in verbindung mit *bi* jemals rein örtlich ist, während *bi* c. a. häufig örtlich gebraucht werde und auch dort, wo es nicht rein örtlich gebraucht wird, sei die örtliche bedeutung noch leicht herauszufühlen. So trete L. IV 11: gastagqjais bi staina fotu þeinana das verletzen in den vordergrund, L. VI 48: bistagq alwa bi jainamma razna das umfluten. Ein verletzen findet sich aber ebensogut: ƕas þuk stautai bi taihswon þeina kinnu M. V 39. — vgl. a. L. VI 29. — Wahrscheinlich hängt der unterschied davon ab, ob die präpositionalbestimmung mit einem intralocalen oder translocalen verbum verbunden ist. Wo *bi* c. a. übertragen gebraucht wird, ist, wie Winkler bemerkt, der begriff des „in bezug" leicht aus dem des „herum" herzuleiten: das ist aber auch bei *bi* c. d. der fall, nur mit dem unterschied, dass man von der idee des „an" auszugehen hat. Dass *bi* c. a. so oft „um" bedeutet, scheint mir damit zusammenzuhängen, dass in *bi* c. a. idg. **bhi* und **m̥bhi* zusammengefallen sind. [2]) Zunächst erklärt sich dadurch, dass *bi* c. a. in der bedeutung „um" auch dort vorkommt, wo von einer ruhe die rede ist. Aber auch in übertragener bedeutung scheint mir das „um" noch sehr oft herauszufühlen zu sein. Dies wird unten noch weiter ausgeführt. Es ist aber besonders dort der fall, wo es in verbindung mit verben des sagens und urteilens vorkommt. Dass es hier in den meisten fällen das gr. *περί* übersetzt, weist auch auf die bedeutung des „um" hin. [3]) Wenn es in verbindung mit gefühlsverben gebraucht wird, geht die bedeutung in eine grundbezeichnung über, wie man daraus ersieht, dass es hier mit *faur* und *in* c. g. konkurriert. Dasselbe ist bei den verben des betens der fall.

§ **147.** Bei *bi* c. d. geht man am besten von der bedeutung „an" aus. Daraus erklärt sich leicht die bedeutung „etwas zeigen an, etwas tun an" u. ä.: ei gabairhtjau bi þus maht meina [4]) — goþ waurstw waurhta bi mis usw. Hieraus entwickelt sich der begriff des grundes: „kennen an" u.s.w. [5]) und so können *bi* c. d. und *bi* c. a. mit einander

[1]) s. 197. — [2]) wegen dieser etymologie vgl. Behaghel, *D. S.*, II, §§ 516, s. 24, 605, s. 107 und Kögel, *Lit. Bl.* 1883, s. 379. — [3]) Aber auch, wenn man diese etymologie nicht für wahrscheinlich hält und *bi* aus idg. **bhi* das im ablaut mit **obhi* steht, herleitet und es also mit lat. *ob* „gegen-hin, nach-hin, um-willen, wegen" ab. *obъ*, *obь* „um, an" čech. *ob* (o) „um, über" russ. o (*obъ*) „an, über" zusammenbringt, sind die got. bedeutungen sehr gut zu erklären, v. a. Boissacq *s. v. ἐπί*. — [4]) vgl. § 153. — [5]) § 154.

konkurrieren. Sehr oft kommt *bi* c. d. vor in der bedeutung „gemäss". Auch bei dieser bedeutung kann man von „an" ausgehen. Man denke nur an „sich halten an". Als parallele ist das gr. *κατά* heranzuziehen, dessen regelmässiger vertreter *bi* in dieser bedeutung ist und das van Blankenstein [1]) mit dem got. *frahinþan* und *handus* (wurzel **kemt* oder **kent*) zusammenbringt, sodass *κατὰ τὸν ποταμὸν* dann bedeutet „sich am flusse halten", woraus auch die übertragene bedeutung leicht sich ergibt.

bi c. d. kommt örtlich vor als übersetzung von *πρός* c. a.: ei ƕan ni gastagqjais bi staina fotu þeinana *μήποτε προσκόψῃς πρὸς λίθον τὸν πόδα σου* L. IV 11. —

= dat. bei einer zusammensetzung mit *πρός*: bistagq aƕa bi jainamma razna *προσέρρηξεν ὁ ποταμὸς τῇ οἰκίᾳ ἐκείνῃ* L. VI 48. —

Anm. L. VI 49 wird ein ähnlicher dat. mit einem acc. übersetzt: (razn) þatei bistagq flodus *(οἰκίαν) ᾗ προσέρρηξεν ὁ ποταμός*.

bi c. d. ist auch wohl anzunehmen Mc. V 41, wo es den gen. übersetzt: fairgraip bi handau þata barn *κρατήσας τῆς χειρὸς τοῦ παιδίου*. Man kann hier vergleichen: einen an der hand nehmen. v. a. Mc. IX 27. —

§ **148.** *bi* c. a. kommt einmal örtlich vor, wo es ein deutliches richtungsverhältnis bezeichnet = *ἐπί* c. a.: jabai ƕas þuk stautai bi taihswon þeina kinnu *ὅστις σε ῥαπίσει ἐπὶ τὴν δεξιάν σου σιαγόνα* M. V 39. — Ebenso L. VI 29, wo der casus der form nach unsicher ist.

Ein deutliches richtungsverhältnis findet sich auch bei der halbörtlichen bedeutung: bi witoþ garaihteins ni gasnau *εἰς νόμον δικαιοσύνης οὐκ ἔφθασεν* R. IX 31, wo es *εἰς* übersetzt.

Unsicher ist der casus Ph. III 14, wo Streitberg einen dat. annimmt, und wo die vorlage *κατά* c. a. hat: bi mundrein afargagga afar sigislauna *κατὰ σκοπὸν διώκω ἐπὶ τὸ βραβεῖον*. Holtzmann [2]) übersetzt: „jage ich dem ziele zu", was auf ein richtungsverhältnis hinweist, so dass ich lieber einen acc. annehmen möchte.

So lässt sich auch: þai bi þata anþar lustjus *αἱ περὶ τὰ λοιπὰ ἐπιθυμίαι* Mc. IV 19 erklären, wo *bi* ein hinzufügen bezeichnet. Die übersetzung kann auch unter dem einfluss der vorlage stehen.

In den übrigen fällen, wo *bi* c. a. rein örtlich vorkommt, bezeichnet es eine ruhe und bedeutet „um"; es konkurriert mit *ana*. [3])

Einmal dient *bi* in dieser bedeutung zur umschreibung eines einfachen wortes (Mc. V 4 [3])), sonst übersetzt es *περί* c. a.: setun bi ina managei *ἐκάθητο περὶ αὐτὸν ὄχλος* Mc. III 32. — vgl. 34. — was... gawasiþs taglam ulbandaus jah gairda filleina bi hup seinana *ἦν... ἐνδεδυμένος τρίχας καμήλου καὶ ζώνην δερματίνην περὶ τὴν ὀσφὺν αὐτοῦ* Mc. I 6. — v. a. M. VIII 18. — Mc. III 8. — Mc. IV 10. — Ebenso wahrscheinlich in der ursprünglichen fassung J. XI 19. [4]) — Nicht deutlich ist mir der acc.: ni mannanhun bi wig goljaiþ *μηδένα κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν ἀσπάσησθε* L. X 4. —

[1]) *IF.* XXI, ss. 99—115. — [2]) II, 2 s. 235. — [3]) § 89 — [4]) § 118, anm. 1.

§ 149. In übertragenem sinn scheinen sich das richtungsverhältnis und die *um*-bedeutung sehr oft kontaminiert zu haben. Letztere ist in sehr vielen fällen trotzdem wieder herauszufinden. Es soll hier nicht weiter versucht werden, intralocal und translocal zu unterscheiden, wenn auch hin und wieder auf fälle hingewiesen wird, wo von einem richtungsverhältnis die rede sein kann. Uebertragen kommt *bi* vor in verbindung mit *wisan*, wo es sowohl *περί* als *κατά* c. a. übersetzt: þatei bi mik ist, all gakanneiþ izwis Twkeikus *τὰ κατ' ἐμὲ πάντα γνωρίσει ὑμῖν Τυχικός* C. IV 7. — v. a. E. VI 21 —. E. VI 22 wird *τὰ περὶ ἡμῶν* ebenso übersetzt: kunneiþ ƕa bi mik ist *γνῶτε τὰ περὶ ἡμῶν*. Dies braucht keine nachahmung nach v. 21 zu sein wie Streitberg glaubt. Ph. II 23 findet sich: gasaiƕa ƕa bi mik ist *ἀπίδω τὰ περὶ ἐμέ* und Ph. II 28 ohne entsprechung der zusatz: ufkunnands ƕa bi izwis ist, nach Str. ergänzt aus Ph. II 19 *γνοὺς τὰ περὶ ὑμῶν*.

Es bezeichnet weiter den grund und übersetzt *διά* c. a. oder *περί* c. g. und bei verben des betens *ὑπέρ*. Man kann hier vergleichen das moderne „beten um", „dulden um" usw.

= *διά* c. a.: all gaþula bi þans gawalidans *πάντα ὑπομένω διὰ τοὺς ἐκλεκτούς* t. II 10 [1]) —. missaqiss. . . . warþ bi ina *σχίσμα. . . . ἐγένετο δι' αὐτόν* J. VII 43. —

= *περί* c. g.: unwerjan bi Iakobu jah Iohannen *ἀγανακτεῖν περὶ Ἰακώβου καὶ Ἰωάννου* Mc. X 41. — v. a. L. II 18. —

bi þatei = *διά* c. inf. oder *ὑπέρ* c. g.: das erste mal ist es relativ, das zweite mal demonstrativ gebraucht. [2]) qaþ gajukon, bi þatei neƕa Iairusalem was *εἶπεν παραβολήν, διὰ τὸ ἐγγὺς αὐτὸν εἶναι Ἰερουσαλήμ* L. XIX 11. — bi þatei þrim sinþam frauja⟨n⟩ baþ *ὑπὲρ τούτου τρὶς τὸν κύριον παρεκάλεσα* k. XII 8. —

= *ὑπέρ* c. g. bei verben des betens u. ä., womit konkurrieren *faur* [3]) *fram* [4]) und *in* c. g. [5]): bidjaiþ bi þans usþriutandans izwis *προσεύχεσθε ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐπηρεαζόντων ὑμᾶς* M. V 44. — v. a. C. IV 13. — u. ö. —
Aus der Sk.: bi siponjans bidjands du attin Sk. V 25. —

Etwas anders ist das verhältnis k. I 8, wo *bi* auch *ὑπέρ* c. g. übersetzt: unweisans. . . . bi aglon unsara *ἀγνοεῖν. . . ὑπὲρ τῆς θλίψεως ἡμῶν*. — k. VIII 23 steht *bi Teitu ὑπὲρ Τίτου* ausser dem eigentlichen satzzusammenhang; es bedeutet: was „Titus betrifft".

In derselben bedeutung wie oben dient *bi* auch zur übersetzung von *ἐπί* c. d. und *ἐπί* c. a., wo in der vorlage bisweilen deutlich eine richtung bezeichnet werden soll. So z. b.: gaigrot bi þo (baurg) *ἔκλαυσεν ἐπ' αὐτήν* L. XIX 41. — Ebenso bei verben des sagens und schreibens u.s.w., wo *bi* c. a. gewöhnlich *περί* c. g., aber auch *ἐπί* c. a. übersetzt, z. b.: gameliþ ist bi ina *γέγραπται ἐπ' αὐτόν* Mc. IX 13. [6]) — Hier berühren sich die richtungsbedeutung und die *um*-beziehung; von solchen fällen kann die kontamination ausgegangen sein. Auch in *ἐπί* c. d. scheint bisweilen ein

[1]) § 142 anm. 2. — [2]) § 129 anm. — [3]) § 57. — [4]) § 23. — [5]) § 140. — [6]) § 150.

richtungsverhältnis zu stecken. Es wird bei *meljan* einmal mit *du* übersetzt. þata was du þamma gameliþ ταῦτα ἦν ἐπ' αὐτῷ γεγραμμένα J. XII 16. — Demnach kann *bi* in den folgenden fällen auch ein richtungsverhältnis bezeichnen: sildaleikjandam bi alla þoei gatawida Iesus θαυμαζόντων ἐπὶ πᾶσιν οἷς ἐποίησεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς L. IX 43. — Vgl. L. IV 22, 32. — Die konkurrierenden konstruktionen wurden schon früher besprochen.[1]).

§ 150. *bi* c. a. bei wörtern des sagens und denkens bezeichnet den gegenstand des sprechens und des denkens.

= περί c. g.: birodjandein bi ina þata γογγύζοντος περὶ αὐτοῦ ταῦτα J. VII 32. — v. a. J. VI. 41 — ƕopam bi waldufni unsar καυχήσωμαι περὶ τῆς ἐξουσίας ἡμῶν k. X 8. — awiliude... bi izwis εὐχαριστίαν... περὶ ὑμῶν Th. III 9. — meriþa urrann... bi ina φήμη ἐξῆλθεν... περὶ αὐτοῦ L. IV 14. — u. ö.

Anm. 1. Bei *hausjan* und *meriþa* findet sich auch *fram* zur übersetzung von περί c. g.[2]).

Anm. 2. Bei *birodjan* findet sich für die sache der blosse acc. = περί c. g.: birodidedun þata γογγύζουσι περὶ τούτου J. VI 61. — Hier entspricht also *birodjan rodjan bi*.

= ἐπί c. a.: gameliþ ist bi ina γέγραπται ἐπ' αὐτόν Mc. IX 13. — v. a. Mc. IX 12. —

= blosser dat.: all þata gamelido þairh praufetuns bi sunu mans πάντα τὰ γεγραμμένα διὰ τῶν προφητῶν τῷ υἱῷ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου L. XVIII 31. —

= blosser acc.: wailamerjan ik skal bi þiudangardja gudis εὐαγγελίσασθαί με δεῖ τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ L. IV 43.

Aus der Sk.: sah weitwodeiþ bi mik Sk. VI 18. — v. a. Sk. III 3. — IV 2, 7. — VI 4. —

Eine unerklärliche abweichung von der vorlage findet sich M. VIII 33. gataihun... all bi þans daimonarjans ἀπήγγειλαν πάντα καὶ τὰ τῶν δαιμονιζομένων. Dass die stelle unter dem einfluss von Mc. V 16 stünde,[3]) scheint mir nicht wahrscheinlich. Eher wäre noch anzunehmen, dass der übersetzer κατά für καιτα verlesen hätte.

§ 151. Bei andern wörtern = περί c. g.: ei tawidedeina bi biuhtja witodis bi ina τοῦ ποιῆσαι αὐτοὺς κατὰ τὸ εἰθισμένον τοῦ νόμου περὶ αὐτοῦ L. II 27. — v. a. K. XVI 1. — L. IX 11. —

Anm. Zweimal wird περί c. g. mit einem blossen gen. übersetzt, einmal bei *kar-ist*[4]), einmal bei *fraweitands*: fraweitands frauja ist allaize ἔκδικος ὁ κύριος περὶ πάντων τούτων Th. IV 6. —

Mc. V 16 findet sich zweimal *bi* c. a.: einmal = blosser dat., einmal = περί c. g.: ƕaiwa warþ bi þana wodan jah bi þo sweina ἐγένετο τῷ

[1]) § 91 anm. 3. — [2]) § 22. — [3]) § 151. — [4]) § 57, anm. 2.

δαιμονιζομένῳ καὶ περὶ τῶν χοίρων Mc. V 16. — Die änderung ist wohl stilistisch.

= *περί* c. a.: uskusanai bi galaubein *ἀδόκιμοι περὶ τὴν πίστιν* t. III 8. — v. a. T. I 19. —

= *ἐπί* c. d. daneben *ana* c. d.[1]): þatei warþ bi ija *ὃ γέγονεν ἐπ' αὐτῇ* Mc. V 33. —

= gen.: ei usfullidedi izwar gaidw bi mein andbahti *ἵνα ἀναπληρώσῃ τὸ ὑμῶν ὑστέρημα τῆς πρός με λειτουργίας* Ph. II 30. — Die abweichung stimmt mit: circa meum obsequium von de usw. überein.

Aus der Sk.: þo bi nasjand Sk. IV 6. —

§ 152. Das richtungsverhältnis tritt noch hervor in fällen, wo *bi* c. a. die person oder die sache nennt, in bezug worauf eine handlung geschieht. Dass hier ein richtungsverhältnis vorliegt, ergibt sich daraus, dass es hier mit *wiþra* und *ana* c. a. (s. anm.) konkurriert. In einigen fällen bildet die bestimmung eine weniger feste verbindung mit dem verbum und bildet einen übergang zu den adverbiellen verbindungen, die zugleich mit den adverbiellen bestimmungen mit *bi* c. d. behandelt werden. Ein derartiger übergang ist: ufhausjaiþ fadreinam bi all *ὑπακούετε τοῖς γονεῦσιν κατὰ πάντα* C. III 20. — Die bestimmungen mit *bi* c. a., die einen bezug bezeichnen, berühren sich mit den bestimmungen mit *bi* c. d., die sehr oft dieselbe bedeutung haben.

= *κατά* c. g.: garuni gatawidedun bi ina, ei imma usqemeina *συμβούλιον ἐποίουν κατ' αὐτοῦ, ὅπως αὐτὸν ἀπολέσωσιν* Mc. III 6. — u. ö.[2]). —

Anm. Mit *bi* c. a. konkurrieren *ana* c. a. und *wiþra*.[3]) Während *bi* nur die hinsicht bezeichnet, heben *ana* und *wiþra* das richtungsverhältnis stärker hervor.

= *κατά* c. a.: saurgaideduþ... bi guþ *ἐλυπήθητε ... κατὰ θεόν* k. VII 9 — v. a. k. VII 10. —

Aus der Sk. schliesst sich hier an: so bi guþ hrainei Sk. III 9. —

Einmal scheint *bi* c. a. das mittel zu bezeichnen: ni bi hlaib ainana libaid manna, ak bi all waurde gudis *οὐκ ἐπ' ἄρτῳ μόνῳ ζήσεται ἄνθρωπος, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ παντὶ ῥήματι θεοῦ* L. IV 4. — Diese bedeutung wäre dann als eine weitere entwicklung des begriffes des grundes zu erklären. Dass wir hier mit einem gräzismus zu tun haben, ist nicht wahrscheinlich, weil wir dann einen dat. zu erwarten hätten.

bi c. d. in übertragener bedeutung.

§ 153. Wir gehen wie gesagt[4]) hierbei am besten von der bedeutung „an" aus und kommen dann zuerst zu den bestimmungen, die die person oder die sache bezeichnen, in hinsicht worauf etwas geschieht. Sehr

[1]) § 94 anm. 2. — [2]) Hierzu gehört auch wohl T. V 19, zitiert § 91 anm. 1, wo *bi* auch *κατά* c. g. übersetzt, wo aber der casus unsicher ist. — [3]) §§ 91, 62. — [4]) § 147.

deutlich ist dieses verhältnis bei dem schon erwähnten: gabairhtjau bi þus maht meina „ich zeige an dir meine macht".

= *ἐν*: ei gabairhtjau bi þus maht meina *ὅπως ἐνδείξωμαι ἐν σοὶ τὴν δύναμίν μου* R. IX 17. — Mc. XIV 6. —

Vielleicht auch: ei ƕas ni ufargaggai nih bi faihu <h>ol<o broþar seinana *τὸ μὴ ὑπερβαίνειν καὶ πλεονεκτεῖν ἐν τῷ πράγματι τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ* Th. IV 6, wenn Brauns ergänzung richtig ist. Wir müssen dann annehmen, dass der übersetzer unter einfluss von *πλεονεκτεῖν* bei *ἐν τῷ πράγματι* an „vermögen" gedacht hat.

Daneben kommt auch *in* c. d. vor [1]).

Anm. Einmal wird *ἐν* in dieser bedeutung mit einem dat. übersetzt: ei þatei þeihais þu, swikunþ sijai allaim *ἵνα σου ἡ προκοπὴ φανερὰ ᾖ ἐν πᾶσιν* T. IV 15. —

= *μετά* c. g.: gamikilida frauja armahairtein seina bi izai *ἐμεγάλυνεν κύριος τὸ ἔλεος αὐτοῦ μετ' αυτῆς* L. I 58. — v. a. L. I 72. —

= *διά* c. g.: insandjands bi siponjam seinaim *πέμψας διὰ τῶν μαθητῶν αὐτοῦ* M. XI 2. — Diese stelle ist unsicher. *διά* c. g. bedeutet „durch". Bernhardt umschreibt es mit „um seiner jünger willen". Man wäre versucht, hier *bi* in übereinstimmung mit der bedeutung in anderen sprachen die bedeutung „durch" beizulegen, es gibt aber sonst davon keine beispiele. Zwar könnte bei einigen *bi* zur not so erklärt werden. Weil aber die vorlage dort [2]) *κατά* c. a. hat, spielt die bedeutung „gemäss" mit hinein.

= *ἐπί* c. g.: taiknins þozei gatawida bi siukaim *σημεῖα ἃ ἐποίει ἐπὶ τῶν ἀσθενούντων* J. VI 2. —

= *ἐπί* c. a.: ei gakannidedi gabein wulþaus seinis bi kasam armaions *ἵνα γνωρίσῃ τὸν πλοῦτον τῆς δόξης αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ σκεύη ἐλέους* R. IX 23. —

= *παρά* c. d.: ni wairþaiþ inahai bi izwis silbam *μὴ γίνεσθε φρόνιμοι παρ' ἑαυτοῖς* R. XII 16. —

= acc.: usbeidands <was> in managai laggamodein bi kasam þwairheins gamanwidaim du fralustai *ἤνεγκεν ἐν πολλῇ μακροθυμίᾳ σκεύη ὀργῆς κατηρτισμένα εἰς ἀπώλειαν* R. IX 22. — *bi* kann unter dem einfluss des folgenden *bi kasam* (v. 23) stehen.

bi = gen. hat auch wohl diese bedeutung K. IX 9: ni þatei bi auhsum us... *μὴ τῶν βοῶν μέλει.* —

§ 154. Daran schliessen sich die *bi*-bestimmungen, die den grund eines kennens oder glaubens bezeichnen = „kennen an", und hieraus lässt sich die kausale bedeutung bei anderen verben herleiten.

= *ἀπό*: bi akranam ize ufkunnaiþ ins *ἀπὸ τῶν καρπῶν αὐτῶν ἐπιγνώσεσθε αὐτούς* M. VII 16. —

= *ἐν*: bi þamma ufkunnand allai þei meinai siponjos sijuþ *ἐν τούτῳ γνώσονται πάντες ὅτι ἐμοὶ μαθηταί ἐστε* J. XIII 35. — v. a. J. XVI 30. —

Ebenso bei verben des schwörens:

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[1]) § 104. — [2]) § 154.

= *ἐν* oder *εἰς*: ni swaran allis, ni bi himina... nih bi airþai... nih bi Iairusaulwmai *μὴ ὀμόσαι ὅλως, μήτε ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ... μήτε ἐν τῇ γῇ... μήτε εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα* M. V 34, 35. —

= acc.: biswara þuk bi guda *ὁρκίζω σε τὸν θεόν* Mc. V 7. —

Bei anderen verben: = *διά* c. a.: ni waiht andsitandans bi gahugdai *μηδὲν ἀνακρίνοντες διὰ τὴν συνείδησιν* K. X 27.

= *κατά* c. a.: þo anabusn anafilha þus... bi þaim... praufetjam *ταύτην τὴν παραγγελίαν παρατίθεμαί σοι... κατὰ τὰς... προφητείας* T. I 18. — v. a. Ph. III 6, IV 11. — E. IV 22. —

K. VII 6 wird die *κατά*-bestimmung einmal durch eine *bi*-bestimmung, einmal durch ein kongruierendes adjektiv übersetzt: þata... qiþa gakunnands, ni bi haitjai *τοῦτο... λέγω κατὰ συγγνώμην οὐ κατ' ἐπιταγήν*.

= *ἐπί* c. d.: gaþlahsnoda bi innatgahtai is *διεταράχθη ἐπὶ τῷ λόγῳ αὐτοῦ* L. I 29. —

= dat.: jah bi filusnai andhuleino, ei ni ufarhafnau *τῇ ὑπερβολῇ τῶν ἀποκαλύψεων ἵνα μὴ ὑπεραίρωμαι* k. XII 7. —

Ohne entsprechung: bi silbins apaustaulus insahtai melida wisan us Asiai, unterschr. K.

§ 155. *bi* c. d. bedeutet „gemäss" und übersetzt *κατά* c. a. ushauhnai namo fraujins unsaris... bi anstai gudis unsaris *ἐνδοξασθῇ τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν... κατὰ τὴν χάριν τοῦ θεοῦ ἡμῶν* th. I 12. — u. ö. —

Anm. 1. Zweimal findet sich *bi* c. acc.: þatei rodja ni rodja bi fraujan *ὃ λαλῶ, οὐ λαλῶ κατὰ κύριον* k. XI 17. — jah... ƕa aljis þizai hailon laiseinai andstandiþ, sei ist bi aiwaggeli wulþaus þis audagins gudis *καὶ εἴ τι ἕτερον τῇ ὑγιαινούσῃ διδασκαλίᾳ ἀντίκειται, κατὰ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τῆς δόξης τοῦ μακαρίου θεοῦ* T. I 10, 11. — Wenn wir damit vergleichen: bi aiwaggeljon fijandans in izwara *κατὰ... τὸ εὐαγγέλιον ἐχθροὶ δι' ὑμᾶς* R. XI 28, was doch wohl dat. ist, ebenso wie das folgende *bi gawaleinai* (auch = *κατά* c. a.), so findet sich kein unterschied.

Aus der Sk.: ains jah sa sama wesi bi Sabailliaus insahtai Sk. V 13. — v. a. VIII 19. —

Anm. 2. Einmal wird *κατά* c. a. in obiger bedeutung mit einem adjektiv übersetzt: þo ingardjon is aikklesjon *τὴν κατ' οἶκον αὐτοῦ ἐκκλησίαν* C. IV 15. — einmal mit einem possessivum: izwara galaubein *τὴν καθ' ὑμᾶς πίστιν* E. I 15. —

§ 156. In mehreren belegen hat *bi* auch die bedeutung von „gemäss". In diesen satzverbindungen dient es aber mehr, um die modalität zu bezeichnen, daher konkurrieren auch andere modale bestimmungen.

Anm. 1. Ein dat. als instr. modi findet sich: ei waurþi ufarassau frawaurhta frawaurhts *ἵνα γένηται καθ' ὑπερβολὴν ἁμαρτωλὸς ἡ ἁμαρτία* R. VII 13. — v. a. k. I 8. — Für denselben ausdruck findet sich *bi* c. d.: þata andwairþo ƕeilaƕairb jah leiht aglons unsaraizos bi ufarassau aiweinis wulþaus kaurein waurkjada unsis *τό... παραυτίκα ἐλαφρὸν τῆς*

θλίψεως ἡμῶν καθ' ὑπερβολὴν αἰώνιον βάρος δόξης κατεργάζεται ἡμῖν k. IV 17. — Ein dat. findet sich auch th. II 3: ni ƕashun izwis usluto ƕamma haidau *μήτις ὑμᾶς ἐξαπατήσῃ κατὰ μηδένα τρόπον*. Einmal findet sich *miþ*: ei miþ waldufnja jah ahmam þaim unhrainjam anabiudiþ *ὅτι κατ' ἐξουσίαν καὶ τοῖς πνεύμασιν τοῖς ἀκαθάρτοις ἐπιτάσσει* Mc. I 27. — In der parallelstelle L. IV 36 dient *miþ* zur übersetzung von *ἐν*. Ebenso finden sich nebeneinander *bi* und *us*: ni swaswe bi nauþai þiuþ þein(s) sijai, ak us lustum *ἵνα μὴ ὡς κατὰ ἀνάγκην τὸ ἀγαθόν σου ᾖ, ἀλλὰ κατὰ ἑκούσιον* Phil. 14. —. *us* = *κατά* findet sich auch: þans us gabaurþai astans *τῶν κατὰ φύσιν κλάδων* R. XI 21 [1]). —

Anm. 2. Ein kongruierendes adjektiv findet sich: ni swaswe fraujinonds qiþa izwis *οὐ κατ' ἐπιταγὴν λέγω* k. VIII 8. — ein substantiv: þu us wistai usmaitans *σὺ ἐκ τῆς κατὰ φύσιν ἐξεκόπης* R. XI 24. —

bi c. d. modal: du þammei arbaidja usdaudjands bi waurstwa *εἰς ὃ καὶ κοπιῶ ἀγωνιζόμενος κατὰ τὴν ἐνέργειαν* C. I 29. — v. a. t. I 8. — G. IV 29. — u. ö. —

Aus der Sk.: sweriþa ju ƕaþaramme usgibaima bi wairþidai Sk. V 22. — v. a. V 18. VI 1. —

Dass sich aus der modalen bedeutung eine instr. bedeutung entwickelt hätte, ist sehr zweifelhaft. Das deutlichste beispiel: ei galaisjaina sik bi þamma twa andwairþja attins jah sunaus andhaitan Sk. V 5; übersetzt Dietrich mit „lernen an". [2]) Es gehören hierher etwa folgende belege: bi gibai anstais gudis þizai gibanon mis bi toja mahtais is *κατὰ τὴν δωρεὰν τῆς χάριτος τοῦ θεοῦ τὴν δοθεῖσάν μοι κατὰ τὴν ἐνέργειαν τῆς δυνάμεως αὐτοῦ* E. III 7. — v. a. E. III 3. —

Aus der Sk.: s. o.

Oertlich könnte man fassen: þo bi andwairþja saiƕiþ *τὰ κατὰ πρόσωπον βλέπετε* k. X 7. — Hier spielt aber auch das „gemäss" eine rolle.

Zweimal kommt *bi þamma* = *κατὰ ταῦτα* vor; es wird ganz adverbiell gebraucht und bedeutet „auf diese weise": bi þamma ... tawidedun praufetum attans ize *κατὰ ταῦτα ... ἐποίουν τοῖς προφήταις οἱ πατέρες αὐτῶν* L. VI 23. — v. a. L. XVII 30. —

Eine auffällige bedeutung von *bi* finden wir Sk. V 17: andnimands bi attin þo sweriþa; wofür man in der Bibelübersetzung *at* [3]) gebrauchen würde. Vielleicht ist dies eine jüngere bedeutungsentwicklung von *bi*.

bi c. d. und c. a., die in mehreren anwendungen miteinander wechseln.

§ 157. Ganz adverbiell wird auch gebraucht *bi sunjai*, ein paar mal übersetzt es eine präpositionalbestimmung, meistens aber ein adverb.

Einmal ist es nicht adverbiell gebraucht: þaiei bi sunjai uswissai usmetun *οἵτινες περὶ τὴν ἀλήθειαν ἠστόχησαν*. t. II 18. — Es ist die einzige stelle, wo die vorlage in nicht örtlicher bedeutung *περί* c. a. hat. Es hat

[1]) § 33. — [2]) s. 10. — [3]) § 135.

hier aber die bedeutung von *περί* c. g. „in hinsicht auf" und man sollte hier also *bi* c. a. erwarten. Wenn also gelesen werden müsste: *bi sunja* (U) und nicht: *bi sunjai* (Br), so wäre es als acc. zu fassen und wäre Hirts folgerung [1]) doch auch hinfällig. Wahrscheinlich ist hier der dat. zu erklären aus dem häufigen gebrauch des adverbiellen *bi sunjai*. Weil *περί* c. a. in nicht örtlicher bedeutung in der bibel selten ist, kann der übersetzer auch falsch interpretiert haben.

bi sunjai kommt noch dreimal als übersetzung einer präpositionalbestimmung vor: dort kann es schon adverbiell gefasst werden: bi sunjai wig gudis laiseis *ἐπ' ἀληθείας τὴν ὁδὸν τοῦ θεοῦ διδάσκεις* L. XX 21. — v. a. L. IV 25. — Mc. XII 32. —

= *ὄντως*: bi sunjai praufetes was *ὄντως προφήτης ἦν* Mc. XI 32. — u. ö.

= *ἀληθῶς*: bi sunjai, jah þu þize is *ἀληθῶς καὶ σὺ ἐξ αὐτῶν εἶ* M. XXVI 73. — u. ö. —

= *δῆλον*: bi sunjai þatei ni usbairan ƕa magum *δῆλον ὅτι οὐδὲ ἐξενεγκεῖν τι δυνάμεθα* T. VI 7. —

Auch *bi* c. a. kommt adverbiell vor in dem ausdruck: *bi sum(ata)* = *ἀπὸ μέρους*: gakunnaideduþ uns bi sumata *ἐπέγνωτε ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ μέρους* k. I 14. — v. a. k. II 5. — R. XI 25. [2])

bi c. a. wird auch distributiv gebraucht; es übersetzt *κατά* c. a.: jaþþe razdai ƕas rodjai, bi twans aiþþau maist þrins *εἴτε γλώσσῃ τις λαλεῖ, κατὰ δύο ἢ τὸ πλεῖστον τρεῖς* K. XIV 27. —

Anm. Daneben *ainƕarjizuh* = *κατά*: ainƕarjizuh anþar *ὁ... καθ' εἷς ἀλλήλων* R. XII 5. — [3])

§ **158.** *bi* wird auch zeitlich gebraucht; einmal kommt *bi* c. d. so vor, wo es *κατά* c. a. übersetzt: bi þamma mela qima, jah wairþiþ Sarrin sunus *κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν τοῦτον ἐλεύσομαι, καὶ ἔσται τῇ Σάρρᾳ υἱός* R. IX 9. — Hier bezeichnet *bi* deutlich einen zeitpunkt.

bi c. a. bedeutet gewöhnlich „innerhalb" und bezeichnet also eine zeiterstreckung.

= *ἐν*: bi þrins dagans gatimrjands (alh) *ἐν τρισὶν ἡμέραις οἰκοδομῶν (τὸν ναόν)* Mc. XV 29. —

Anm. 1. *ἐν* in zeitlicher bedeutung wird auch übersetzt mit dat. [4]), acc. [4]), *und* [5]), *in* c. d. [6]), *in* c. a. [6])

= *διά* c. g.: bi þrins dagans anþara unhanduwaurhta gatimrja *διὰ τριῶν ἡμερῶν ἄλλον ἀχειροποίητον οἰκοδομήσω* Mc. XIV 58. — v. a. Neh. V 18. —

Es bedeutet „nach", wo es auch *διά* c. g. übersetzt: bi fidwortaihun jera usiddja aftra in Iairusaulwma *διὰ δεκατεσσάρων ἐτῶν πάλιν ἀνέβην εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα* G. II 1 [7]). —

Anm. 2. Einmal wird *διά* c. g. mit einem acc. übersetzt. [8])

[1]) *PBB.* XXII, 237. — [2]) *bi* muss wohl ergänzt werden, s. Str. z. st. — [3]) vgl. § 99 u. anm. u. wegen *καθ' εἷς* für *καθ' ἕνα* Blass, § 51, 5, s. 175. — [4]) § 110 anm. 1. — [5]) § 82. — [6]) § 110 anm. 1. — [7]) wegen *afar* als konkurrierender präposition § 69. — [8]) § 167 anm. 2.

M. XXVII 46, wo *bi* περί c. a. übersetzt, bedeutet es „um": bi ƕeila niundon ufhropida... stibnai mikilai περὶ... τὴν ἐνάτην ὥραν ἀνεβόησεν... φωνῇ μεγάλῃ.˙ —

Einmal bezeichnet *bi* c. a. einen zeitpunkt: saei skal stojan qiwans jah dauþans bi qum is jah) þiudinassu is τοῦ μέλλοντος κρίνειν ζῶντας καὶ νεκροὺς κατὰ τὴν ἐπιφάνειαν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν αὐτοῦ t. IV 1. — Die zeit ist aber hier auch nicht sehr bestimmt. Wenn wir es aber vergleichen mit *bi þamma mela* (R. IX 9 s. o.), ist der unterschied nicht herauszufinden.

Eine zeitbestimmung findet sich auch in: gaminþi marwtre þize bi Werekan papan jah Batwin bilaif aus dem got. kalender. Mit Streitberg wird wohl anzunehmen sein, dass *bi* hier einen acc. regiert, weil *papan* nur acc. sein kann.

bi c. instr.

§ 159. *bi* c. instr. wird meistens als adverb oder als konjunktion gebraucht. Es gibt aber einige fälle, wo es eine präpositionalbestimmung vertritt.

biþe = μετὰ ταῦτα: andbahtei mis, unte matja jah drigka, jah biþe gamatjis jah gadrigkais þu διακόνει μοι, ἕως φάγω καὶ πίω, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα φάγεσαι καὶ πίεσαι σύ L. XVII 8. — Gewöhnlich wird μετὰ ταῦτα in dieser bedeutung mit *afar þata* übersetzt [1]).

Dieselbe bedeutung hat es auch, wo es ὕστερον übersetzt: at ustauhanaim þaim dagam, biþe gredags warþ συντελεσθεισῶν αὐτῶν ὕστερον ἐπείνασεν L. IV 2. — v. a. J. XIII 36. —

Einmal dient es zur übersetzung von ἐν τῷ καθεξῆς: jah warþ biþe καὶ ἐγένετο ἐν τῷ καθεξῆς L. VIII 1 [1]). — Die glosse *afar þata*, die später in den text gedrungen ist, beweist, dass die beiden ausdrücke synonym waren, dass aber *biþe* in dieser bedeutung zu veralten anfing und nicht mehr allgemein verständlich war.

= τότε: gagg faurþis gasibjon broþr þeinamma, jah biþe... atbair þo giba þeina ὕπαγε πρῶτον διαλλάγηθι τῷ ἀδελφῷ σου, καὶ τότε... πρόσφερε τὸ δῶρόν σου M. V 24. —

= καί: distaurnand balgeis; biþeh þan jah wein usgutniþ ῥήγνυνται οἱ ἀσκοί, καὶ ὁ οἶνος ἐκχεῖται M. IX 17. —

§ 160. Bis jetzt war *biþe* demonstrativ; in den übrigen fällen ist es relativ.

Es übersetzt ἐν c. inf.: jah warþ, biþe is anakumbida καὶ ἐγένετο ἐν τῷ κατακεῖσθαι αὐτόν Mc. II 15. — v. a. L. III 21. — L. XIX 15. —

= ἐπεί: biþe... usfullida alla þo waurda seina... galaiþ ἐπεί... ἐπλήρωσεν πάντα τὰ ῥήματα αὐτοῦ... εἰσῆλθεν L. VII 1. —

= ὅτε: biþe usfullida Iesus... ushof sik jainþro ὅτε ἐτέλεσεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς... μετέβη ἐκεῖθεν M. XI 1. — u. ö. —

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1) § 70.

= ὅταν: biþe fastaiþ, ni wairþaiþ swaswe þai liutans gaurai ὅταν νηστεύητε, μὴ γίνεσθε ὥσπερ οἱ ὑποκριταὶ σκυθρωποί M. VI 16. — u. ö. —

= ὡς: biþe sadai waurþun, qaþ ὡς ἐνεπλήσθησαν, λέγει J. VI 12. — u. ö. —

biþe dient auch zur umschreibung des gen. abs., wo der dat. unmöglich war und ein zeitliches verhältnis nahe lag, und wo sonst gewöhnlich eine bestimmung mit *at* gebraucht wird [1]): biþe utusiddjedun eis, sai, atberun imma αὐτῶν ... ἐξερχομένων, ἰδού, προσήνεγκαν αὐτῷ M. IX 32. — biþe gasatidedi grunduwaddju jah ni mahtedi ustiuhan, allai... duginnaina bilaikan ina θέντος αὐτοῦ θεμέλιον καὶ μὴ ἰσχύοντος ἐκτελέσαι, πάντες... ἄρξωνται ἐμπαίζειν αὐτῷ L. XIV 29. — Hier hätte der übersetzer auch den acc. verwenden können. [2]) — u. ö. —

= konjunktes partizip: biþe andnam þana hlaib jains ... galaiþ ut λαβὼν... τὸ ψωμίον ἐκεῖνος... ἐξῆλθεν J. XIII 30. —

Während *biþe* nur zeitlich gebraucht wird, hat *bilve* = τί, das nur einmal vorkommt, die bedeutung von „weshalb": bilve kunnum þata τί γνώσομαι τοῦτο L. I 18. —

þairh.

§ 161. *þairh* kommt nur mit dem acc. vor, es deckt sich im allgemeinen mit „durch". Winkler scheint ein grosser teil seines materials abhanden gekommen zu sein; er sagt wenigstens, dass *þairh* fast immer örtlich und nur hier und da auch in übertragenem sinne gebraucht wird und er zitiert denn auch nur die belege mit örtlicher und einige mit geistiger bedeutung. [3])

Nun ist es aber gerade umgekehrt: die zahl der beispiele mit rein örtlicher bedeutung ist verhältnismässig gering, während *þairh* sehr häufig übertragen gebraucht wird. In meiner materialsammlung gingen die belege mit rein örtlicher bedeutung auf eine seite, während die anderen belege 4 oder 5 seiten beanspruchten. Winkler zieht aus seinem befund den schluss, dass die bedeutung zu rein örtlich sei, als dass bei dieser präposition für den dat. raum wäre und dass hier der dat. nicht vorkommt, weil das got. eben das rein körperliche moment als das ausschlaggebende ansehe, und darauf verzichte, tiefere beziehungen nebenbei zum ausdruck zu bringen.

§ 162. Oertlich übersetzt es διά c. g. Es kommt einige male bei zusammensetzungen mit *þairh* vor.

þairhberi kas þairh þo alh διενέγκῃ σκεῦος διὰ τοῦ ἱεροῦ Mc. XI 16. — u. ö. —

Von unserem sprachgebrauch weicht einigermassen ab: ni mahta manna usleiþan þairh þana wig jainana μὴ ἰσχύειν τινὰ παρελθεῖν διὰ τῆς ὁδοῦ ἐκείνης M. VIII 28. — Wenn wir dies *þairh wig* mit *ana* und *in wiga* [4])

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1) § 137. — 2) C. S. § 95, s. 116 ff. — 3) s. 214. — 4) § 87.

vergleichen, so sehen wir, dass *þairh* hier eine ganz andere bedeutung hat als *in* oder *ana* und so können wir diesen gebrauch, obgleich *þairh* wörtlich διά übersetzt, für idiomatisch halten. Auch Tatian gebraucht *thuruh*, allerdings als übersetzung von *per*.

Anm. 1. Einmal wird διά c. g. durch einen acc. bei einer zusammensetzung mit *þairh* übersetzt: marein þairhiddjedun διὰ τῆς θαλάσσης διῆλθον K. X 1. —

Anm. 2. In örtlicher bedeutung kommt auch *and* als übersetzung von διά c. g. vor. Dies hat aber eine ganz andere bedeutung, es bedeutet nämlich „an der oberfläche hin, entlang". [1])

§ 163. Sehr oft bezeichnet *þairh* das mittel. Meistens übersetzt es auch διά c. g.

Einen übergang zwischen dem rein örtlichen und dem mittel bildet z.b.: saiƕam nu þairh skuggwan in frisahtai βλέπομεν ... ἄρτι δι' ἐσόπτρου ἐν αἰνίγματι K. XIII 12. —

þairh zur bezeichnung eines mittels: all leik þairh gawissins jah gabindos auknando jah þeihando πᾶν τὸ σῶμα διὰ τῶν ἁφῶν καὶ συνδέσμων ἐπιχορηγούμενον καὶ συμβιβαζόμενον C. II 19. — u. ö. —

§ 164. *þairh* bezeichnet mehr die wirkende ursache: hoftuli izwara biauknai ... þairh meinana qum aftra du izwis τὸ καύχημα ὑμῶν περισσεύῃ ... διὰ τῆς ἐμῆς παρουσίας πάλιν πρὸς ὑμᾶς Ph. I 26. — u. ö. —

Einmal tritt ein durch *þairh þatei* eingeleiteter satz an die stelle eines dat.: þatei ist all du riurein, þairh þatei is brukjaidau bi anabusnim jah laiseinim manne ἅ ἐστιν πάντα εἰς φθορὰν τῇ ἀποχρήσει κατὰ τὰ ἐντάλματα καὶ διδασκαλίας τῶν ἀνθρώπων C. II 22. —

Anm. Einmal wird διά in dieser bedeutung durch einen gen. übersetzt: þo swesona leikis τὰ διὰ τοῦ σώματος k. V 10. — *K. usw. lesen aber τὰ ἴδια τοῦ σώματος.

Auch für διά c. a., das „wegen" bedeutet und denn auch gewöhnlich durch *in* c. g. [2]) oder auch ein paar mal durch *bi* c. a. [3]) übersetzt wird, findet sich einige male *þairh*: þairh siukein leikis aiwaggelida izwis δι' ἀσθένειαν τῆς σαρκὸς εὐηγγελισάμην ὑμῖν G. IV 13. — v. a. E. V 6. — C. III 6. — L. I 77, 78. —

E. V 6 und C. III 6 kann *þairh* auch als „durch" gefasst werden.

Wo es „wegen" bedeutet, stimmt es in der bedeutung überein mit den folgenden stellen, wo es διά c. g. übersetzt: awiliudo guda þairh Iesu Xristu εὐχαριστῶ τῷ θεῷ διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ R. VII 25. — v. a. C. III 17. — R. XII 1. —

Dies wird noch deutlicher, wenn man diese stellen wieder mit den zwei folgenden vergleicht, wo διά c. g. durch *bi* c. d. und *in* c. g. über-

[1]) § 97. — [2]) §§ 138 ff. — [3]) § 149.

setzt wird. ik... bidja izwis bi qairrein jah mukamodein Xristaus *ἐγὼ... παρακαλῶ ὑμᾶς διὰ τῆς πραότητος καὶ ἐπιεικείας τοῦ Χριστοῦ* k. X 1. — in þizos anþaraize usdaudeins jah izwaraizos friaþwos airkniþa kiusands *διὰ τῆς ἑτέρων σπουδῆς καὶ τὸ τῆς ὑμετέρας ἀγάπης γνήσιον δοκιμάζων* k. VIII 8. — Es ist also nicht nötig, mit v. d. Gabelentz und Löbe anzunehmen, dass der übersetzer sich durch das gr. wort hat verleiten lassen, ohne die konstruktion zu berücksichtigen.

§ **165.** Hier schliessen sich einige fälle an, wo *þairh* zur übersetzung von *διά* c. g. mehr modal gebraucht wird. Inwiefern dieser gebrauch idiomatisch ist und inwiefern diese kategorie noch empfunden wurde, entzieht sich unserer beurteilung. In anderen sprachen kommt „durch" in dieser bedeutung meines wissens nicht vor und Wulfila gebraucht dafür gewöhnlich *in* c. d. [1]), *bi* [2]) und *miþ* [3]), allerdings zur übersetzung anderer präpositionen.

þairh allos aihtronins jah bidos aihtrondans *διὰ πάσης προσευχῆς καὶ δεήσεως προσευχόμενοι* E. VI 18. — gamelida izwis þairh managa tagra *ἔγραψα ὑμῖν διὰ πολλῶν δακρύων* k. II 4. — v. a. k. III 11. — k. V 7. — L. VIII 4. — Nur k. II 4 und k. III 11 können schwerlich anders erklärt werden, die anderen belege sind ziemlich unsicher. *þairh* kann hier auch ein mittel bezeichnen; alles hängt von der interpretation ab. So erklärt Holzmann k. V 7[4]): „denn durch das gebiet des glaubens wandeln wir hienieden, nicht durch das der wirklichen erscheinung". Dann wäre *þairh* rein örtlich zu fassen; es fragt sich aber, ob der übersetzer es so gefasst hat. Mir scheint eine übersetzung: „glaubend, nicht sehend wandeln wir auf erden" einfacher und natürlicher.

§ **166.** *þairh* kommt auch in verbindung mit personen vor, um den vermittler oder den urheber zur bezeichnen. Es kommt ziemlich oft vor und übersetzt stets *διά* c. g.: jiukam þairh þana frijondan uns *ὑπερνικῶμεν διὰ τοῦ ἀγαπήσαντος ἡμᾶς* R. VIII 37. — u. ö. —

In verbindung mit substantiven dient *þairh* zweimal zur übersetzung von *κατά* c. a., nämlich in den überschriften von Lukas und Markus: aiwaggeljo þairh Lukan (Marku) *εὐαγγέλιον κατὰ Λοῦκαν* (*Μάρκον*) L. (Mc.) I überschr. —

Sonst übersetzt es auch hier *διά* c. g. aipistaulein swe þairh uns *ἐπιστολῆς ὡς δι' ἡμῶν* th. II 2. — u. ö. —

§ **167.** Gesondert werden hier erwähnt die fälle, wo *þairh* bei passiven verben den urheber bezeichnet.

Einmal übersetzt es *ὑπό* c. g.: frijei meina stojada þairh ungalaubjandins þuhtu *ἡ ἐλευθερία μου κρίνεται ὑπὸ ἄλλης συνειδήσεως* K. X 29. — Hier konkurriert es also mit *fram* [5]) und *af* [6]). Sonst übersetzt es auch hier *διά* c. g. bei personen: so... giba þairh managans awiliudodau *τὸ...*

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[1]) § 103. — [2]) § 156. — [3]) § 171. — [4]) II. 1 s. 238. — [5]) § 18. — [6]) § 12.

χάρισμα διὰ πολλῶν εὐχαριστηθῇ k. I 11. — v. a. M. VIII 17. — L. XVIII 31. — G. VI 14. — k. I 19. — M. XXVII 9. —

Bei einem *nan*-verbum in der einen hs. und einem inf. mit passiver bedeutung in der anderen: inswinþjan (gaswinþnan) þairh ahman seinana *κραταιωθῆναι διὰ τοῦ πνεύματος αὐτοῦ* E. III 16. — Bei einem *nan*-verbum und einem passivum: ni . . . wagjan izwis fram ahin, nih drobnan, nih þairh ahman u.s.w.: *μὴ . . . σαλευθῆναι ὑμᾶς ἀπὸ τοῦ νοὸς μήτε θροεῖσθαι, μήτε διὰ πνεύματος κτλ.* th. II 2. —

Anm. 1. In dem folgenden satz wird in übereinstimmung mit der vorlage die wirkende ursache durch den instrumentalen dativ, das mittel durch *þairh* bezeichnet: anstai sijuþ ganasidai þairh galaubein *τῇ . . . χάριτί ἐστε σεσωσμένοι διὰ τῆς πίστεως* E. II 8. —

Anm. 2. Wo *διά* c. g. die zeit bezeichnet, wird es mit *bi* [1]) oder *afar* [2]) übersetzt, einmal findet sich ein acc. bei einer zusammensetzung mit *þairh*: alla naht þairharbaidjandans *δι' ὅλης νυκτὸς κοπιάσαντες* L. V 5. — Die konstruktion stimmt überein mit L. VI 12, wo *διανυκτερεύων* übersetzt wird mit *naht þairhwakands*.

miþ.

§ **168.** *miþ* regiert im got. nur den dat., bei dem nach Brugmann [3]) loc. und instr. zugleich beteiligt scheinen, während Delbrück [4]) ihn für einen instr. erklärt.

Einmal hat *miþ* im got. die bedeutung „zwischen" und zwar ganz unabhängig von der vorlage: es übersetzt hier *ἀνὰ μέσον*: qam at marein Galeilaie miþ tweihnaim markom Daikapaulaios *ἦλθεν πρὸς τὴν θάλασσαν τῆς Γαλιλαίας ἀνὰ μέσον τῶν ὁρίων τῆς Δεκαπόλεως* Mc. VII 31. — Dieser bedeutung schliesst sich die bedeutung „unter" an. Ein interessantes beispiel hierfür ist k. VIII 19, weil die übersetzung ganz von der vorlage abweicht: (broþar) gatewiþs fram aikklesjom miþ gasinþam uns (*ἀδελφὸν*) *χειροτονηθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν συνέκδημος ἡμῶν* [5]). — In genau derselben bedeutung findet sich *miþ*, wo es *μετά* c. g. übersetzt: miþ unsibjaim rahniþs was *μετὰ ἀνόμων ἐλογίσθη* Mc. XV 28. — Weiter findet sich die bedeutung „unter" in den schon verzeichneten fällen, wo *miþ ἐν* übersetzt. [6]) Auch wo *miþ sis misso* in verbindung mit verben des sprechens *πρός* c. a. übersetzt, hat es noch die bedeutung „unter". [7]) In dieser bedeutung übersetzt es auch *μετά*: ni birodeiþ miþ izwis misso *μὴ γογγύζετε μετ' ἀλλήλων* J. VI 43. — v. a. J. XVI 19. —

Aus der Sk.: miþ sis misso sik undrunnun sumai Sk. III 5. —

In einem der belege, wo *miþ* an die stelle von *πρός* tritt, ist das pronomen nicht reziprok und hat *miþ* also mehr die bedeutung von „zu, mit". Diese bedeutung findet sich auch noch in den folgenden fällen, zweimal zur übersetzung eines dat. bei einer zusammensetzung mit *σύν*: wesun rodjandans miþ Iesua *ἦσαν συλλαλοῦντες τῷ Ἰησοῦ* Mc. IX 4. — v. a. Mc. IX 14. —

[1]) § 158. — [2]) § 69. — [3]) KVG. II § 607, s. 471. — [4]) s. 149. — [5]) Kapteijn s. 325. — [6]) § 101. — [7]) § 121 anm. 1.

= μετά c. g.: filu ni maþlja miþ izwis οὐκέτι πολλὰ λαλήσω μεθ' ὑμῶν J. XIV 30. — v. a. Mc. XV 31. — J. IX 37. — E. IV 25. —

Aus der Sk.: warþ sokeins us siponjam Johannes miþ Iudaium Sk. III 7. — v. J. III 25. —

§ 169. In einigen fällen hat *miþ* vielleicht die bedeutung von „bei". Einmal nämlich tritt *miþ* an die stelle von παρά c. d. (ahma sunjos) miþ izwis wisiþ (τὸ πνεῦμα τῆς ἀληθείας) παρ' ὑμῖν μένει J. XIV 17. — Hier bedeutet *miþ* zweifellos „bei": auch wohl wo die *miþ*-bestimmung einen blossen dat. übersetzt: dagans þrins miþ mis wesun ἡμέραι τρεῖς προσμένουσίν μοι Mc. VIII 2. —

Weiter, wo *miþ* an die stelle von μετά c. g. tritt, und wo diese auffassung wenigstens nicht unmöglich ist: sa (aba) gawilja ist, bauan miþ izai (qenai) αὐτὸς (ἀνὴρ) συνευδοκεῖ οἰκεῖν μετ' αὐτῆς (τῇ γυναικί) K. VII 13. — v. a. Mc. VIII 14. — Mc. II 19. — J. XII 8. — Mc. XIV 7. — u. ö. — Auch kann dazu gerechnet werden: was miþ diuzam ἦν μετὰ τῶν θηρίων Mc. I 13. — Man kann es aber auch als „unter" fassen.

In vielen anderen fällen liegt die auffassung weniger nahe; hier tritt das gemeinschaftliche mehr hervor: Iesus . . . jainar gasat miþ siponjam seinaim Ἰησοῦς . . . ἐκεῖ ἐκάθητο μετὰ τῶν μαθητῶν αὐτοῦ J. VI 3. — v. a. Mc. XIV 67. — M. XXVI 69, 71. —

Natürlich ist der unterschied zwischen der bedeutung „bei" und „mit" fliessend, ebenso wie der franzose bisweilen „avec" gebraucht, wo wir „bei" gebrauchen = „j'ai un ami avec moi" und: „ich habe einen freund bei mir". *miþ* = „bei" konkurriert mit *at*, das die regelrechte entsprechung von παρά c. d. ist [1]).

§ 170. In den übrigen fällen deckt sich die bedeutung von *miþ* mit der von „mit" in allen seinen nuancen. Meistens übersetzt es μετά c. g. oder σύν; beide präpositionen werden ohne bedeutungsunterschied gebraucht, nur ist μετά häufiger als σύν. [2]) Die weitere einteilung der bedeutungen von *miþ* berücksichtigt also nicht die frage, ob es zur übersetzung von μετά oder σύν dient. In dieser bedeutung kann es alle funktionen des ursprünglichen instr. übernehmen: wir bringen von jeder funktion ein beispiel:

Ein interessantes beispiel für die komitative bedeutung von *miþ* ist Th. V 15. Dort wird εἰς in reziproker bedeutung mit *miþ*, in nicht reziproker bedeutung mit *wiþra* übersetzt: sinteino þiuþ laistjaiþ miþ izwis misso jah wiþra allans πάντοτε τὸ ἀγαθὸν διώκετε καὶ εἰς ἀλλήλους καὶ εἰς πάντας [3]).

Die vorlage hat einige male einen dat. bei einer zusammensetzung mit σύν: ni blandaiþ izwis miþ imma μὴ συναναμίγνυσθε αὐτῷ th. III 14. — u. ö. —

An die stelle eines dativs bei einer zusammensetzung mit σύν tritt eine

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[1]) § 132. — [2]) Tycho Mommsen, *Beiträge zu der lehre von den gr. präpositionen*, Frankfurt a. M. 1886, 1887, Berlin, 1895, s. 395. — [3]) § 62 anm. 1.

miþ-bestimmung bei einer zusammensetzung mit *miþ*: miþinngalaiþ miþ Iesua *συνεισῆλθεν τῷ Ἰησοῦ* J. XVIII 15. —

Anm. 1. Sehr oft wird bei solchen zusammensetzungen der dat. mit einem dat. wiedergegeben. [1])

Einmal findet sich *miþ* anstatt eines dat. bei einem verbum simplex; an die stelle des verbums tritt ein substantiv: þamma wiljandin miþ þus staua *τῷ θέλοντί σοι κριθῆναι* M. V 40. —

In den folgenden zwei belegen tritt die *miþ*-bestimmung an die stelle eines dat. bei einer zusammensetzung mit *σύν*: miþ þaim miþ imma drobjandam gabundans *μετὰ τῶν συστασιαστῶν δεδεμένος* Mc. XV 7. — u. a. G. II 1. —

= *ἐν* [2]).

= *πρός*, c. a. *καί* und *μετά*: ƕo dailo garaihtein miþ ungaraihtein aiþþau ƕo gamainduþe liuhada miþ riqiza? ƕouh þan samaqisse Xristau miþ Bailiama aiþþau ƕo daile galaubjandin miþ ungalaubjandin? ƕouh þan samaqisse alhs gudis miþ galiugam *τίς ... μετοχὴ δικαιοσύνῃ καὶ ἀνομίᾳ, ἢ τίς κοινωνία φωτὶ πρὸς σκότος; τίς δὲ συμφώνησις Χριστῷ πρὸς Βελίαν, ἢ τίς μερὶς πιστῷ μετὰ ἀπίστου; τίς δὲ συγκατάθεσις ναῷ θεοῦ μετὰ εἰδώλων* k. VI 14—16. — Hier ist diese häufung von *miþ* stilistisch. [3])

= *σύν* oder *μετά* c. g.: þize anakumbjandane miþ imma *τῶν ἀνακειμένων σὺν αὐτῷ* J. XII 2. — libam miþ imma us mahtai gudis *ζησόμεθα σὺν αὐτῷ ἐκ δυνάμεως θεοῦ* k. XIII 4. — u. ö. —

Anm. 2. Zweimal findet sich ein dat. bei einer zusammensetzung mit *miþ* an der stelle eines *σύν* oder *μετά*: miþskalkinoda mis in aiwaggeljon *σὺν ἐμοὶ ἐδούλευσεν εἰς τὸ εὐαγγέλιον* Ph. II 22. — v. a. k. VIII 18. —

Einen begleitenden umstand bezeichnet *miþ*, wo es *μετά* c. g. übersetzt: iddjuh jaindwairþs miþ skeimam jah haizam jah wepnam *ἔρχεται ἐκεῖ μετὰ φανῶν καὶ λαμπάδων καὶ ὅπλων* J. XVIII 3. — v. a. Mc. XIV 43. — Mc. XIV 62. —

Als eine abart des komitativen begriffes erscheint mir die bedeutung, die wir in deutschen sätzen finden wie „Gott sei mit uns". Hier geht die bedeutung in ein „für" über. Ob diese bedeutung idiomatisch ist oder unter einfluss der vorlage steht, ist aus dem got. nicht zu ermitteln, weil *miþ* immer an die stelle von *σύν* oder *μετά* tritt. Der moderne gebrauch steht auch wohl unter biblischem einfluss.

= *σύν*: ansts gudis miþ mis *ἡ χάρις τοῦ θεοῦ ἡ σὺν ἐμοί* K. XV 10. —

= *μετά*: guþ gawairþeis jah friaþwos wairþiþ miþ izwis *ὁ θεὸς τῆς εἰρήνης καὶ τῆς ἀγάπης ἔσται μεθ' ὑμῶν* k. XIII 11. — u. ö. —

Etwas anders ist das verhältnis: miþ allaim mannam gawairþi habandans *μετὰ πάντων ἀνθρώπων εἰρηνεύοντες* R. XII 18. — Diese konstruktion ist germanisch und stimmt vollkommen überein mit dem eddischen: hvé mon at ynþe epter verþa mægþ meþ mǫnnom Grp. 44. Hieraus sieht man, dass eine kleine verschiebung des sprachgefühls genügt, um eine

[1]) *C. S.* § 76 s. 104. — [2]) § 103 anm. 1. — [3]) Kapteijn, s. 357.

konstruktion, die unter dem einfluss einer fremden sprache entstanden ist, als idiomatisch zu empfinden.

§ 171. Ein eigentliches mittel scheint *miþ*, ebensowenig freilich wie in der vorlage *σύν* oder *μετά*, niemals zu bezeichnen. Wo es so aufgefasst werden könnte, liegt die modale bedeutung, die sehr oft vorkommt, näher.

In dieser bedeutung übersetzt es einmal *ἐν*: L. IV 36.[1]) wo die parallelstelle Mc. I 27 *κατά* c. a. hat.[2])

Einmal = *σύν*: gatewiþs fram aikklesjom miþ gasinþam uns miþ anstai *χειροτονηθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν συνέκδημος ἡμῶν σὺν τῇ χάριτι* k. VIII 19. —

sehr oft = *μετά* c. g.: afaiaik miþ aiþa *ἠρνήσατο μεθ' ὅρκου* M. XXVI 72 A. — miþ tagram qaþ *μετὰ δακρύων ἔλεγεν* Mc. IX 24. — (Daneben findet sich auch *þairh tagra* k. II 4, wo die vorlage *διά* c. g. hat.[3]) — u. ö. —

Sehr oft kommt in derselben bedeutung der instr. dat. vor[4]), aber niemals findet sich ein dat. anstatt *μετά* oder umgekehrt.

Aus der Sk.: miþ sunjai qaþ Sk. I 8. — Daneben kommt auch *bi sunjai* vor.[5])

Mc. X 46 wird *καί* durch *miþ* übersetzt: usgaggandin imma jainþro miþ siponjam seinaim jah managein ganohai *ἐκπορευομένου αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ Ἰεριχὼ καὶ τῶν μαθητῶν αὐτοῦ καὶ ὄχλου ἱκανοῦ*. — Hier ist *miþ* also so ziemlich gleichbedeutend mit „und". Es hat grosse ähnlichkeit mit dem deutschen „samt". Diese bedeutung hat *μετά* öfters und *σύν* sehr oft und auch dann wird es übersetzt mit *miþ*: sifaiþ þiudos miþ managein is *εὐφράνθητε, ἔθνη, μετὰ τοῦ λαοῦ αὐτοῦ* R. XV 10. — u. ö. —

Eine ähnliche bedeutung hat *miþ* wohl Mc. XV 23, wo es an die stelle einer zusammensetzung tritt: drigkan wein miþ smwrna *πιεῖν ἐσμυρνισμένον οἶνον*.

miþþanei und miþþan.

§ 172. *miþ* kommt auch in den verbindungen *miþþanei* und *miþþan* vor. Es hat hier nur zeitliche bedeutung und die ursprüngliche bedeutung „unter" festgehalten. Es ist synonym mit *biþe* und übersetzt: *ἡνίκα*: und hina dag miþþanei siggwada Moses, hulistr ligiþ ana hairtin ize *ἕως σήμερον, ἡνίκα ἀναγινώσκεται Μωσῆς, κάλυμμα ἐπὶ τὴν καρδίαν αὐτῶν κεῖται* k. III 15. —

= gen. abs.: miþþanei is rodida þata du im, þaruh reiks ains qimands inwait ina *ταῦτα αὐτοῦ λαλοῦντος αὐτοῖς, ἰδοὺ ἄρχων εἷς ἐλθὼν προσεκύνει αὐτῷ* M. IX 18. — v. a. L. IV 40. —

= *ἐν* c. inf.: miþþanei wrohiþs was... ni waiht andhof *ἐν τῷ κατηγορεῖσθαι αὐτὸν... οὐδὲν ἀπεκρίνατο* M. XXVII 12. — u. ö. —

In derselben bedeutung findet sich demonstrativ *miþþan* dreimal in der Sk.: nasjands nauh miþþan anastodjands ustaiknida þana... wig Sk. II. 4. — vgl. *ὡς ἄρτι ἀρξαμένῳ* Ammon. (1456). — v. a. Sk. II 9. — Sk. II 18. —

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[1]) § 103 anm. 1. — [2]) § 156 anm. 1. — [3]) § 165. — [4]) *C. S.*, § 79 s. 105 ff. — [5]) § 157

Die präpositionen, die den dat. oder den acc. regieren.

Intralokale und translokale verben.

§ 173. Die präpositionen, die den dat. oder acc. regieren, sind: *afar, ana, at, bi, hindar, in* [1], *uf, ufar, und.* Ob die präpositionen *ana, hindar, in, uf, ufar* [2] den dat. oder den acc. regieren, hängt davon ab, ob sie mit intralokalen oder translokalen verben verbunden sind. Dasselbe gilt auch von *at* c. dat. im verhältnis zu *du*. Ein verbum kann nämlich ein stets gleichbleibendes oder ein sich veränderndes verhältnis zu einem bestimmten ort zum ausdruck bringen. Die ersten verben nennt Behaghel [3] intralokal, die letzteren translokal. Translokale verben bezeichnen entweder eine annäherung an den ort, eine entfernung von ihm oder eine durchschneidung des ortes. In diesem paragraphen handelt es sich nur um translokale verben, die eine annäherung an einen ort oder eine durchschneidung eines ortes bezeichnen [4].

Obgleich, wie schon in der einleitung hervorgehoben wird, der übersetzer sich im allgemeinen befleissigt hat, idiomatisches gotisch zu schreiben, ist es ihm doch nicht immer gelungen, gräzismen zu vermeiden [5]. Darum muss auch mit der möglichkeit gerechnet werden, dass auch bisweilen der casus bei den präpositionen unter einfluss der vorlage steht. Dies tut auch Behaghel, wie sich daraus ergibt, dass er darauf hinweist, dass *qiman* translokal nur im einklang mit der vorlage vorkommt. Streitberg [6] will bei *qiman* keinen einfluss der vorlage auf die got. konstruktionen annehmen. Er definiert den unterschied zwischen *qiman in* c. dat. und c. acc. folgendermassen: „Wo es im zusammenhang lediglich auf den moment der vollendung ankommt (und das ist für das sprachgefühl des goten die regel) wird *qiman* mit *in* und dem dat. verbunden, wo aber für den zusammenhang neben dem moment der vollendung auch die bewegung in betracht kommt, steht bei *qiman in* mit dem acc. [7]).

[1]) Vgl. wegen *in* c. gen. §§ 138—145.

[2]) Vgl. wegen *afar, at, bi, und* §§ 63—70, 130—137, 146—158, 78—85.

[3]) *Deutsche syntax*, II, § 634, s. 175.

[4]) Vgl. wegen der präpos., die eine entfernung von einem ort bezeichnen, die betr. §§ u. wegen der fälle, wo ein ruheverhältnis in ein richtungsverhältnis verwandelt wird o. umgekehrt §§ 16, 17, 21, 87, 100, 103, 122, 133.

[5]) Bezeichnende beispiele von gräzismen sind mehrere acc. c. inf. (*CS*, § 33, s. 57 f., dagegen Curme, *Journ. of Engl. and Germ. Phil.*, X, 359 ff., dagegen verf. *PBB*, XXXIX, 201 ff.) und die accusativi relationis (*CS* § 34 s. 59). Dazu wurde dort nicht gerechnet *gairda filleina* in: wasuþ-þan Iohannes gawasiþs taglam ulbandaus jah gairda filleina bi hup seinana *ἦν δὲ Ἰωάννης ἐνδεδυμένος τρίχας καμήλου καὶ ζώνην δερματίνην περὶ τὴν ὀσφὺν αὐτοῦ* Mc I 6., wahrscheinlich, weil mit Bernhardt angenommen wurde, dass *was* eingefügt werden müsse, und also *gairda filleina* nom. sei. Dies ist aber falsch, weil es dann nicht heissen müsste *bi hup seinana* sondern *bi hup is*. Es ist auffällig, dass der erste acc. sprachrichtig in einen dat. instr. umgewandelt wurde, während der zweite wörtlich übersetzt worden ist. Vgl. wegen eines ähnlichen beispiels (L. XVI, 19) verf. *Fremdwörter im got. Neoph.* XIV s. 290, fussn. 2.

[6]) *Zur gotischen grammatik*, 1: qiman in *and verwandtes*, Festschrift für Ernst Windisch, Leipzig, 1914, ss. 217—224.

[7]) Vgl. auch *Got. elementarb.* [5—6] § 269, 1 s. 182.

E. A. Meyer [1]) versucht nachzuweisen, dass im deutschen stets intralokal gebraucht werden die verben mit durativer aktionsart und diejenigen perfektiven verben, bei denen die abschlussvorstellung beim verb vorherrscht, die sog. effektiven verben, während die verben, bei denen die bewegungsvorstellung vorherrscht, die sog. terminaten verben, translokal gebraucht werden. [2])

Es kann nicht die rede davon sein, nachzuprüfen, inwieweit aus dem satzzusammenhang auf die aktionsart geschlossen werden kann. Das würde zu viel raum in anspruch nehmen. Es werden nur die bewegungsverben, die intralokal, translokal oder intralokal und translokal gebraucht werden, verzeichnet und nachgewiesen, inwieweit der casusgebrauch von dem gebrauch der vorlage abweicht oder damit übereinstimmt. Diese verben werden eingeteilt in:

1. Intralokale verben, wenigstens in einigen beispielen von der vorlage abweichend.
2. Intralokale verben stets in übereinstimmung mit der vorlage.
3. Translokale verben, wenigstens in einigen beispielen von der vorlage abweichend.
4. Translokale verben stets in übereinstimmung mit der vorlage.
5. Verben, die intralokal und translokal gebraucht werden, wobei jeweils verzeichnet wird, ob der intralokale oder translokale gebrauch stets in übereinstimmung mit der vorlage steht, oder wenigstens in einigen beispielen davon abweicht.

Die Skeireins-stellen werden unter der kategorie abweichend von der vorlage aufgeführt [3]).

§ 174. Intralokale verben, wenigstens in einigen beispielen von der vorlage abweichend. [4])

b a i r g a n

in	(*εἰς*)	J. XII 25.

b a n d w j a n

ana	(*ἐπί* c. gen.)	L. XX 37.

[1]) *Ruhe und richtung, aktionsart und satzton im neuhochdeutchen. Moderna Språk*, 1927 und 1928. Sonderdruck, Marburg 1928.

[2]) Für das Niederländische vgl. auch verf. *Grammatik der neu-niederländischen gemeinsprache*, Heidelberg, 1925, § 157.

[3]) In diesem verzeichnis sind die stellen nicht aufgenommen, wo ein verb intralokal mit einem adverb der ruhe oder translokal mit einem adverb der bewegung vorkommt, so z. b. J. XI 34: ƕar lagideduþ ina *ποῦ τεθείκατε αὐτόν*.

[4]) Verben, bei denen nichts bemerkt wird, kommen nur abweichend von der vorlage vor.

ga-bauan		
uf (uf skadau der form nach unsicher)	(ὑπό c. acc.)	Mc. IV 32.
beidan		
at		Sk. V 2.
ga-bindan		
	abweichend von der vorlage	
ana	(ἐπί c. gen.)	Mc. XI 4.
at	(πρός c. acc.)	Mc. XI 4.
	in übereinstimmung mit der vorlage	
in	(ἐν)	Mc. VI 17.
faur-dammjan		
in	(εἰς)	k. XI 10.
daupjan		
	abweichend von der vorlage	
in	(εἰς)	Mc. I 9. K. I 15. G. III 27.
	in übereinstimmung mit der vorlage	
in	(ἐν)	Mc. I 8 u. ö.
ga-friþon		
in	(εἰς)	C. I 20.
ga-fulljan		
in	(ἐκ)	L. I 15.
bi-gitan		
	abweichend von der vorlage	
ana	(ἐπί c. gen.)	L. XVIII 8.
hindar	(πέραν)	J. VI 25.
in		Sk. VIII 18.
	in übereinstimmung mit der vorlage	
ana	(ἐν)	Mc. XI 13.
in	(ἐν)	M. VIII 10 u. ö.
ga-haban		
at	(πρός c. acc.)	Phil. 13.
uf-haban		
ana	(ἐπί c. gen.)	L. IV 11.
ana-haitan		
(weitwod) ana	(ἐπί c. acc.)	k. I 23.
hausjan		
ana	(ἐκ)	J. XII 34.
uf-hausjan		
in	(εἰς)	k. II 9.
ufar-hleiþrjan		
ana	(ἐπί c. acc.)	k. XII 9.

huzdjan		
	abweichend von der vorlage	
ana	(ἐπί c. gen.)	M. VI 19
	in übereinstimmung mit der vorlage	
in	(ἐν)	M. VI 20.
ga-ƕeilan		
ana	(ἐπί c. acc.)	L. X 6.
ƕopan		
	abweichend von der vorlage	
at	(dat.)	k. IX 2.
	in übereinstimmung mit der vorlage	
in	(ἐν)	k. V 12.
kaurjan		
in	(ἐπί c. acc.)	Neh. V 18.
ana-kumbjan		
	abweichend von der vorlage	
ana	(εἰς)	L. XIV 10.
ana	(ἐπί c. acc.)	J. XIII 25.
at		Sk. VII 10.
	in übereinstimmung mit der vorlage	
in	(ἐν)	L. VII 37 u. ö.
uf-kunnan		
	abweichend von der vorlage	
ana	(dat.)	Mc. V 29.
	in übereinstimmung mit der vorlage	
in	(ἐν)	Mc. V 30.
bi-laibjan		
in	(εἰς)	Th. IV 15.
þairh-galeikon		
in	(εἰς)	K. IV 6.
ligan		
ana	(ἐπί c. acc.)	k. III. 15.
at	(πρός c. acc.)	L. III 9.
ga-lukan		
	abweichend von der vorlage	
in	(εἰς)	R. XI 32.
	in übereinstimmung mit der vorlage	
in	(ἐν)	L. III 20.
us-mitan		
	abweichend von der vorlage	
at	(πρός c. acc.)	k. I 12.
	in übereinstimmung mit der vorlage	
in	(ἐν)	k. I 12. E. II 3.
ga-motan		
in (casus unsicher)	(acc.)	k. VII 2.

n a u þ j a n		
in	(εἰς)	L. XVI 16.
ur-r e i s a n		
	abweichend von der vorlage	
jah standan in midjaim	(εἰς)	L. VI 8.
	in übereinstimmung mit der vorlage	
in	(ἐν)	M. XI 11.
in (casus unsicher)	(ἐν)	L. VII 16.
s a l j a n		
	abweichend von der vorlage	
at	(πρός c. acc.)	K. XVI 6.
	in übereinstimmung mit der vorlage	
at	(παρά c. dat. D E F G)	K. XVI 19.
in	(ἐν)	J. XI 6.
s i t a n		
	abweichend von der vorlage	
ana	(ἐπί c. acc.)	J. XII 15, L. V 27, XIX 30, Mc. XI 2.
	in übereinstimmung mit der vorlage	
ana	(ἐν)	M. XXVI 69.
in	(ἐν)	L. I 79.
in midjaim	(ἐν)	L. II 46.
s k a l k i n o n		
in	(εἰς)	R. XIII 6.
ga-s o þ j a n		
ana	(ἐπί c. gen)	Mc. VIII 4.
s t a n d a n		
	abweichend von der vorlage	
at	(παρά c. acc.)	L. V 2.
hindar	(πέραν)	J. VI 22.
urreisan jah standan in midjaim	(εἰς)	L. VI 8.
	in übereinstimmung mit der vorlage	
at	(πρός c. dat.)	J. XVIII 16.
ga-s t a n d a n		
	abweichend von der vorlage	
ana	(ἐπί c. gen.)	L. VI 17, k. XIII 1.
at	(πρός c. acc.)	G. II 5.
	in übereinstimmung mit der vorlage	
at	(παρά c. dat.)	K. VII 24.
s t o j a n		
hindar	(παρά c. acc.)	R. XIV 5.

straujan		
ana	(εἰς)	Mc. XI 8.
ga-suljan		
ana	(ἐπί c. acc.)	M. VII 25. L. VI 48.
bi-swaran		
in	(acc.)	Th. V 27.
ga-swinþjan		
in	(εἰς)	C. I 11.
timrjan		
ana	(ἐπί c. acc.)	L. VI 49.
ga-timrjan		
ana	(ἐπί c. gen.)	L. IV 29.
ana	(ἐπί c. acc.)	M. VII 24. 26.
ga-trauan		
in (casus unsicher)	(εἰς)	k. X 1. G. V 10.
in	(ἐπί c. acc.)	k. II 3. th. III 4 (im 2. beispiel casus unsicher).
trudan		
ana	(ἐπί c. acc.)	L. X 19.
ga-tulgjan		
sik in	(dat.)	R. XI 23.
þeihan		
in		Sk. II 17.
þragjan		
jah mikiljan at	(πρός c. acc.)	th. III 1.
warmjan		
sik at	(πρός c. acc.)	Mc. XIV 54.
waurkjan		
	abweichend von der vorlage	
gamund in	(ἐπί c. gen.)	E. I 16.
	in übereinstimmung mit der vorlage	
in	(ἐν)	R. VII 5 u. ö.
wisan		
hindar		Sk. IV 3.
þairh-wisan		
in	(dat.)	C. I 23.

§ 175. Intralokale verben, stets in übereinstimmung mit der vorlage.

ga-bairan		
in	(ἐν)	Mc. IV 30.
ga-bairhtjan		
in	(ἐν)	k. II 14.
bauan		
in	(ἐν)	R. VII 17. 20.

us-beidan		
in	(ἐν)	R. IX 22.
ga-dauþnan		
in	(ἐν)	M. VIII 32, J. VIII 21, 24, R. VII 6.
dulþjan		
in	(ἐν)	K. V 8.
faginon		
in	(ἐπί c. dat.)	L. I 14.
ga-fahan		
in	(ἐν)	G. VI 1.
in	(ἐπί c. dat.)	Ph. III 12.
ga-fastan		
in	(ἐν)	L. II 51.
fraihnan		
ana	(ἐν)	Mc. VIII 27.
gaurjan		
in	(ἐν)	k. VII 8.
us-gildan		
at	(παρά c. dat.)	th. I 6.
and-haitan		
in	(ἐν)	R. X 9, XV 9.
haldan		
at	(πρός c. dat.)	Mc. V 11.
hauhjan		
in	(ἐν)	J. XIII 32, u. ö.
fra-hinþan		
in	(ἐν)	R. VII 23.
ga-horinon		
in	(ἐν)	M. V 28.
us-hulon		
ana	(ἐν)	M. XXVII 60.
fra-kunnan		
ana	(ἐν)	G. IV 14.
ga-kunnan		
ana	(ἐν)	Mc. XII 26.
laikan		
in	(ἐν)	L. I 41.
laistjan		
in	(ἐν)	Mc. X 52.
bi-leiþan		
ana	(ἐν)	L. XV 4.
at	(παρά c. dat.)	t. IV 13.
letan		
ana	(ἐπί c. dat.)	L. XIX 44.

uf-ligan		
ana	(ἐν)	Mc. VIII 3.
liuhtjan		
in	(ἐν)	k. IV 6.
matjan		
ana	(ἐν)	J. VI 31.
us-merjan		
in	(ἐν)	M. IX 31.
mitan		
in	(ἐν)	Mc. IV 24.
miton		
in	(ἐν)	M. IX 4, Mc. IX 33.
ana-nanþjan		
in	(ἐν)	k. XI 21.
faura-qiman		
in	(ἐν)	L. I 17.
ur-raisjan		
in	(ἐν)	L. I 69.
miþ-urraisjan jah miþgasatjan		
in	(ἐν)	E. II 6.
in-rauhtjan		
in	(ἐν)	J. XI 38.
in-saian		
in	(ἐν)	Mc. IV 15.
saiƕan		
in	(ἐν)	M. VI 4, K. XIII 12.
ga-saiƕan		
at	(παρά c. dat.)	J. VIII 38.
in	(ἐν)	R. VII 23.
us-siggwan		
at	(παρά c. dat.)	C. IV 16.
ga-skapjan		
in	(ἐν)	C. I 16.
uf-straujan		
ana	(ἐν)	L. XIX 36.
ga-tairan		
ana	(ἐν)	E. II 15.
in	(ἐν)	k. III 14.
ana-timrjan		
ana (casusform unsicher)	(ἐπί c. dat.)	E. II 20.
bi-þagkjan		
in	(ἐν)	L. V 22.

þ i u þ j a n		
in	(ἐν)	L. I 28.
þ r e i h a n		
in	(ἐν)	k. VI 12.
ga-w a s j a n		
in	(ἐν)	L. VII 25.
ga-w a u r k j a n		
in	(ἐν)	L. V 29. R. VII 8.
in-w e i t a n		
in	(ἐν)	J. XII 20.
tuz-w e r j a n		
in	(ἐν)	Mc. XI 23.

§ 176. Translokale verben, wenigstens in einigen beispielen von der vorlage abweichend.[1])

ana-a u k a n		
	abweichend von der vorlage	
ana	(ἐπί c. dat.)	L. III 20.
	in übereinstimmung mit der vorlage	
ana	(ἐπί c. acc.)	M. VI 27.
at-b a i r a n		
du	(dat.)	Mc. X 13.
b i d j a n		
	abweichend von der vorlage	
du	(dat.)	M. VI 6.
du		Sk. V 25.
	in übereinstimmung mit der vorlage	
du	(εἰς)	R. X 14.
du	(πρός c. acc.)	k. XIII 7.
uf-b l e s a n		
ana	(κατά c. gen.)	K. IV 6.
ga-d a u þ j a n		
in	(ἕνεκα)	R. VIII 36.
d r i u s a n		
	abweichend von der vorlage	
ana	(ἐπί c. gen.)	Mc. IX 20.
ana	(dat.)	Mc. III 10.
du	(dat.)	L. V 8, VIII 28.
	in übereinstimmung mit der vorlage	
ana	(ἐπί c. acc.)	L. XV 20 u. ö.

[1]) Verben, bei denen nichts bemerkt wird, kommen nur abweichend von der vorlage vor.

in-feinan		
	abweichend von der vorlage	
du	(ἐπί c. dat.)	L. VII 13.
	in übereinstimmung mit der vorlage	
du	(ἐπί c. acc.)	Mc. VIII 2.
at-gaggan		
	abweichend von der vorlage	
du	(dat.)	M. XXVII 58 u. ö.
du	(adv.)	L. VIII 44.
	in übereinstimmung mit der vorlage	
ana	(ἐπί c. acc.)	L. I 35, III 22, Mc. I 10.
du	(πρός c. acc.)	L. XVIII 3 u. ö.
du	(ἐπί c. acc.)	Mc. XVI 2.
in	(εἰς)	L. VIII 23 u. ö.
ut du	(πρός c. acc.)	J. XVIII 29.
us-graban		
dal uf mesa	(zusammengesetztes subst.)	Mc. XII 1.
gramjan		
du (þwairhein)	(zusammengesetztes verb)	C. III 21. (Itala: bestimmung mit ad).
at-haban		
sik du	(dat.)	Mc. X 35.
uf-hnaiwjan		
	abweichend von der vorlage	
uf	(dat.)	K. XV 28.
	in übereinstimmung mit der vorlage	
uf	(ὑπό c. acc.)	K. XV 26.
lagjan		
	abweichend von der vorlage	
ana	(ἐν)	Mc. VI 56.
ana	(ἐπί c. dat.)	M. IX 16.
ana	(dat.)	M. XXVII 48, Mc. V 23.
	in übereinstimmung mit der vorlage	
ana	(ἐπί c. acc.)	k. III 13 u. ö.
in	(εἰς)	L. IX 44 u. ö.
at-lagjan		
	abweichend von der vorlage	
ana	(dat.)	Mc. XV 17.
	in übereinstimmung mit der vorlage	
ana	(ἐπί c. acc.)	M. IX 18.
du	(ἐπί c. acc.)	L. XIX 23.
in	(εἰς)	M. VII 19.

af-leiþan

abweichend von der vorlage

ana	(ἐν)	L. V 16.

in übereinstimmung mit der vorlage

in	(εἰς)	L. XV 13.

ga-leiþan

abweichend von der vorlage

in	(ἐν)	L. IX 46.
ufar c. acc.	(πέραν)	J. VI 1, X 40.

in übereinstimmung mit der vorlage

ana	(εἰς)	L. IV 42, Mc. I 35.
du	(πρός c. acc.)	J. VII 45 u. ö.
hindar	(εἰς τὸ πέραν)	L. VIII 22.
in	(εἰς)	J. VII 8, Mc VII 19, IX 43 u. ö.
ut du	(πρός c. acc.)	J. XVIII 38.

us-leiþan

abweichend von der vorlage

hindar	(ἀπό c. gen.)	M. VIII 34.

in übereinstimmung mit der vorlage

hindar	(εἰς τὸ πέραν)	Mc. V 21, VIII 13. (in beiden fällen form unsicher).

fra-letan

abweichend von der vorlage

in	(ἐν)	L. IV 19.

in übereinstimmung mit der vorlage

du	(εἰς)	Mc. VIII 3.

ga-nagljan

du	(dat.)	C. II 14.

niman

abweichend von der vorlage

du	(zusammengesetztes verb)	Mc. IX 36.

in übereinstimmung mit der vorlage

in	(εἰς)	J. VI 21, L. IX 3, Mc. VI 8.

ga-niman

in	(ἐν)	L. II 21.

fra-qiman

in	(dat.)	L. VIII 43.

rinnan

abweichend von der vorlage

du (unwis⟨s⟩amma) (adv.) (Itala : in incertum) K. IX 26.

in übereinstimmung mit der vorlage

in	(εἰς)	L. VIII 33.

fair-rinnan		
du	(zusammengesetztes verb)	
	(in der Itala: ad)	E. V 4.
fra-rinnan		
in	(dat.)	L. X 30.
at-saiƕan		
du	(dat.)	T. IV 16.
in-saiƕan		
	abweichend von der vorlage	
du	(dat.)	L. XX 17. Mc. X 21, 27.
	in übereinstimmung mit der vorlage	
du	(εἰς)	M. VI 26, L. IX 16.
du	(ἐπί c. acc.)	L. I 48, IX 38.
ga-sitan		
	abweichend von der vorlage	
ana	(ἐπί c. dat.)	Mc. XI 7.
	in übereinstimmung mit der vorlage	
ana	(ἐπί c. acc.)	J. XII 14.
siujan		
ana	(ἐπί c. dat.)	Mc. II 21.
speiwan		
	abweichend von der vorlage	
ana	(dat.)	Mc. X 34, XIV 65.
	in übereinstimmung mit der vorlage	
ana	(εἰς)	M. XXVI 67.
in	(εἰς)	Mc. VIII 23.
at-standan		
ufar c. acc.	(ἐπάνω)	L. IV 39.
us-steigan		
	abweichend von der vorlage	
ufar c. acc	(ὑπεράνω)	E. IV 10.
	in übereinstimmung mit der vorlage	
ana	(ἐπί c. acc.)	L. V 19, XIX 4.
in	(εἰς)	J. VI 17, VII 14, Mc. III 13, R. X 6, E. IV 8.
bi-stig(g)qan[1])		
du	(dat.)	R. IX 32.
swegnjan		
du	(ἐπί c. dat.)	L. I 47.
ga-tiuhan		
	abweichend von der vorlage	
du (stauai)	(zusammengesetztes verb)	M. XXVII 3.
	in übereinstimmung mit der vorlage	
ana	(ἐπί c. acc.)	L. V 11.

[1]) Wenn *bi* c. d. = gr. dat. bei *bistiggqan* L. VI 48 (§ 146, Behaghel II. § 638 II a. 1. *α.* bb) auf intralokale bedeutung hinweist, gehört *bistiggqan* zu § 178.

du	(πρός c. acc.)	J. IX 13, XVIII 13, Mc. XIV 53.
in	(εἰς)	L. IV 9.
trauan		
	abweichend von der vorlage	
du	(ἐπί c. dat.)	k. I 9.
	in übereinstimmung mit der vorlage	
du	(ἐπί c. acc.)	M. XXVII 43.
in-trusgjan		
	abweichend von der vorlage	
in	(dat.)	R. XI 24.
	in übereinstimmung mit der vorlage	
in	(εἰς)	R. XI 24.
bi-waibjan		
ana	(ἐπί c. gen.)	Mc. XIV 51.
wairpan		
	abweichend von der vorlage	
ana	(ἐπί c. gen.)	Mc. IV 26.
ana	(zusammengesetztes verb, acc.)	J. X 31.
in (form unsicher)	(ἐν)	Mc. I 16.
in		Sk. III 15.
	in übereinstimmung mit der vorlage	
ana	(ἐπί c. acc.)	J. VIII 59, Mc. XV 24.
in (form unsicher)	(εἰς)	Mc. XI 23.
ga-gawairþjan		
du	(dat.)	K. VII 11.
wandjan		
sik du	(dat.)	L. VII 9.
ga-wandjan		
	abweichend von der vorlage	
du		Sk. I 17.
	in übereinstimmung mit der vorlage	
du	(ἐπί c. acc.)	L. I 16, 17, X 6.
du	(πρός c. acc.)	L. X 21, k. III 16.
sik in	(εἰς)	L. II 39.
sik du	(ἐπί c. acc.)	G. IV 9, t. IV 4.
sik du	(πρός c. acc.)	L. VII 44.
weihan		
du diuzam	(zusammengesetztes verb)	K. XV 32.
fair-weitjan		
	abweichend von der vorlage	
du	(dat.)	L. IV 20.
	in übereinstimmung mit der vorlage	
du	(εἰς)	k. III 7.
in	(εἰς)	k. III 13.

weitwodjan		
ana	(κατά c. gen.)	Mc. XIV 56.
ana	(gen.)	M. XXVII 13. Mc. XIV 60. XV 4.
wenjan		
	abweichend von der vorlage	
du	(ἐπί c. dat.)	R. XV 12. T. IV 10.
	in übereinstimmung mit der vorlage	
du	(ἐπί c. acc.)	T. V 5.
fra-wrohjan		
du	(dat.)	L. XVI 1. [1])

§ 177. Translokale verben, stets in übereinstimmung mit der vorlage.

biugan		
(kniwa) du	(πρός c. acc.)	E. III 14.
us-braidjan		
du	(πρός c. acc.)	R. X 21.
ga-dailjan		
ana	(ἐπί c. acc.)	Mc. III 26.
ga-daursan		
ana	(ἐπί c. acc.)	k. X 2.
dragan		
du	(πρός c. acc.)	t. IV 3 B. (A: gadragan).
draibjan		
ana	(εἰς)	L. VIII 29.
faran		
in	(εἰς)	L. X 7.
at-farjan		
in	(εἰς)	L. VIII 26.
af-gaggan		
in	(εἰς)	J. VI 15.
ana	(εἰς)	L. IX 10.
inn-atgaggan		
in	(εἰς)	M. XXVII 53 u. ö.
faur-bigaggan		
in	(εἰς)	Mc. XVI 7.
ga-gaggan		
du	(πρός c. acc.)	L. VIII 4. Mc. VI 30.
du	(εἰς)	Ph. I 19.

[1]) Behaghel rechnet zu den translokalen verben auch: *hugjan afar* c. a. (form unsicher), gr. *ἐπί* c. d. Mc. X 24. (II. § 637. I. a). *skaidan, wiþra* c. a., gr. κατά c. gen. Mc. X. 35 (II. § 637. II. a. 1). *ga-þeihan and* c. a. Sk. IV. 10 (II. § 637. I. b).

at-g i b a n		
in	(εἰς)	L. IX 44, Mc. IX 31.
g i u t a n		
in	(εἰς)	M. IX 17 u. ö.
g r e t a n		
bi c. acc.	(ἐπί c. acc.)	L. XIX 41.
ufar-h a f j a n		
sik ufar c. acc.	(ἐπί c. acc.)	th. II 4.
us-h a f j a n		
ana	(ἐπί c. acc.)	J. XIII 18.
du	(εἰς)	J. XVII 1, L. VI 20. XVIII 13.
ga-h a f t n a n		
ana	(εἰς)	L. X 11.
ga-h a u s j a n		
in	(εἰς)	M. X 27.
h o r i n o n		
du	(ἐπί c. acc.)	Mc. X 11.
us-l a g j a n		
ana	(ἐπί c. acc.)	J. VII 44, L. XV 5, Sk. VIII 1.
inn-gal e i þ a n		
in	(εἰς)	M. VII 21 u. ö.
miþ-innga l e i þ a n		
in	(εἰς)	J. XVIII 15.
ga-l e w j a n		
in	(εἰς)	Mc. XIV 41.
l i s a n		
in	(εἰς)	M. VI 26.
ga-l i s a n		
du	(ἐπί c. acc.)	Neh. V 16.
sik du	(πρός c. acc.)	Mc. IV 1.
us-l u k n a n		
du	(πρός c. acc.)	k. VI 11.
m e l j a n		
du	(πρός c. acc.)	R. Unterschrift.
at-n e ƕ j a n		
ana (casusform unsicher)	(ἐπί c. acc.)	L. X 9.
at-n i m a n		
in	(εἰς)	C. I 13.
fra-n i m a n		
du	(πρός c. acc.)	J. XIV 3.
fra-q i þ a n		
ana	(εἰς)	L. VII 30.

rahton		
du	(εἰς)	k. IX 1.
rignjan		
ana	(ἐπί c. acc.)	M. V 45.
rikan		
ana	(ἐπί c. acc.)	R. XII 20.
and-rinnan		
du	(πρός c. acc.)	Mc. IX 34.
ur-rinnan		
du	(ἐπί c. acc.)	Mc. XIV 48.
in	(εἰς)	L. II 4.
saggqjan		
in	(εἰς)	T. VI 9.
uf-saggqjan		
in	(εἰς)	K. XV 54.
us-saiƕan		
du	(εἰς)	Mc. VII 34.
sandjan		
du	(πρός c. acc.)	J. XVI 7, Ph. II 25, Neh. VI 17.
us-satjan		
in	(εἰς)	L. X 2.
skeinan		
in	(εἰς)	L. XVII 24.
dis-skritnan		
in	(εἰς)	M. XXVII 51, Mc. XV 38.
slahan		
in	(εἰς)	L. XVIII 13, k. XI 20.
sliupan		
in	(εἰς)	t. III 6.
ga-smeitan		
ana	(ἐπί c. acc.)	J. IX 6.
sniwan		
ana	(ἐπί c. acc.)	Th. II 16.
faur-bisniwan		
du	(εἰς)	T. V 24.
faur-sniwan		
ana	(ἐπί c. acc.)	T. I 18.
at-steigan		
in	(εἰς)	M. IX 1, E. IV 9.
ga-steigan		
in	(εἰς)	R. X 7, J. VI 24 [1]).

[1]) Versehentlich von Wilmanns III, 2 § 327, 2a, s. 693 für einen dat. sg. gehalten.

in-swinþjan		
in	(εἰς)	E. III 16.
		(hs. A inswinþjan, hs. B gaswinþnan).
dis-tahjan		
du	(εἰς)	J. XVI 32.
at-tiuhan		
ana	(ἐπί c. acc.)	Mc. XV 22.
us-tiuhan		
ana	(εἰς)	L. IV 5, Mc. IX 2.
du	(εἰς)	J. XVII 23.
in	(εἰς)	Mc. I 12.
at-þinsan		
du	(πρός c. acc.)	J. XII 32.
þliuhan		
in	(εἰς)	M. X 23.
þwahan		
gaggan þwahan in	(εἰς)	J. IX 7.
af-þwahan		
gaggan afþwahan in	(εἰς)	J. IX 11.
at-wairpan		
du	(πρός c. acc.)	L. XVI 20.
in	(εἰς)	Mc. IX 22.
us-wairpan		
ana	(ἐπί c. acc.)	L. XIX 35.
in	(εἰς)	M. VIII 12.
waltjan		
in	(εἰς)	Mc. IV 37.
at-walwjan		
du	(ἐπί c. acc.)	Mc. XV 46.
us-wandjan		
du	(εἰς)	T. I 6.
fra-wilwan		
in	(εἰς)	k. XII 4.
wrohjan		
du	(πρός c. acc.)	J. V 45.

§ 178. VERBEN, DIE TRANSLOKAL UND INTRALOKAL GEBRAUCHT WERDEN, WOBEI JEWEILS VERZEICHNET WIRD, OB DER TRANSLOKALE ODER INTRALOKALE GEBRAUCH STETS IN ÜBEREINSTIMMUNG MIT DER VORLAGE STEHT, ODER WENIGSTENS IN EINIGEN BEISPIELEN DAVON ABWEICHT.

aigan

translokal abweichend von der vorlage

(waldufni) ana	(κατά c. gen.)	J. XIX 11.

intralokal in übereinstimmung mit der vorlage

in	(ἐν)	C. IV 1.

bairan		
	translokal abweichend von der vorlage	
(wrohe) ana	(κατά c. gen.)	J. XVIII 29.
du	(dat.)	L. XVIII 15, Mc. VIII 22.
	intralokal abweichend von der vorlage	
ana	(ἐπί c. gen.)	L. V 18.
	translokal in übereinstimmung mit der vorlage	
du	(πρός c. acc.)	Mc. I 32, IX 19.
du	(ἐπί c. acc.)	M. V 23.
in	(εἰς)	G. IV 24.
	intralokal in übereinstimmung mit der vorlage	
ana	(ἐν)	G. VI 17.
ana	(ἐπί c. dat.)	Mc. VI 55.
briggan		
	intralokal abweichend von der vorlage	
at	(πρός c. acc.)	L. IV 40, Mc. IX 20, XI 7.
at	(dat.)	Mc. XV 1.
in	(εἰς)	M. VI 13 u. ö.
in	(zusammengesetztes verb)	k. XI 20.
	translokal in übereinstimmung mit der vorlage	
ana	(εἰς)	L. V 4.
du	(πρός c. acc.)	Mc. IX 17.
	intralokal in übereinstimmung mit der vorlage	
in	(ἐπί c. dat.)	R. X 19.
fra-bugjan		
	translokal abweichend von der vorlage	
in	(ἐπάνω c. gen.)	Mc. XIV 5.
in (casus unsicher)	(gen.)	J. XII 5.
	translokal in übereinstimmung mit der vorlage	
uf	(ὑπό c. acc.)	R. VII 14.
	intralokal in übereinstimmung mit der vorlage	
at	(ἐν)	K. X 25.
at-driusan		
	translokal abweichend von der vorlage	
du	(dat.)	L. VIII 47.
in	(ἐν)	Neh. VI 16.
in		Sk. II 14.
	intralokal abweichend von der vorlage	
in	(εἰς)	T. III 6.
	(nach Braun: Uppström las staua, also acc.)	
uf		Sk. I 2.
	translokal in übereinstimmung mit der vorlage	
in	(εἰς)	T. III 7, VI 9.

ga-driusan		
	intralokal abweichend von der vorlage	
ana	(εἰς)	L. VIII 8.
ana	(ἐπί c. acc.)	L. VIII 6, Mc. IV 5.
	translokal in übereinstimmung mit der vorlage	
ana	(ἐπί c. acc.)	M. X 29, R. XV 3.
in	(εἰς)	Mc. IV 7 u. ö.
	intralokal in übereinstimmung mit der vorlage	
in midumai	(ἐν)	L. VIII 7.
us-fulljan		
	translokal in übereinstimmung mit der vorlage	
in	(εἰς)	L. VII 1.
	intralokal in übereinstimmung mit der vorlage	
in	(ἐν)	L. IV 21.
fullnan		
	intralokal abweichend von der vorlage	
in	(εἰς)	E. III 19 A.
	translokal in übereinstimmung mit der vorlage	
du	(εἰς)	E. III 19 B.
gaggan		
	translokal abweichend von der vorlage	
hindar	(ὀπίσω)	Mc. VIII 33.
ufar c. acc. (form unsicher)	(πέραν)	J. VI 17.
	intralokal abweichend von der vorlage	
ana (casusform unsicher)	(ἐπί c. gen.)	J. VI 19.
in (gawairþja)	(εἰς)	L. VIII 48.
(ei melidai wesun) in	(εἰς)	L. II 3.
	translokal in übereinstimmung mit der vorlage	
ana	(εἰς)	J. VI 21.
ana	(ἐπί c. acc.)	L. XIV 31 u. ö.
du	(εἰς)	Mc. I 38 u. ö.
du	(πρός c. acc.)	Mc. X 14 u. ö.
in	(εἰς)	M. VI 6, Mc. V 34, VIII 26.
in (form zweifelhaft)	(εἰς)	J. VII 35.
þwahan in	(εἰς)	J. IX 7.
afþwahan in	(εἰς)	J. IX 11.
	intralokal in übereinstimmung mit der vorlage	
ana	(ἐν)	Mc. X 32.
in	(ἐν)	J. VIII 12, L. I 6, IX 57, E. II 10.

inn-gaggan		
	translokal in übereinstimmung mit der vorlage	
uf c. acc.	(ὑπό c. acc.)	M. VIII 8, L. VII 6.
	intralokal in übereinstimmung mit der vorlage	
in	(ἐν)	L. XIX 30.
us-gaggan		
	translokal abweichend von der vorlage	
ufar c. acc.	(πέραν)	J. XVIII 1.
	intralokal abweichend von der vorlage	
in	(εἰς)	Mc. VII 19.
	translokal in übereinstimmung mit der vorlage	
ana	(εἰς)	M. XI 7 u. ö.
du	(πρός c. acc.)	Mc. I 5.
in	(εἰς)	M. XXVI 71 u. ö.
giban		
	translokal abweichend von der vorlage	
in	(ἐν)	k. I 22, VIII 16.
	translokal in übereinstimmung mit der vorlage	
ana	(εἰς)	L. XV 22.
ana	(ἐπί c. acc.)	L. VII 44.
in	(εἰς)	L. VI 38, XV 22.
	intralokal in übereinstimmung mit der vorlage	
ana	(ἐπί c. dat.)	Mc. VI 25.
in	(ἐν)	k. VIII 10.
haban		
	intralokal abweichend von der vorlage	
uf	(ὑπό c. acc.)	M. VIII 9, L. VII 8.
	translokal in übereinstimmung mit der vorlage	
ana (casusform unsicher)	(ἐπί c. acc.)	Ph. II 27.
	intralokal in übereinstimmung mit der vorlage	
in	(ἐν)	J. VI 53, Mc. IV 17, R. XII 4.
gaminþi in	(ἐν)	t. I 3.
ga-lagjan		
	translokal abweichend von der vorlage	
ana	(dat.)	Mc. XI 7 (*ina* ergänzt), XV 36.
	intralokal abweichend von der vorlage	
in	(εἰς)	Sk. III 2.
in	(ἐνώπιον)	L. V 18.
	translokal in übereinstimmung mit der vorlage	
ana	(ἐπί c. acc.)	J. IX 15, Mc. VIII 25.
ana	(περί c. acc.)	Mc. IX 42.
in	(εἰς)	M. V 25 u. ö.

uf (ὑπό c. acc.) K. XV 25.
intralokal in übereinstimmung mit der vorlage
in (ἐν) L. I 66 u. ö.

laþon
translokal abweichend von der vorlage
du, in (ἐπί c. dat., ἐν) Th. IV 7.
intralokal abweichend von der vorlage
in (εἰς) C. III 15.
translokal in übereinstimmung mit der vorlage
du (εἰς) Th. II 12, T. VI 12.
in (εἰς) L. V 32.

ga-laubjan
translokal abweichend von der vorlage
du (ἐπί c. dat.) R. X 11.
intralokal abweichend von der vorlage
in (εἰς) G. II 16.
translokal in übereinstimmung mit der vorlage
du (εἰς) Mc. IX 42 u. ö.

ga-meljan
translokal abweichend von der vorlage
du (ἐπί c. dat.) J. XII 16.
intralokal in übereinstimmung mit der vorlage
ana (ἐν) J. VI 45, K. V 9.
in (ἐν) L. III 4 u. ö.

merjan
translokal abweichend von der vorlage
in (ἐν) G. II 2A, C. I 23.
intralokal abweichend von der vorlage
ana (ἐπί c. gen.) M. X 27.
intralokal in übereinstimmung mit der vorlage
in (ἐν) L. I 65, G. II 2B.

waila-merjan
translokal abweichend von der vorlage
in (dat.) K. XV 2.
intralokal in übereinstimmung mit der vorlage
in (casus unsicher) (ἐν) K. I 17.

and-niman
intralokal abweichend von der vorlage
ana (ἐπί c. acc.) Neh. V 17.
translokal in übereinstimmung mit der vorlage
ana (εἰς) L. II 28.
in (εἰς) L. XVI 4, 9.

qiman
intralokal abweichend von der vorlage
ana (ἐπί c. acc.) L. XIX 5, 43, E. V 6, C. III 6.

	ana		Sk. IV 22.
	at	(ἐπί c. acc.)	Mc. XI 13.
	at	(πρός c. acc.)	M. VII 15 u. ö.
	at		Sk. VIII 19.
	hindar	(πέραν)	Mc. X 1.
	in	(εἰς)	L. VIII 51 u. ö.
		translokal in übereinstimmung mit der vorlage	
	ana	(ἐπί c. acc.)	J. XVIII 4.
	ana	(εἰς)	Mc. VIII 10, G. I 21.
	du	(πρός c. acc.)	J. VI 37 [1].
	du	(εἰς)	J. XI 38.
	in	(εἰς)	J. XI 27 u. ö.
		intralokal in übereinstimmung mit der vorlage	
	in	(ἐν)	L. II 27, IX 26, Mc. IX 1.
ga-qiman			
		intralokal abweichend von der vorlage	
	in	(εἰς)	Ph. III 11.
		translokal in übereinstimmung mit der vorlage	
	du	(πρός c. acc.)	M. XXVII 62.
	sik du	(πρός c. acc.)	Mc. VII 1, X 1.
	sik du	(ἐπί c. acc.)	Mc. V 21.
qiþan			
		translokal abweichend von der vorlage	
	du	(dat.)	Mc. II 5 u. ö.
		intralokal abweichend von der vorlage	
	in	(εἰς)	L. XV 17.
		translokal in übereinstimmung mit der vorlage	
	du	(πρός c. acc.)	Mc. IV 41 u. ö.
		intralokal in übereinstimmung mit der vorlage	
	in	(ἐν)	M. X 27, L. XVI 3 u. ö.
ga-raihtjan			
		intralokal abweichend von der vorlage	
	in	(εἰς)	th. III 5.
		translokal in übereinstimmung mit der vorlage	
	du	(πρός a. acc).	Th. III 11.
	in	(εἰς)	L. I 79.
ga-rinnan			
		intralokal abweichend von der vorlage	
	at	(πρός c. acc.)	Mc. I 33.
	in (casus unsicher)	(εἰς)	E. IV 13.

[1] Weil *qiman* gewöhnlich mit *at* konstruiert wird, und dies die einzige stelle ist, wo *πρός* mit *du* übersetzt wird (all *þatei* gaf mis atta, du mis qimiþ, jah *þana* gaggandan du mis ni uswairpa ut, *πᾶν ὃ δίδωσίν μοι ὁ πατὴρ πρὸς ἐμὲ ἥξει, καὶ τὸν ἐρχόμενον πρός με οὐ μὴ ἐκβάλω ἔξω*) könnte das erste *du* unter dem einfluss des zweiten stehen. Allerdings kommt *du* zur übersetzung von *πρός* auch bei *qums* vor: *þairh* meinana qum aftra du izwis *διὰ τῆς ἐμῆς παρουσίας πάλιν πρὸς ὑμᾶς*. Ph. I. 26.

translokal in übereinstimmung mit der vorlage

du	(εἰς)	E. IV 13.
in	(εἰς)	E. IV 13.

r o d j a n

translokal abweichend von der vorlage

du	(dat.)	Mc. IV 33 u. ö.

intralokal abweichend von der vorlage

in	(εἰς)	J. VIII 26.
in	(dat.)	L. II 38.

(verf. PBB XXXIX, ss. 201—209).

translokal in übereinstimmung mit der vorlage

du	(πρός c. acc.)	L. IV 21.

intralokal in übereinstimmung mit der vorlage

in	(ἐν)	J. XVII 13.

s a i a n

translokal abweichend von der vorlage

ana	(ἐπί c. gen.)	Mc. IV 31.

intralokal abweichend von der vorlage

ana	(ἐπί c. acc.)	Mc. IV 16, 20.
in	(εἰς)	G. VI 8.

translokal in übereinstimmung mit der vorlage

in	(εἰς)	Mc. IV 18.

intralokal in übereinstimmung mit der vorlage

in	(ἐπί c. dat.)	k. IX 6.

(im got. steht das substantiv im sg., im griech. im pl.)

in-s a n d j a n

translokal in übereinstimmung mit der vorlage

du	(πρός c. acc.)	L. IV 26 u. ö.
du	(εἰς)	Mc. VIII 26.
in	(εἰς)	G. IV 6 u. ö.

intralokal in übereinstimmung mit der vorlage

in midumai	(ἐν)	L. X 3.

s a t j a n

intralokal abweichend von der vorlage

ana	(ἐπί c. gen.)	L. VIII 16 [1]).
ana	(ἐπί c. acc.)	M. V 15.

(verbum fehlt)

translokal in übereinstimmung mit der vorlage

in, du	(εἰς)	Th. V 9.
uf	(ὑπό c. acc.)	Mc. IV 21.

ga-s a t j a n

translokal abweichend von der vorlage

du		Sk. I 23.
uf c. acc.	(ὑποκάτω)	L. VIII 16 [2]).

[1]) Streitberg ändert *satjan* in *gasatjan*.

[2]) Streitberg ändert *gasatjan* in *satjan*.

intralokal abweichend von der vorlage

ana	(ἐπί c. acc.)	L. IV 9. VI 48.
in midjaim	(εἰς)	L. V 19.
uf c. dat.	(ὑπό c. acc.)	L. VII 8.

translokal in übereinstimmung mit der vorlage

du	(εἰς)	K. XVI 15. Ph. I 16. T. II 7.
in	(εἰς)	t. I 11.

intralokal in übereinstimmung mit der vorlage

in	(ἐν)	K. XII 18. E. I 20.
in midjaim	(ἐν)	Mc. IX 36.

s o k j a n

translokal abweichend von der vorlage

ana	(πρός c. dat.)	Neh. V 18.
ana	(κατά c. gen.)	Mc. XIV 55.
du	(παρά c. gen.)	Mc. VIII 11.
du		Sk. IV 3.

translokal in übereinstimmung mit der vorlage

du	(πρός c. acc.)	Mc. IX 10.

intralokal in übereinstimmung mit der vorlage

in	(ἐν)	J. VII 11. L. II 44.

us-s t a n d a n

intralokal abweichend von der vorlage

in midjaim	(εἰς)	Mc. XIV 60.

translokal in übereinstimmung mit der vorlage

ana	(ἐπί c. acc.)	Mc. III 26.

us-t a i k n j a n

intralokal abweichend von der vorlage

in	(εἰς)	k. VIII 24.

translokal in übereinstimmung mit der vorlage

du	(πρός c. acc.)	k. IV 2.

t a u j a n

intralokal abweichend von der vorlage

ana	(ἐπί c. gen.)	R. IX 28 u. ö.

translokal in übereinstimmung mit der vorlage

in	(εἰς)	R. XIII 14. Th. IV 10.

intralokal in übereinstimmung mit der vorlage

in	(ἐν)	L. IV 23.

ga-t a u j a n

translokal in übereinstimmung mit der vorlage

in	(εἰς)	G. II 8.

intralokal in übereinstimmung mit der vorlage

at	(παρά c. dat.)	J. XIV 23.
in	(ἐν)	J. XV 24. L. I 51.

ga-teihan

intralokal abweichend von der vorlage
gaþliuhan jah
gateihan in (εἰς) Mc. V 14.
translokal in übereinstimmung mit der vorlage
gaþliuhan jah
gateihan in (εἰς) L. VIII 34.

tiuhan

translokal abweichend von der vorlage
du Sk. IV 11.
translokal in übereinstimmung mit der vorlage
du (πρός c. acc.) L. XVIII 40.
in (εἰς) J. XVIII 28.
intralokal in übereinstimmung mit der vorlage
in (ἐν) L. IV 1 u. ö.

tulgjan

intralokal abweichend von der vorlage
in (εἰς) k. II 8.
translokal in übereinstimmung mit der vorlage
du (εἰς) Th. III 13.

þagkjan

translokal in übereinstimmung mit der vorlage
du (πρός c. acc.) Mc. XI 31.
intralokal in übereinstimmung mit der vorlage
in (ἐν) L. III 15, Mc. II 6.

ga-þliuhan

intralokal abweichend von der vorlage
jah gateihan in (εἰς) Mc. V 14.
translokal in übereinstimmung mit der vorlage
jah gateihan in (εἰς) L. VIII 34.

wahsjan

intralokal abweichend von der vorlage
in (εἰς) C. I 10A.
translokal in übereinstimmung mit der vorlage
du (εἰς) E. II 21.
in (εἰς) E. IV 15.

ga-wairpan

intralokal abweichend von der vorlage
in midjaim (εἰς) L. IV 35.
translokal in übereinstimmung mit der vorlage
in (εἰς) Mc. IX 45.

wairþan

intralokal abweichend von der vorlage
ana (ἐπί c. gen.) J. VI 21, L. XVII 34.
ana (ἐπί c. acc.) L. I 65, Mc. XV 33.

at	(ἐπί c. acc.)	L. III 2.
in	(εἰς)	L. I 44.
in	(zusammengesetztes verb)	L. I 11, C. III 21.
in und ana	(ἐν und ἐπί c. gen.)	M. VI 10.

translokal in übereinstimmung mit der vorlage

du	(πρός c. acc.)	J. X 35.

intralokal in übereinstimmung mit der vorlage

in	(ἐν)	L. III 2, Mc. IV 11.
swikunþs in	(ἐν)	k. IV 11.

wopjan

translokal abweichend von der vorlage

du	(dat.)	L. XIX 15.

translokal in übereinstimmung mit der vorlage

du	(πρός c. acc.)	L. XVIII 7.

intralokal in übereinstimmung mit der vorlage

in	(ἐν)	L. III 4.

VERZEICHNIS DER GRIECHISCHEN PRÄPOSITIONALBESTIMMUNGEN UND IHRER GOTISCHEN ENTSPRECHUNGEN

DIE NICHTEINGEKLAMMERTEN ZAHLEN BEZEICHNEN DIE PARAGRAPHEN, DIE EINGEKLAMMERTEN DIE SEITEN

= *wiþra* 60 (38) ; = *at* od. *wiþra* 60 (38) ; = *faur* od. *wiþra* 55, 60 (38).

(πλέον) παρά **c. a.** = *ufar* c. a. 73 (44).

παραπλήσιον = *nehva* 47.

πέραν = *hindana* 45 ; = *hindar* c. d. 85 (48, 49) : = *ufar* c. a. 72.

περί **c. gen.** = *bi* c. a. 149 (99), 150, 151 (100) : = *faur* 57 (37) : = *fram* 22, 23 (22), 150 anm. 1 ; = *in* c. g. 138 (92), 140 (93, 94) ; = *gen.* 57 anm. 2, 151 anm. ; = *acc.* 150 anm. 2 ; = *bi* c. a. od. *fram* 22 (21). — **c. acc.** = *ana* c. a. 89 (52) ; = *bi* c. d. 157 (104) ; = *bi* c. a. 148, 149 (99), 151 (101), 158 (106).

πρό = *faur* 58 ; = *faura* 54 anm. — **c. gen. c. inf.** = *faurþizei* 59 (38). — πρὸ (προσώπου) = *faura* 51 ; = *faura andwairþja* 51.

πρός **c. dat.** = *ana* c. a. 90 (53) ; = *at* c. d. 131. — **c. acc.** = *afar* c. d. 66 (42) ; = *at* 131, 132 (87), 133, 134 (89) ; = *bi* c. d. 147 (98) ; = wohl *bi* c. a. 118 anm. 1 ; = *du* c. d. 118, 119 (75), 121 (77), 122 (79), 123, 124 (82), 127 ; = *du* c. instr. 128 (85), 129 (86) ; = *miþ* 121 anm. 1, 168 (110), 170 (112) ; = *wiþra* 60, 61, 62 (39) ; = *dat.* 121 anm. 2 ; = *acc.* 127 anm. 3 ; = *du* od. *dat.* 119 (76).

σύν = *miþ* 170 (112). — s. a. μετά **c. g.**.

ὑπέρ **c. gen.** = *bi* c. a. 149 (99) ; = *faur* 57 ; = *fram* 23 ; = *in* c. d. 57 anm. 1, 140 (94), 141, 143, 144 ; = *bi* c. a., *faur*, *fram* od. *in* c. g. 23, 57, 149 (99). — **c. acc.** = *ufar* c. d. 71 (43) ; = *ufar* c. a. 73 (44, 45) ; = *dat.* 73 anm.

ὑπεράνω = *ufar* c. a. 72 ; = *ufaro* c. g. 74.

ὑπό **c. gen.** = *af* 9 anm. 1 ; = *fram* 17, 18 (18), 22 (21) ; = *þairh* 167 (109) ; = poss. 18 anm. ; = *af* od. *fram* 12 (15). — **c. acc.** = *uf* 75, 76.

ὑποκάτω = *uf* c. a. 75 ; = *undaro* c. d. 75 anm.

χάριν = *in* c. g. 143, 145 (96).

VERZEICHNIS DER GRIECHISCHEN NICHT-PRÄPOSITIONAL-BESTIMMUNGEN, DENEN GOTISCHE PRÄPOSITIONAL-BESTIMMUNGEN ENTSPRECHEN.

nom. = *du* 124 (81).

gen. = *af* 6 ; = *ana* c. d. 94, 95 (57) : = *ana* c. a. 91 (54), 92 (56), 95 (58) ; = *and* 97 (59) ; = *at* c. d. 137 (90, 91) : = *at* c. a. 136 (90) : = *bi* c. d. 153 (102), wohl auch 147 (98) ; = *bi* c. a. 151 (101) ; = *bi* c. instr. 160 (107) ; = *du* 123 ; = *faura* 54 ; = *in* c. d. (a.) 110 (71) ; = *in* c. a. 105 (65) ; = *miþþanei* 172 ; = *us* 25 (24), 30 (26) ; = *wiþra* 62 anm. 2.

dat. = *afar* c. d. 63, 64 (41) ; = *ana* c. a. 89, 90 (53), 91, 118 anm. 2 ; = *at* c. d. 132 (88), 133, 134 (89), 136 ; = *bi* c. d. 147 (98), 154 (103) ; = *bi* c. a. 150, 151 ; = *du* 118, 119 (76), 120, 121 (78), 122 (79), 123, 125 (82) : = *faur* 56 ; = *faura* 50 (33), 54 ; = *hindar* c. d. 85 (49) ;

= *in* c. d. 92 anm., 103 (62), 104 (63), 106 (67): = *in* c. a. 105 (66), 110 (71); = *miþ* 168 (110), 169, 170 (111, 112): = *neƕ* 48; = *uf* c. a. 75; = *und* c. a. 80 (47); = *us* 30 (26); = *wiþra* 61, 62 (39); = *at* c. d. od. c. a. 136 (90); = *du* od. *dat.* 118 anm. 3, 123 anm. 2; = *in* c. d. od. c. a. 101; = *in* c. d. od. *dat.* 102 (61);

acc. = *af* 6 (12); = *ana* c. a. 90 (53); = *bi* c. d. 153 (102), 154 (103); = *bi* c. a. 150; = *du* 124 (81), 126 (83) u. anm. 2; = *faur* 58; = *in* c. d. 106 (67); = *und* c. a. 80 (47); = *in* c. d. od. *dat.* 105 (65).

Zusammensetzungen = umschreibungen mit *at* c. d. 135; mit *du* 122 (80), 123, 124 (81), 126 (83); mit *faur* 56; mit *in* c. d. 103 (62); mit *miþ* 168 (110), 171; mit *neƕa* 46 (32); mit *uf* c. d. 75, 76 (46); mit *ufar* c. a. 73 (3 m.); mit *us* 25 (23), 28, 29, 38; mit *utana* 45. — Ein **simplex** wird umschrieben mit *ana* c. d. 86 anm., 89 (53); mit *bi* c. a. 89 (53); mit *uf* c. d. 76 (46); mit *ufar* c. d. 71 (43). — Ein **passivum** wird umschrieben mit *at* 135.

Kongruierende wörter = *bi* c. d. 154 (103); = *bi* c. instr. 160 (107); = *du* c. d. 124 (81); = *uf* c. d. 76.

Indeclinabilia = *afar* c. a. 70 (42, 43); = *and* 98; = *bi* c. d. 157 (3 m.); = *bi* c. instr. 159 (3 m.), 160 (5 m.); = *du* c. d. 118, 123, 127; = *du* c. instr. 129 (3 m.); = *faurþis* 59 (4 m.); = *fram* c. d. 24 (23); = *in* c. g. 129 (85), 145 (95); = *in* c. d. 106 (66, 67); = *in* c. a. 110 (71); = *miþ* 170 (112), 171; = *miþþanei* 172; = *ufar* c. a. 73 (45); = *us* 38, 39 (30).

Abweichende konstruktionen: καὶ τά c. gen. = *bi* c. a. 150; πρὶν ἤ c. conj. = *faurþizei* 59 (38); πρίν c. inf. = *faur* 58; = *faurþizei* 59 (38); νή c. a. = *in* c. g. 141; dat. = durch *þairh þatei* eingeleiteter satz 164; ἀπεστερημένων τῆς ἀληθείας = at þaimei gatarniþ ist sunja 135; χωρήσατε ἡμᾶς = gamoteima in izwis 101. — Eine ἐπί-bestimmung wird zum objekt und das objekt wird übersetzt mit einer *in*-bestimmung 104 (64). — Eine ἐπί-bestimmung wird zum subjekt eines passiven satzes 71 anm. 2. — Eine πρός-bestimmung = *dat.* od. *gen.* 124 anm. 3.

BERICHTIGUNGEN UND NACHTRÄGE

S. 9	fussn. 2.	z. 2,	st. experimentale	l. expérimentale
12		z. 4 v. u.	streiche: dat.	
21		z. 5 v. o.	st. übersezt	l. übersetzt
25		z. 10 v. u.	st. *ὑρηρέτας*	l. *ὑπηρέτας*
27		z. 8 v. o.	st. wilþei n s	l. wilþei⟨n⟩s
29		z. 11 v. o.	st. *κατά*	l. *κατά* c. a.
30		z. 5 v. o.	st. *gebaurþai*	l. *gabaurþai*
41		z. 10 v. u.	st. *ἐπί* c. a.	l. *ἐπί* c. d., c. a.
43	fussn. 1.		st. § Str. anm.	l. Str. anm.
44		z. 19 v. o.	st. *ὑπέρ*	l. *ὑπέρ* c. a.
48		z. 7 v. u.	st. bedeutug	l. bedeutung
52		z. 8 v. u.	st. *περί*	l. *περί* c. a.
53		z. 17 v. o.	st. *ἐπί*	l. *ἐπί* c. a.
		z. 3 v. u.	st. *πρός*	l. *πρός* c. d.
54		z. 15 v. o.	st. *ἐπί*	l. *ἐπί* c. a.
	fussn. 9.		st. 147	l. 152
55	„ 5.	z. 2	st. II	l. II, 1
56		z. 23 v. o.	st. *bi*	l. *bi* c. a.
58		z. 7 v. o.	st. *ἀνά*	l. *ἀνά* c. a.
		z. 14 v. o.	st. *κατά*	l. *κατά* c. a.
61		z. 17 v. o.	st. *in hairto*	l. *in hairto (hairtin)*
		z. 26 v. o.	st. *καρδίῳ*	l. *καρδίᾳ*
62		z. 3 v. u.	füge hinzu: der blosse dativ steht unter einfluss der vorhergehenden dativi in der vorlage.	
66		z. 16 v. o.	füge hinzu: bei Frantzens konjektur sollte man aber im gotischen keinen acc. sondern einen dat. erwarten.	
68		z. 9 v. o.	st. Ansicht	l. ansicht
69	fussn. 3.		st. 62 anm.	l. 62 anm. 1.
72		z. 13 v. u.	st. *συνέρχεσθαι*	l. *ἔρχεσθαι ἔρχονται εἰς οἶκον* atiddjedun in gard
74		z. 10 v. u.	st. *πρός*	l. *πρός* c. a.
75		z. 12 v. u.	füge hinzu: T. VI 3	
79		z. 4 v. u.	st. *πρός*	l. *πρός* c. a.

S. 84	z. 23 v. o.	st. Mc. IX 15	l. M. IX 15
94	z. 6 v. o.	st. ufarassau s⟩	l. ufarassau⟨s⟩
102	z. 5 v. o.	st. ⟨h⟩ol⟨o	l. ⟨h⟩ol⟨o
104	z. 10 v. o.	streiche: 1)	
	z. 13 v. o.	füge hinzu: 1)	
106	z. 5 v. o.	st. jah⟩	l. ⟨jah
111	z. 13 v. o.	st. (τῇ γυναικί)	l. (τῆς γυναικός)